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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CLXXII.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

VOL. CLXXII.

AP2
.N7
vol.172

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NOV 10 1964

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.
1901.

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Vol. 172

Jews & Judaism

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Oct. 17-1901
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXX.

JANUARY, 1901.

THE STATUS OF ANNEXED TERRITORY AND OF ITS FREE CIVILIZED INHABITANTS.

BY BENJAMIN HARRISON, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A LEGAL argument upon this subject is quite outside of my purpose, which is to consider, in a popular, rather than a professional, way, some of the questions that arise, some of the answers that have been proposed, and some of the objections to these answers.

We have done something out of line with American history, not in the matter of territorial expansion, but in the character of it. Heretofore, the regions we have taken over have been contiguous to us, save in the case of Alaska—and, indeed, Alaska is contiguous, in the sense of being near. These annexed regions were also, at the time of annexation, either unpeopled or very sparsely peopled by civilized men, and were further, by their situation, climate and soil, adapted to the use of an increasing American population. We have now acquired insular regions, situated in the tropics, and in another hemisphere, and hence unsuitable for American settlers, even if they were not, as they are, already populated, and their lands already largely taken up.

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We have taken over peoples rather than lands, and these chiefly of other race stocks—for there are "diversities of tongues." The native labor is cheap and threatens competition, and there is a total absence of American ideas and methods of life and government among the eight or more millions of inhabitants in the Philippines. We have said that the Chinese will not "homologate"; and the Filipinos will certainly be slow. Out of the too late contemplation of these very real and serious problems has arisen the proposition to solve them, as many think, by wresting our government from its constitutional basis; or at least, as all must agree, by the introduction of wholly new views of the status of the people of the territories, and of some startlingly new methods of dealing with them. It is not open to question, I think, that, if we had taken over only the Sandwich Islands and Porto Rico, these new views of the status of the people of our territories, and these new methods of dealing with them, would never have been suggested or used.

The question of the constitutional right of the United States to acquire territory, as these new regions have been acquired, must, I suppose, be taken by every one to have been finally adjudged in favor of that right. The Supreme Court is not likely to review the decision announced by Chief Justice Marshall.

It is important to note, however, that the great Chief Justice derives the power to acquire territory, by treaty and conquest, from the Constitution itself. He says:

> "The Constitution confers absolutely on the government of the Union the powers of making war and of making treaties: consequently that government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or by treaty."

While this decision stands, there is no room for the suggestion that the power of the United States to acquire territory, either by a conquest confirmed by treaty, or by a treaty of purchase from a nation with which we are at peace, is doubtful, and as little for the suggestion that this power is an extra-constitutional power. The people, then, have delegated to the President and Congress the power to acquire territory by the methods we have used in the cases of Porto Rico and the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands. But some have suggested that this power to acquire new territory is limited to certain ends; that it can only be used to acquire territory that is to be, or is capable of being, erected into States of

the Union. If this view were allowed, the attitude of the courts to the question would not be much changed; for they could not inquire as to the purposes of Congress, nor, I suppose, overrule the judgment of Congress as to the adaptability of territory for the creation of States. The appeal would be to Congress to limit the use of the power.

The islands of Hawaii, of Porto Rico and of the Philippine Archipelago have been taken over, not for a temporary purpose, as in the case of Cuba, but to have and to hold forever, as a part of the region over which the sovereignty of the United States extends. We have not put ourselves under any pledge as to them, at least not of a written sort. Indeed, we have not, it is said, made up our minds as to anything affecting the Philippines, save this: that they are a part of our national domain and that the inhabitants must yield obedience to the sovereignty of the United States, so long as we choose to hold them.

Our title to the Philippines has been impeached by some upon the ground that Spain was not in possession when she conveyed them to us. It is a principle of private law that a deed of property adversely held is not good. If I have been ejected from a farm to which I claim title and another is in possession under a claim of title, I must recover the possession before I can make a good conveyance. Otherwise, I sell a law suit and not a farm, and that the law counts to be immoral. It has not been shown, however, that this principle has been incorporated into international law; and, if that could be shown, there would still be need to show that Spain had been effectively ousted.

It is very certain, I suppose, that if Great Britain had, during our revolutionary struggle, concluded a treaty of cession of the colonies to France, we would have treated the cession as a nullity and continued to fight for liberty against the French. No promises of liberal treatment by France would have appeased us.

But what has that to do with the Philippine situation? There are so many points of difference. We were Anglo-Saxons! We were capable of self-government. And, after all, what we would have done under the conditions supposed has no bearing upon the law of the case. It is not to be doubted that any international tribunal would affirm the completeness of our legal title to the Philippines.

The questions that perplex us relate to the status of these

new possessions, and to the rights of their civilized inhabitants who have elected to renounce their allegiance to the Spanish crown, and either by choice or operation of law have become American—somethings. What? Subjects or citizens? There is no other status, since they are not aliens any longer, unless a newspaper heading that recently attracted my attention offers another. It ran thus: "Porto Ricans not citizens of the United States *proper.*" Are they citizens of the United States *improper,* or improper citizens of the United States? It seems clear that there is something improper. To call them "citizens of Porto Rico" is to leave their relations to the United States wholly undefined.

Now, in studying the questions whether the new possessions are part of the United States, and their free civilized inhabitants citizens of the United States, the Constitution should, naturally, be examined first. Whatever is said there, is final—any treaty or act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding. The fact that a treaty must be constitutional, as well as an act of Congress, seems to have been overlooked by those who refer to the treaty of cession as giving to Congress the right to govern the people of Porto Rico, who do not retain their Spanish allegiance, according to its pleasure. Has the Queen Regent, with the island, decorated Congress with one of the jewels from the Spanish Crown?

In Pollard *vs.* Hogan, 3 Howard, the court says:

> **"It cannot be admitted that the King of Spain could by treaty, or otherwise, impart to the United States any of his royal prerogatives; and much less can it be admitted that they have capacity to receive or power to exercise them."**

A treaty is a part of the supreme law of the land in the same sense that an act of Congress is, not in the same sense that the Constitution is. The Constitution of the United States cannot be abrogated or impaired by a treaty. Acts of Congress and treaties are only a part of the "supreme law of the land" when they pursue the Constitution. The Supreme Court has decided that a treaty may be abrogated by a later statute, on the ground that the statute is the later expression of the sovereign's will. Whether a statute may be abrogated by a later treaty, we do not know; but we do know that neither a statute nor a treaty can abrogate the Constitution.

If the Constitution leaves the question open whether the in-

habitants of Porto Rico shall or shall not upon annexation become citizens, then the President and the Senate may exercise that discretion by a treaty stipulation that they shall or shall not be admitted as citizens; but if, on the other hand, the Constitution gives no such discretion, but itself confers citizenship, any treaty stipulation to the contrary is void. To refer to the treaty in this connection is to beg the question.

If we seek to justify the holding of slaves, in a territory acquired by treaty, or the holding of its civilized inhabitants in a condition less favored than that of citizenship, by virtue of the provisions of a treaty, it would seem to be necessary to show that the Constitution, in the one case, allows slavery, and, in the other, a relation of civilized people to the government that is not citizenship.

Now the Constitution declares (14th Amendment) that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." This disposes of the question, unless it can be maintained that Porto Rico is not a part of the United States.

But the theory that any part of the Constitution, of itself, embraces the Territories and their people, is contested by many. Congress seems to have assumed the negative, though among the members there was not entire harmony as to the argument by which the conclusion was reached. It is contended, by most of those who defend the Porto Rican bill, that the Constitution expends itself wholly upon that part of the national domain that has been organized into States, and has no reference to, or authority in, the Territories, save as it has constituted a government to rule over them.

No one contends that every provision of the Constitution applies to the Territories. Some of them explicitly relate to the States only. The contention of those who opposed the Porto Rican legislation is that all of those general provisions of the Constitution which impose limitations upon the powers of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments must apply to all regions and people where or upon whom those powers are exercised. And, on the other hand, those who deny most broadly that the Constitution applies to the Territories seem practically to allow that much of it does. The powers of appointment and pardon in the Territories, the confirmation of Territorial officers, the

methods of passing laws to govern the Territories, the keeping and disbursement of federal taxes derived from the Territories, the veto power, and many other things, are pursued as if the Constitution applied to the cases.

But, in theory, it is claimed by these that no part of the Constitution applies except the 13th Amendment, which prohibits slavery, and that only because the prohibition expressly includes "any place subject to their jurisdiction." This Amendment was proposed by Congress on February 1st, 1865—the day on which Sherman's army left Savannah on its northern march; and the words "any place subject to their jurisdiction" were probably added because of the uncertainty as to the legal status of the States in rebellion, and not because of any doubt as to whether Nebraska, then a Territory, was a part of the United States.

The view that some other general limitations of the Constitution upon the powers of Congress must relate to all regions and all persons was, however, adopted by some members of the Senate Committee in the report upon the Porto Rican bill, where it is said:

> "Yet, as to all prohibitions of the Constitution laid upon Congress while legislating, they operate for the benefit of all for whom Congress may legislate, no matter where they may be situated, and without regard to whether or not the provisions of the Constitution have been extended to them; but this is so because the Congress, in all that it does, is subject to and governed by those restraints and prohibitions. As, for instance, Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; no title of nobility shall be granted; no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed; neither shall the validity of contracts be impaired, nor shall property be taken without due process of law; nor shall the freedom of speech or of the press be abridged; nor shall slavery exist in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. These limitations are placed upon the exercise of the legislative power without regard to the place or the people for whom the legislation in a given case may be intended."

That is to say, every general constitutional limitation of the powers of Congress applies to the Territories. The brief schedule of these limitations given by the committee are all put in the negative form, "Congress shall not"; but surely it was not meant that there may not be quite as effective a limitation by the use of the affirmative form. If a power is given to be used in one way only, all other uses of it are negatived by necessary implication. When it is said, "All duties, imposts and excises shall be

uniform throughout the United States," is not that the equivalent of "No duty or excise that is not uniform shall be levied in the United States." And is not the first form quite as effective a limitation of the legislative power over the subject of indirect taxation as that contained in the fourth clause of the section is upon the power to lay direct taxes?

In the latter the negative form is used, thus:

> "No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census of enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken."

This discrimination between express and implied limitations, benevolently attempted to save for the people of the Territories the bill of rights provision of the Constitution, will not, I think, endure discussion.

There are only three views that may be offered, with some show of consistency in themselves:

First, that Congress, the Executive and the Judiciary are all created by the Constitution as governing agencies of the nation called the United States; that their powers are defined by the Constitution and run throughout the nation; that all the limitations of their powers attach to every region and to all civilized people under the sovereignty of the United States, unless their inapplicability appears from the Constitution itself; that every guaranty of liberty, including that most essential one, uniform taxation, is to be allowed to every free civilized man and woman who owes allegiance to the United States; that the use of the terms "throughout the United States" does not limit the scope of any constitutional provision to the States that would otherwise be applicable to the Territories as well; but that these terms include the widest sweep of the nation's sovereignty, and so the widest limit of Congressional action.

Second, that the terms, "The United States," define an inner circle of the national sovereignty composed of the States alone; that, whenever those terms are used in the Constitution, they must be taken to have reference only to the region and to the people within this inner circle; but that, when these terms of limitation are omitted, the constitutional provisions must, unless otherwise limited, be taken to include all lands and people in the outer circle of the national sovereignty.

Third, that the Constitution has relation only to the States

and their people; that all constitutional limitations of the powers of Congress and the Executive are to be taken to apply only to the States and their citizens; that the power to acquire territory is neither derived from the Constitution, nor limited by it, but is an inherent power of national life; that the government we exercise in the Territories is not a constitutional government, but an absolute government, and that all or any of the things prohibited by the Constitution as to the States, in the interest of liberty, justice and equality, may be done in the Territories; that, as to the Territories, we are under no restraints save such as our own interests or our benevolence may impose.

I say "benevolence"; but must not that quality be submerged, before this view of the Constitution is promulgated? It seems to have had its origin in a supposed commercial necessity, and we may fairly conclude that other recurring necessities will guide its exercise. Is it too much to say that this view of the Constitution is shocking?

Within the States, it is agreed that the powers of the several departments of the national government are severely restrained. We read that Congress shall have power, and again that Congress shall not have power. But neither these grants nor these inhibitions have, it is said, any relation to the Territories. Against the laws enacted by the Congress, or the acts done by the Executive, there is no appeal, on behalf of the people of the Territories, to any written constitution, or bill of rights, or charter of liberty. We offer them only this highly consolatory thought: a nation of free Americans can be trusted to deal benevolently with you.

How obstinately wrong we were in our old answer to the Southern slave-holder! It is not a question of kind or unkind treatment, but of human rights; not of the good or bad use of power, but of the power, we said. And so our fathers said, in answer to the claim of absolute power made on behalf of the British Parliament. As to the States, the legislative power of Congress is "all legislative powers herein granted." (Art. 1, sec. 1.) As to the Territories, it is said to be all legislative power—all that any Parliament ever had or ever claimed to have, and as much more as we may claim—for there can be no excess of pretension where power is absolute. No law relating to the Territories, passed by Congress, can, it is said, be declared by the

Supreme Court to be inoperative, though every section of it should contravene a provision of the Constitution.

An outline of a possible law may aid us to see more clearly what is involved:

Sec. 1. Suspends permanently the writ of Habeas Corpus in Porto Rico.

Sec. 2. Declares an attainder against all Porto Ricans who have displayed the Spanish flag since the treaty of peace.

Sec. 3. Grants to the native mayors of Ponce and San Juan the titles of Lord Dukes of Porto Rico, with appropriate crests.

Sec. 4. Any Porto Rican who shall speak disrespectfully of the Congress shall be deemed guilty of treason. One witness shall be sufficient to prove the offense, and on conviction the offender shall have his tongue cut out; and the conviction shall work corruption of blood.

Sec. 5. The Presbyterian Church shall be the Established Church of the Island, and no one shall be permitted to worship God after any other form.

Sec. 6. All proposed publications shall be submitted to a censor and shall be printed only after he has approved the same. Public meetings for the discussion of public affairs are prohibited and no petitions shall be presented to the government.

Sec. 7. No inhabitant of Porto Rico shall keep or bear arms.

Sec. 8. The soldiers of the Island garrison shall be quartered in the houses of the people.

Sec. 9. The commanding officer of the United States forces in the Island shall have the right, without any warrant, to search the person, house, papers and effects of any one suspected by him.

Sec. 10. Any person in Porto Rico, in civil life, may be put upon trial for capital or other infamous crimes upon the information of the public prosecutor, without the presentment or indictment of a grand jury; may be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense; may be compelled to be a witness against himself, and may be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, and his property may be taken for public uses without compensation.

Sec. 11. Criminal trials may, in the discretion of the presiding judge, be held in secret, without a jury, in a district prescribed by law after the commission of the offense, and the accused shall, or not, be advised before arraignment of the nature or cause of

the accusation, and shall, or not, be confronted with the witnesses against him, and have compulsory process to secure his own witnesses, as the presiding judge may in his discretion order.

Sec. 12. There shall be no right in any suit at common law to demand a jury.

Sec. 13. A direct tax is imposed upon Porto Rico for federal uses without regard to its relative population; the tariff rates at San Juan are fixed at fifty per cent. and those at Ponce at fifteen per cent. of those levied at New York.

New Mexico, or Arizona, or Oklahoma might be substituted for Porto Rico in the bill; for, I think, those who affirm that the Constitution has no relation to Porto Rico do so upon grounds that equally apply to all other Territories.

Now, no one supposes that Congress will ever assemble in a law such shocking provisions. But, for themselves, our fathers were not content with an assurance of these great rights that rested wholly upon the sense of justice and benevolence of the Congress. The man whose protection from wrong rests wholly upon the benevolence of another man or of a Congress, is a slave—a man without rights. Our fathers took security of the governing departments they organized; and that, notwithstanding the fact that the choice of all public officers rested with the people. When a man strictly limits the powers of an agent of his own choice, and exacts a bond from him, to secure his faithfulness, he does not occupy strong ground when he insists that another person, who had no part in the selection, shall give the agent full powers without a bond.

If there is anything that is characteristic in American Constitutions, State and national, it is the plan of limiting the powers of all public officers and agencies. "You shall do this; you may do this; you shall not do this"—is the form that the schedule of powers always takes. This grew out of our experience as English colonies. A government of unlimited legislative or executive powers is an un-American government. And, for one, I do not like to believe that the framers of the National Constitution and of our first State Constitutions were careful only for their own liberties.

This is the more improbable when we remember that the territory then most likely to be acquired would naturally be peopled by their sons. They cherished very broad views as to the rights

of men. Their philosophy of liberty derived it from God. Liberty was a Divine gift to be claimed for ourselves only upon the condition of allowing it to "all men." They would write the law of liberty truly, and suffer for a time the just reproach of a departure from its precepts that could not be presently amended.

It is a brave thing to proclaim a law that condemns your own practices. You assume the fault and strive to attain. The fathers left to a baser generation the attempt to limit God's law of liberty to white men. It is not a right use of the fault of slavery to say that, because of it, our fathers did not mean "all men." It was one thing to tolerate an existing condition that the law of liberty condemned, in order to accomplish the Union of the States, and it is quite another thing to create a condition contrary to liberty for a commercial profit.

In a recent discussion of these questions, sent me by the author, I find these consolatory reflections: "And yet the inalienable rights of the Filipinos, even if not guaranteed by the Constitution, are amply secured by the *fundamental, unwritten* laws of our civilization." Does this mean that the specific guarantees of individual liberty found in our Constitution have become a part of "our civilization," and that they apply in Porto Rico and the Philippines in such a sense that, if there is any denial of them by Congress or the Executive, the courts can enforce them and nullify the law that infringes them? If that is meant, then as to all such rights this discussion is tweedledum and tweedledee—the Constitution does not apply, but all these provisions of it are in full force, notwithstanding.

Perhaps, however, it should be asked further, whether the rule of the uniformity of taxation is a part of the "law of our civilization"; for, without it, all property rights are unprotected. The man whose property may be taxed arbitrarily, without regard to uniformity within the tax district and without any limitation as to the purposes for which taxes may be levied, does not own anything; he is a tenant at will.

But if these supposed "laws of our civilization" are not enforcible by the courts, and rest wholly for their sanction upon the consciences of Presidents and Congresses, then there is a very wide difference. The one is ownership; the other is charity. The one is freedom; the other slavery—however just and kind the master may be.

The instructions of the President to the Taft Philippine Commission seem to allow that any civil government under the authority of the United States, that does not offer to the people affected by it the guarantees of liberty contained in the Bill of Rights sections of the Constitution, is abhorrent. Speaking of these, he said:

"Until Congress shall take action, I directed that, upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, must be imposed these inviolable rules:

" 'That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed."

The benevolent disposition of the President is well illustrated in these instructions. He conferred freely—"until Congress shall take action"—upon the Filipinos, who accepted the sovereignty of the United States and submitted themselves to the government established by the Commission, privileges that our fathers only secured after eight years of desperate war. There is this, however, to be noted, that our fathers were not content to hold these priceless gifts under a revocable license. They accounted that to hold these things upon the tenure of another man's benevolence was not to hold them at all. Their battle was for rights, not privileges—for a Constitution, not a letter of instructions.

The President's instructions apparently proceed upon the theory that the Filipinos, after civil government has superseded the military control, are not endowed under our Constitu-

tion, or otherwise, with any of the rights scheduled by him; that, if he does nothing, is silent, some or all of the things prohibited in his schedule may be lawfully done upon, and all the things allowed may be denied to, a people who owe allegiance to that free Constitutional government we call the United States of America.

It is clear that those Porto Ricans who have not, under the treaty, declared a purpose to remain Spanish subjects, have become American citizens or American subjects. Have you ever read one of our commercial treaties with Great Britain or Germany, or any other of the kingdoms of the world? These treaties provide for trade intercourse, and define and guarantee the rights of the people of the respective nations when domiciled in the territory of the other. The descriptive terms run like this: "the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty" on the one part, and "the citizens of the United States" on the other. Now, if the commercial privileges guaranteed by these treaties do not, in their present form, include the Porto Ricans who strewed flowers before our troops when they entered the Island, we ought at once to propose to our "Great and Good Friends," the Kings and Queens of the Earth, a modification of our conventions in their behalf.

Who will claim the distinction of proposing that the words "and subjects" be introduced after the word "citizens"? There will be no objection on the part of the King, you may be sure; the modification will be allowed smilingly.

We have never before found it necessary to treat the free civilized inhabitants of the Territories otherwise than as citizens of the United States.

It is true, as Mr. Justice Miller said, that the exclusive sovereignty over the Territories is in the national government; but it does not follow that the nation possesses the power to govern the Territories independently of the Constitution. The Constitution gives to Congress the right to exercise "exclusive legislation" in the District of Columbia; but "exclusive" is not a synonym of "absolute." When the Constitution says that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort," there is a limitation of the legislative power; and it necessarily extends to every venue where the crime of treason against the United States may be laid, and to every person upon whom its penalties may be imposed.

This constitutional provision defining the crime of treason and prescribing the necessary proofs is a Bill of Rights provision. In England, under Edward II., "there was," it was said, "no man who knew how to behave himself, to do, speak or say, for doubt of the pains of such treasons." The famous statute of Edward III., defining treasons, James Wilson declares, "may well be styled the legal Gibraltar of England." (Wilson's Works [Andrews] v. 2, p. 413.)

Mr. Madison, speaking of this section of the Constitution, says in the "Federalist":

> "But as new fangled and artificial treasons have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offspring of free government, have usually wreaked their malignity on each other, the convention have with great judgment opposed a barrier to this peculiar danger, by inserting a constitutional definition of the crime," etc.

Mr. Madison believed that there was a real danger that statutes of treason might be oppressively used by Congress. What have we been doing, or what have we a purpose to do, that we find it necessary to limit the safeguards of liberty found in our Constitution, to the people of the States? Is it that we now propose to acquire territory for colonization, and not, as heretofore, for full incorporation? Is it that we propose to have Crown Colonies, and must have Crown law? Is it that we mean to be a World Power, and must be free from the restraints of a Bill of Rights? We shall owe deliverance a second time to these principles of human liberty, if they are now the means of delivering us from un-American projects.

The particular provision of the Constitution upon which Congress seems to have balked, in the Porto Rican legislation, was a revenue clause, viz., the first paragraph of section 8 of Article 1, which reads:

> "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

There was only one door of escape from allowing the application of this clause to Porto Rico. It was to deny that the Territories are part of the United States.

It will be noticed that the descriptive term, "The United States," is twice used in the one sentence—once in the clause defining the purposes for which only duties and imposts may be

levied, and once in the clause requiring uniformity in the use of the power. Is there any canon of construction that authorizes us to give to the words, "The United States," one meaning in the first use of them and another in the second? If in the second use the Territories are excluded, must they not also be excluded in the first? If the rule of uniformity does not apply to the Territories, how can the power to tax be used in the United States, to pay the debts and provide for the defense and general welfare of the Territories? Can duties be levied in New York and other ports of the States, to be expended for local purposes in Porto Rico, if the Island is not a part of the United States?

Are the debts that may be contracted by what the law calls the body politic of "The People of Porto Rico" for local purposes, part of the debt of the United States—notwithstanding that the Island is no part of the United States and the people are not citizens of the United States? But some one will say that the Island is one of our outlying defenses, and that fortifications and naval stations and public highways there are necessary to the "common defense." Well, is it also true that education and poor relief, and fire and police and health protection, and all other agencies of local order and betterment in Porto Rico, are included in the words "the general welfare of the United States"? It would seem that a region of which it can be said that its general welfare is the general welfare of the United States, must be a part of the United States, and its people citizens of the United States.

For the first time Congress has laid tariff duties upon goods passing from a Territory into the States. The necessity for this radical departure from the established practice of the government seems to have been to find a safe basis for the holding and governing of regions, the free introduction of whose products might affect the home industries unfavorably, and the admission of whose people to citizenship might imply future Statehood—or at least the right of migration and settlement in the States of an undesirable population. That the diversity of tongues in the Philippines, and the utter lack of the American likeness in everything there, presented strong reasons against the acquisition of the islands, I freely admit.

It must also be conceded that when, as we are told, Providence laid upon us the heavy duty of taking over and governing these islands, it was very natural that we should seek to find a way of

governing them that would save us from some of the unpleasant consequences which a discharge of the duty in the old way involved. But do we not incur a greater loss and peril from the new doctrine, that our Congress and Executive have powers not derived from the Constitution, and are subject to no restraints or limitations in the Territories, save such as they may impose upon themselves?

Are the civil rights of the dwellers on the mainland well secured against the insidious under-wear of greed and ambition, while we deny to the island dwellers, who are held to a strict allegiance, the only sure defense that civil rights can have—the guarantees of constitutional law? Burke saw in the absolute powers claimed for Parliament, in the American colonies, danger to the liberties of Parliament itself. As so often quoted, he said:

> "For we are convinced, beyond a doubt, that a system of dependence which leaves no security to the people for any part of their freedom in their own hands, cannot be established in any inferior member of the British Empire without consequentially destroying the freedom of that very body in favor of whose boundless pretensions such a scheme is adopted. We know and feel that arbitrary power over distant regions is not within the competence, nor to be exercised agreeably to the forms or consistently with the spirit, of great popular assemblies."

Are we, in this day of commercial carnival, incapable of being touched by such considerations, either in our fears or in our sense of justice? Is it not likely to be true that the moral tone of the Republic—our estimation of constitutional liberty—will be lessened by the creation of a body of civilized people over whom our flag waves as an emblem of power only? The flag cannot stand for the benevolent policies of an administration. It stands for more permanent things—for things that changing administrations have no power to change. Is it not in the nature of a mockery to raise the flag in Porto Rico and bid its hopeful people hail it as an emblem of emancipation, while the Governor we have sent them reads a proclamation, from the foot of the staff, announcing the absolute power of Congress over them?

How would the pioneers of the West have regarded a declaration that they were not citizens of the United States, or a duty laid upon the furs they sent to the States, or upon the salt and gunpowder sent from the States in exchange, even if a preference of 85 per cent. had been given them over the people of Canada?

It is safe to say that no such interpretation of the Constitution, or of the rights of the people of a Territory, will ever be offered to men of American descent.

If the Constitution, so far as it is applicable, attaches itself, whether Congress will or no, to all territory taken over as a part of the permanent territory of the United States, it is there to stay as fundamental law. But if it is not so, an act of Congress declaring that the Constitution is "extended" is not fundamental law, but statute law, and may be repealed; and is repealed by implication, *pro tanto,* whenever Congress passes a law in conflict with the provisions of the "extended" Constitution. If the Constitution as such, as fundamental law, is extended over new territory, it must be the result of an act done—an act the effect of which is in itself, not in any accompanying declaration.

If the act of annexation does not carry the Constitution into a Territory, I can think of nothing that will, save the act of admitting the Territory as a State.

The situation of the Porto Rican people is scarcely less mortifying to us than to them; they owe allegiance but have no citizenship. Have we not spoiled our career as a delivering nation? And for what? A gentleman connected with the beet-sugar industry, seeing my objections to the constitutionality of the law, and having a friendly purpose to help me over them, wrote to say that the duty was absolutely needed to protect the beet-sugar industry. While appreciating his friendliness, I felt compelled to say to him that there was a time for considering the advantages and disadvantages of a commercial sort involved in taking over Porto Rico, but that that time had passed; and to intimate to him that the needs of the beet-sugar industry seemed to me to be irrelevant in a constitutional discussion.

The wise man did not say there was a future time for everything; he allowed that the time for dancing might be altogether behind us, and a less pleasant exercise before us. We are hardly likely to acquire any territory that will not come at some cost.

That we give back to Porto Rico all of the revenue derived from the customs we levy, does not seem to me to soften our dealings with her people. Our fathers were not mollified by the suggestion that the tea and stamp taxes would be expended wholly for the benefit of the colonies. It is to say: We do not need this money; it is only levied to show that your country is no part of

the United States, and that you are not citizens of the United States, save at our pleasure. When tribute is levied and immediately returned as a benefaction, its only purpose is to declare and maintain a state of vassalage.

But I am not sure that the beet-sugar objection is not more tenable than another, and probably more controlling consideration, which ran in this wise: "We see no serious commercial disadvantages, and no threat of disorder, in accepting Porto Rico to be a part of the United States—in that case it seems to be our duty; but we have acquired other islands in the Orient, of large area, populated by a turbulent and rebellious people; and, if we do by the Porto Ricans what our sense of justice and of their friendliness prompts us to do, some illogical person will say that we must deal in the same way with the Philippines. And some other person will say that the free intercourse was not given by the law but by the Constitution."

I will not give a license to a friend to cut a tree upon my land to feed his winter fire, because my enemy may find in the license a support for his claim that the wood is a common!

If we have confidence that the Constitution does not apply to the Territories, surely we ought to use our absolute power there with a view to the circumstances attending each call for its exercise. Not to do this, shows a misgiving as to the power.

The questions raised by the Porto Rican legislation have been discussed chiefly from the standpoint of the people of the Territories; but there is another view. If, in its tariff legislation relative to merchandise imported into the Territories and to merchandise passed from the Territories into the States, Congress is not subject to the law of uniformity prescribed by the Constitution, it would seem to follow that it is within the power of Congress to allow the admission to Porto Rico of all raw materials coming from other countries free of duty, and to admit to all ports of the "United States proper," free of duty, the products manufactured from these raw materials. As the people of the "United States proper" choose the Congressmen, there may be no great alarm felt over this possibility; but it is worth while to note that a construction of the Constitution adopted to save us from a competition with the Territories on equal grounds, is capable of being turned against us and to their advantage.

The courts may not refuse to give to the explicit words of a

law their natural meaning, by reason of the ill consequences that may follow; but they may well take account of consequences in construing doubtful phrases, and resolve the doubts so as to save the purpose of the law-makers, where, as in the case of the constitutional provision we are considering, that purpose is well known. They will not construe a doubtful phrase so as to allow the very thing that the law was intended to prevent.

These constitutional questions will soon be decided by the Supreme Court. If the absolute power of Congress is affirmed, we shall probably use the power with discrimination by "extending" the Constitution to Porto Rico and by giving to its people a full Territorial form of government, and such protection in their civil rights as an act of Congress can give. If the court shall hold that the Constitution, in the parts not in themselves inapplicable, covers all territory made a permanent part of our domain, from the moment of annexation and as a necessary part of the United States, then we will conform our legislation, with deep regret that we assumed a construction contrary to liberty, and with some serious embarrassments that might have been avoided.

There has been with many a mistaken apprehension that, if the Constitution, of its own force, extends to Porto Rico and the Philippines, and gives American citizenship to their free civilized people, they become endowed with full political rights; that their consent is necessary to the validity and rightfulness of all civil administration. But no such deduction follows. The power of Congress to legislate for the Territories is full. That is, there is no legislative power elsewhere than in Congress, but it is not absolute. The contention is that all the powers of Congress are derived from the Constitution—including the power to legislate for the Territories—and that such legislation must necessarily, always and everywhere, be subject to the limitations of the Constitution.

When this rule is observed, the consent of the people of the Territories is not necessary to the validity of the legislation. The new territory having become a part of the national domain, the people dwelling therein have no reserved legal right to sever that relation, or to set up therein a hostile government. The question whether the United States can take over or continue to hold and govern a territory whose people are hostile, is not a question of

constitutional or international law, but of conscience and historical consistency.

Some one must determine when and how far the people of a Territory, part of our national domain, can be entrusted with governing powers of a local nature, and when the broader powers of Statehood shall be conferred. We have no right to judge the capacity for self-government of the people of another nation, or to make an alleged lack of that faculty an excuse for aggression; but we must judge of this matter for our Territories. The interests to be affected by the decision are not all local; many of them are national.

These questions are to be judged liberally and with strong leanings to the side of popular liberty, but we cannot give over the decision to the people who may at any particular time be settled in a Territory. We have, for the most part, in our history given promptly to the people of the Territories a large measure of local government, and have, when the admission of a State was proposed, thought only of boundaries and population. But this was because our Territories have been contiguous and chiefly populated from the States.

We are not only at liberty, however, but under a duty, to take account also of the quality and disposition of the people, and we have in one or two instances done so. The written Constitution prescribes no rule for these cases. The question whether the United States shall hold conquered territory, or territory acquired by cession, without the consent of the people to be affected, is quite apart from the question whether, having acquired and incorporated such territory, we can govern it otherwise than under the limitations of the Constitution.

The Constitution may be aided in things doubtful by the Declaration of Independence. It may be assumed that the frame of civil government adopted was intended to harmonize with the Declaration. It is the preamble of the Constitution. It goes before the enacting clause and declares the purpose of the law; but the purpose so expressed is not the law unless it finds renewed expression after the enacting clause. We shall be plainly recreant to the spirit and purpose of the Constitution, if we arbitrarily deny to the people of a Territory as large a measure of popular government as their good disposition and intelligence will warrant. Necessarily, the judgment of this question, however, is

with Congress. The Constitution prescribes no rule—could not do so—and the courts cannot review the discretion of Congress.

But we are now having it dinned into our ears that expansion is the law of life, and that expansion is not practicable if the Constitution is to go with the flag. Lord Salisbury, some years ago, stated this supposed law of national life. In a recent address, Mr. James Bryce says, by way of comment:

> "He thinks it like a bicycle, which must fall when it comes to a standstill. It is an awkward result of this doctrine that when there is no more room for expansion, and a time must come, perhaps soon, when there will be no more room, the Empire will begin to decline."

If Great Britain, with her accepted methods of territorial growth, finds the problem of growth by expansion increasingly hard, it will be harder for us, for we are fettered by our traditions as to popular rights, at least—if not by our Constitution.

But expansion is not necessarily of a healthy sort; it may be dropsical. If judgment is passed now, the attempted conquest of the Boer Republics has not strengthened Great Britain. She has not gained esteem. She has not increased her loyal population. She has created a need for more outlying garrisons—already too numerous. She has strained her military and financial resources, and has had a revelation of the need of larger armies and stronger coast-defenses at home. The recent appeal of Lord Salisbury at the Lord Mayor's banquet for more complete island defenses is most significant. Did the South African war furnish a truer measure of the Empire's land strength than the familiar campaigning against half-savage peoples had done? The old coach, with its power to stand as well as to move, may after all be a safer carriage, for the hopes and interests of a great people, than the bicycle.

Some one will say, increasing years and retirement and introspection have broken your touch with practical affairs and left you out of sympathy with the glowing prospects of territorial expansion that now opens before us; that it has always been so; the Louisiana and the Alaskan purchases were opposed by some fearful souls. But I have been making no argument against expansion. The recent acquisitions from Spain must present widely different conditions from all previous acquisitions of territory, since it seems to be admitted that they cannot be allowed to become a part of the United States without a loss that overbalances the

gain; that we can only safely acquire them upon the condition that we can govern them without any constitutional restraint.

One who has retired from the service, but not from the love of his country, must be pardoned if he finds himself unable to rejoice in the acquisition of lands and forests and mines and commerce, at the cost of the abandonment of the old American idea that a government of absolute powers is an intolerable thing, and, under the Constitution of the United States, an impossible thing. The view of the Constitution I have suggested will not limit the power of territorial expansion; but it will lead us to limit the use of that power to regions that may safely become a part of the United States, and to peoples whose American citizenship may be allowed. It has been said that the flash of Dewey's guns in Manila Bay revealed to the American people a new mission. I like rather to think of them as revealing the same old mission that we read in the flash of Washington's guns at Yorktown.

God forbid that the day should ever come when, in the American mind, the thought of man as a "consumer" shall submerge the old American thought of man as a creature of God, endowed with "unalienable rights." BENJAMIN HARRISON.

PAST EVENTS AND COMING PROBLEMS.

BY M. DE BLOWITZ.

It is when a man begins to understand that his life is drawing to a close that he feels an ardent curiosity to lift the veil which hides the future. From the vantage point whence his view stretches over the years that have rolled by, years which he fancies have brought him a certain experience, he is tempted inevitably to draw conclusions as to the future, and to seek to sketch out the grand lines of the book of the morrow as the sequel to the pages of yesterday.

The following lines need no other explanation than this. They have no other *raison d'être*. Indifferent as to the past, with no special enthusiasm for the present, which has nothing new to offer me, and after long years during which, in thousands of columns, I have loyally recounted, and often accurately judged, the every-day incidents of my time, and, above all, the so extraordinary events which I have witnessed, I should like now, without wishing to become a prophet, to indicate the problems with which the coming century will have to deal, the questions which it will have to examine and to solve.

It is naturally of France that I intend first to speak, pending the moment when I am free to speak of the other nations, for France is the country which I have most closely observed; moreover, since the beginning of the century, and even to-day, France has been and is the central point of attraction, the point which solicits universal attention, and from which radiate those general influences which are agitating the world. But, on my route, I shall try to cast furtive but scrutinizing glances in various directions, seeking to discover the possible nature of the drift of events as the generations advance deeper and deeper into the opening century.

When the nineteenth century began, the events that were taking place in France were agitating the world. Every one gazed thither in expectation for the solution of the problems which she had raised in ridding herself of the monarchy. Every one was waiting beyond the borders for the first breath, from over the frontiers, of that new spirit which was destined to transform the ancient world; and there was not a convulsion which shook the surface of France that had not its echo and its consequences in the trembling of the planet. The axe which had severed from its body the head of the king seemed a menace for all the royal lines of Europe, and the coalition of Europe was but the reply to the challenge flung in its face by France. The dawn of the century now ending was a French dawn. French philosophers, French law-givers, French writers, French painters and French soldiers were the terror, the horror or the admiration of kings and peoples. They expected from France either the worst or the best, according as they had something to gain or to lose by the new gospel of liberty and equality, of which she appeared to be wishing to sow the seeds.

Then it was that rose and loomed on the horizon the fast-invading glory of the man who was in himself the synthesis of all the types of human greatness and ambition, who aspired to realize every form of human domination, who inspired every hatred, every fear, every indignation, every admiration, every fanaticism, and whose name, even to-day, after the numberless convulsions which for a century have shaken French soil, dominates every other, drowning in its splendor, as the sun its satellites, every other name which arose with his, or has arisen since on the horizon of history. Yes, any effort to appreciate the nineteenth century in France brings the inquirer at every point face to face, either in an attitude of adulation or of indignation, with the name of Napoleon I., and so great is this name that all who since have sought to use it for their own aggrandizement or interest have merited the jeers of the universe or the disdainful fury of those who had been able really to estimate the achievements of this Colossus.

I am perfectly alive to the mistakes and blunders, even the crimes, of Napoleon I. History has noted them; the public conscience has branded them. But the effects of these mistakes and blunders and these crimes have now been spent, and only the vast

conceptions of this reformer, of this law-giver, of this supreme genius in the art of war, have survived. Thus, since his disappearance, since his eclipse on the horizon of the modern world, every luminary which has appeared, in France at least, has seemed merely an accidental apparition, and since him no man has been a sufficiently energetic pilot to steer the French bark toward a port where it could find shelter from the storms and anchor in safety. Since 1815, ever since the day when St. Helena opened to receive him, like the country from whose bourne no traveller returns, France has been like the flotsam and jetsam of the waves, now lifted high on the summits of the sea, but more often precipitated into the abyss. Régime has succeeded régime; experiments in government have been multiplied at more or less varied intervals; and each time France, deceived in her hopes and expectations, frustrated in her sacrifices, has had her dreams dissipated by the constant evocation of a reality which has shattered her illusions. The royalty which dubbed itself "Legitimate," because it strove to hark back to the real past, misunderstanding the immensity of the genius whom it succeeded, conceived, like an aged pigmy ruminating mighty thoughts, the extravagant idea of effacing the work and memory of the giant whose shoes it so rashly sought to don.

After the Restoration, a bastard royalty sought to place one foot on the ground of the traditional dynasty, and the other on that of modern concessions; but, almost unnoticed, without shock or outcry, it tottered and fell in the silent abandonment of a principle ill-defined. Once more a provisional Republic, attempting to create for itself, like the others, a legitimacy, rose on the ruins of the modern Monarchy of July; but the advent of a man who was proclaimed the descendant of the giant—of a man who, with no notion of its weight, dared bear the burden of Napoleon's name—sufficed to compass the speedy check of this attempt at a Republic, and the new Napoleon, almost with impunity, throttled, if I may so say, the law, and seized France, still trembling at the thought of beholding a Napoleon seated on her secular throne. Then again, following upon the defeat which had made to totter and to crumble the throne of the Second Empire, a Republic, the anonymous refuge which was opened up in the path of France fleeing before destiny, was set up; and it now closes a century of incessant agitations, a century which began in revolution, and

which has ended without having even yet exhausted, by any definitive solution, the cycle of its political experiments.

Thus far each of the attempts made by France, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, to obtain, if not repose, at least stability, has left behind it a certain quantity of floating wreckage, tossed hither and thither as events change, and often accumulating in vast sargasso seas of obstruction at the entrance of every port of refuge. Each régime has left behind it a dangerous plague which I shall define the plague of social parasitism. And no sooner, vanquished by the years, does one generation of these parasites disappear, than another rises to take its place, and to continue its devastating corrosive work. This is the ill from which France has suffered for a century, and from which it is still suffering. Each successive régime has absorbed the privileged persons of the régime that preceded it, who had changed their convictions without tempering their appetites, or discarding their presumption and audacity. The "Old Régime" left behind it the privileged classes who claimed the right to live at the expense of the nation. These persons were gathered up by the Empire, which, in absorbing them, fancied that it legitimized its own government by their adhesion, whereas it had merely perpetuated the social parasitism resulting from the exaggerated privileges accorded by the old régime to its favorites. When the Empire disappeared, it in turn bequeathed its privileged classes, its own parasites, mingled with those of the old régime, to the "legitimate royalty." And so, from government to government, from régime to régime, has been growing and extending the parasitic mass; so that to-day, over a France which fancies itself democratic and which aspires to be so, stretches like an immense, constantly shifting blotch, this social parasitism, these throngs of individuals always discontented, always with unslaked thirst, always ready to upset existing things on the chance of finding a place or reaping an advantage by a possible upheaval.

I have insisted at this length upon what I have called social parasitism in France—and which, indeed, exists in many other countries as well to a greater or less degree—because it seems to me to constitute for France the veritable danger against which she will have to do battle during the coming century, and which she must learn to conjure away if she would escape the perils which beset the existence of nations.

In France, the malady of social parasitism dates from the origin of the Revolution, and each successive generation has handed on to its successor, down to our own times, the constantly accumulating mass of those who hold that the law of labor was not made for them, that they are privileged to remain both idlers and agitators, and that in their case the obligation to bear their share of the national burden of toil does not exist.

In the midst of this France which seems to wish to become really a democracy, the upper aristocracy contemplates, as from a lofty vantage point, with a sincere and almost natural disdain, the vast stretches of the democratic ocean which is throbbing at its feet. But on the slopes of the summit where this party of the aristocracy—which is for France as a whole an object of historic pride—has kept its foothold for a century, have assembled also a heterogeneous collection of doubtful elements, possessing no historic *raison d'être,* but sharing the disdainful and haughty temper of the veritable aristocracy. And these new recruits, although quite without the slightest right, are swelling the ranks of that nation within the nation which, disdainfully and haughtily as drones, views all that exists around it as its natural tributary, and those who are not to the manner born as bound to devote their energies to its own aggrandizement and interests, and slavishly to follow its hests. No régime in France is more responsible for this state of things than the Second Empire. Democratic Cæsarism is the most baneful of all political theories; for Cæsar, in order to render the democracy his docile slave, is bound at once to flatter and degrade it. Thus no régime here since the explosion of the First Revolution had aroused a more profound irritation, a greater wrath, a more violent hatred in its opponents; and so violent was this antagonism that, when this régime crumbled, many of its opponents consoled themselves for the defeat of the Fatherland by their joy at the fall of the Empire.

To-day, however, we may affirm that none of the previous régimes which succeeded one another during the past century has still in this soil, so often and so rudely shaken in the past, roots deep enough for the nation to rise at its summons, and to warrant its hope to exchange its present state for that of any defunct régime whatever, for the nation is fast forgetting them all.

But how happens it that to-day, and indeed now for a decade, France, which no longer suffers from a dynastic malady, and

which has ceased to regret the vanished régimes, is nevertheless the prey of incessant torment, of agitations which give her no repose, and that she seems every now and then to be nearing the gravest perils?

The answer to this question is to be found in what has already been said of social parasitism. This immense mob, ever ready to attack existing authority, which it looks upon as frustrating the aspirations that it confounds with its rights, is like a vast army laying untiring siege to the rulers it detests, whom it longs and strives to upset, and that, too, without hesitating to imperil the very existence of the country itself. The immense majority of this opposition which is never at rest cherishes obstinately the dream of the advent of a "saviour." For this end, the independence of humanity, the right to self-government, the will to repudiate the orders and domination of a single man, all the aspirations, in fact, of human dignity, constitute the maddest of unintelligible usurpations. This innumerable army of idle parasites dreams of a master who, by the forced labor of a portion of society, will provide the others with the means of nourishing their laziness and, as they fondly fancy, their unrecognized capacities. They look to find such a master in the absolute form of a monarchy or empire, forgetting that it is not the form of government, but the genius of the rulers, which constitutes the means of salvation. But what seems to justify their theory is that, thus far, the Third Republic has revealed, neither in its successive heads, nor in those who have labored at their side, the scientific mind, the philosopher or the reformer, who, after having properly diagnosed the trouble, has undertaken to discover or apply the remedy.

M. Thiers was an extremely clever man, a perspicacious mind, a man of firm will, a penetrating observer of his time, and a passionate judge of events of the past. But his accession coincided too completely with his country's ruin for him to be able to give his time to dreaming of future remedies; and just when he might have hoped to devote the remainder of his life to the cure of his country's ills, his fall arrested both his hopes and his plans.

Marshal MacMahon was, in the hands of the monarchist conspirators who had concocted and compassed the fall of M. Thiers, merely an unwitting instrument. Happily for his renown, his scrupulous conscience prevented him from being also their crim-

inal instrument, by becoming the docile puppet of those who had put him in office. He left behind him the memory of an uncompromising integrity, superior to all the allurements of vanity and of a merely passing glory.

M. Jules Grévy displayed in office, which he attained so unexpectedly, the spirit and temper and bearing of a member of the upper middle class, the French *bourgeoisie,* at once sceptical and contented with things as they are; and he considered himself in his post as the representative of the tumultuous wills then agitating Parliament, itself the somewhat vague reflection of the national will.

M. Carnot was, in every sense of the word, an *honnête homme,* upright, modest, wanting in self-confidence, conscientious, unenthusiastic, and without personal ambition. He thought it the supreme honor of his life to have prepared and almost to have carried through the Franco-Russian alliance; but after having thus, as he believed, assured the security of his country abroad, the idea never occurred to him to analyze and to assuage its internal ills.

At the moment of his election M. Casimir Périer seemed to arouse numerous hopes. He is one of the men who have most disappointed both their friends and those who have observed them from afar. He had neither the energy to obtain any real authority, nor sufficient philosophy. The reed broke of itself; and when at Rennes he gave evidence we perceived that this rigid man had resigned only to avoid the successive rebuffs inflicted on his weakness by his associates. And he, too, believed that he had done enough for his country and his own glory in advancing one step further the alliance prepared by M. Carnot.

M. Félix Faure will remain the strangest, the most indecipherable enigma for those who would comprehend the motives of his action, and the spirit in which he held his post. His contact with the Czar Nicholas II. had troubled his vision, the original clearness of which, indeed, remains still to be demonstrated. Having attained the summit of republican power by an inexplicable freak of fortune, he seemed, toward the end of his life, haunted by I know not what vision of enlarged authority; and, paradoxical, improbable as it may seem, those who made overt opposition to the Republic found his ear always open to their suggestions. He, too, believed that he had fulfilled his mission and justified

the extraordinary hazard which had put him at the head of the most brilliant of nations, in bringing about the public manifestation of the alliance between France and Russia.

But no more than his predecessors at the summit of the political hierarchy has M. Loubet ever dreamed of attempting to probe the wounds from which, however, he himself is personally a sufferer, and which form the chronic malady that menaces the repose and the health of France. M. Loubet is, in every sense of the word, what is known as a *"brave homme,"* unpretentious, with no false modesty, with no extravagant ambitions, in no wise inclined to magnify his own importance nor yet that of his *rôle,* and he fulfils his mission without any great ardor, but with no over-worry. His ambition will be satisfied if he succeeds in reaching the legal limit of his magistracy without any too grave accidents to compromise the tranquillity of his country, and in handing on to his successor a France more or less mistress of its destinies.

I have said that I did not mean to predict the future. I am not a chiromantist. I am simply noting here the existence of an evil extremely rife in France, which exists as well throughout Europe to a greater or less degree—namely, the growing evil everywhere of social parasitism, which it will be the mission of the twentieth century to combat, to repress and to extirpate.

When the fruit appears on the branches it is almost imperceptible; its progress is slow, for the sap ascends slowly from the soil, and slowly the warmth descends from the sky, combining their forces for the ripening thereof. It takes on its peculiar hue; its lines swell until it reaches its perfect form; it grows and thrives until now only the last drop of sap is wanting to give it its final beauty, its firm texture and its sweet savor. Then, lo! of a sudden it falls from the tree, just at this supremely critical psychological moment preceding its complete maturity. It falls, it remains inert. It has the appearance of fruit; it contains all the essential elements. But it is dead-sea fruit.

Now, alongside the idle and the drones, who have enough to live upon, but who are able to add nothing to their resources, side by side with the twining parasite who climbs up along the social organism, catching in all the interstices of the trellis, and insinuating itself into every depression, where it thrives on the blood and flesh of others, there is also the *fruit sec,* the *poseur,* the man

who has vague ideas on every subject, the man who cherishes every ambition and appetite and aspiration, the man of universal pretensions, who is always ready with an explanation, always ready to redress everthing, and who fancies he has the right to occupy every place and to play any rôle he may fancy.

These three negative social types, the shiftless and idle, the parasite, and the dead-sea fruit, taken together, form the evil which is obstructing the normal social life of France.

And this malady must be eliminated by France, and by all Europe, if France and Europe, which are suffering diversely therefrom, would escape perdition. The mission of France in the twentieth century will be the extirpation of this triple parasitism, and the substitution of live flesh for the dead flesh which now encumbers its movements. To be sure, neither France nor Europe has as yet reached the point at which either is liable immediately to succumb to this malady which is gnawing at their vitals. Its action is long and slow; and the energy displayed by the nations in their struggle against the elements of disintegration is often of the utmost vigor. But those nations that have not a clear perception of the malady are exposed to more painful surprises still, to more speedy destruction, when the hour strikes at which they will be perforce constrained to cast about for some radical means of cure or perish in their nonchalance and ignorance.

In my opinion, the problem of the suppression of this malady of social parasitism is to-day the most pressing and serious one with which the century now opening will have to deal. And that century cannot dream of outstripping in grandeur the age now gone, which has been the greatest that has ever existed, and which none no doubt will ever surpass.

The eighteenth century at its setting, if I may so express myself, lighted by the explosion of the French Revolution the aurora of human liberty, of the enfranchised conscience, of budding legality. The nineteenth century awoke amidst the hubbub of war. Cries went up from Saragossa against the violation of territory. The lurid lights of Moscow gleamed over the sinister horrors of invasion, and when the Colossus fell, when on his frail bark he sailed toward his eternal rock, one might have believed that the era of wars was forever ended. France, too, should have been cured of war, for, after twenty years of fighting and torment,

saturated with glory, but thirsting for repose, she rejoiced in the recovery of her old frontiers. Yet the most pacific of monarchies again made war, and it was to her that was due the destruction of the triple-state of the Mediterranean pirates.

It was then that humanity resolved to eradicate the greatest of its shames, namely slavery; and it will be the crowning glory of the nineteenth century that it undertook this task and succeeded therein. But in the domain of politics, in the domain of science, in the field of inventions, the nineteenth century has been, I repeat, the greatest of all. It has witnessed the unification of Germany, as a consequence of a long premeditated war, which, all other considerations aside, was tarnished by the unjust aggression upon Lorraine. It has witnessed the unification of Italy, obtained by methods as ingenious as they were unforeseen; and it has beheld with astonished eyes, looming once more over the world, the vague image of the ancient Rome. Most extraordinary of visions, within sixteen years—the space of an atom in the duration of existence as a whole—it has almost beheld the realization of the terrible sentence which predicted and explains the action of Italian unity: "My kingdom is not of this world." Yes, between the day when Pius IX., whose sovereignty extended from Rome to Ferrara, from Ferrara to Ancone; who had at his disposal cities and ports, spiritual armies and a tangible living one; who could strike with the sword and excommunicate with a word; who, from the highest summits of Papal temporal and spiritual power, had proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; between the day, I say, of this proclamation and the day when the Italian guns battered down the Porta Pia, within this ephemeral space of time the royal Papacy had become a thing of the past, and Pius IX. was a prisoner in the Vatican.

Such are the two vast achievements, the two incredible and unhoped for unifications, realized by this nineteenth century in the domain of international politics.

But it has done more than this. At the gesture of Stanley, who dispelled before him as he advanced the thick shadows which enswathed the Dark Continent, it replied by a veritable and multiple invasion of that continent; and to-day, what with the enterprise, energy and activity of the nineteenth century, the black world of Africa has ceased to present its impenetrable secrets to the inflexible spirit of investigation of our time.

But the new century will have to continue and complete the inquiries of the old one, to consolidate its work, and to shed yet more light across the still obscure portions of the realms already discovered, but not yet sufficiently opened up.

I catch glimpses, however, in the twentieth century of wars on wars throughout its entire span. If the United States is swept away by the wind of imperialism, it must make ready to sustain during the coming century formidable struggles, in order to assimilate what is still wanting to the satisfaction of its imperialist dreams, and no time should be lost in the preparation of the means which will permit the serious realization of this ideal.

England, little by little, has succumbed to the fascination exercised on nations as well as men by the mirage of conquests and aggrandizement. Its domain is immense. To insure its safety, it will have formidably to increase its means of protection at home. While striving to attach to itself its empire by the free sympathy of its allied colonies, it must put itself in readiness to succor them in order to be succored by them. Their attachment must be secured by a sense of the security which the mother country affords them; and within her own borders, too, she should see to it that she is safe against all surprise. By raising the prestige of her armies, she must learn to inspire fear in her foes and confidence in her partisans. Without pretending to foresee from what direction war will come, what is certain is that the logic and force of circumstances will impel her to reorganize her army.

I should like to read the intimate thoughts of those who took part in the inter-parliamentary congress of peace during the Paris Exhibition. Are there really any among them who believe that the era of wars can so soon be closed, or, in fact, can ever be ended? Struggle is the very evidence, the very manifestation of life, the stimulant of the race, and the cessation of combat is the cessation of life. For my part, I believe that the twentieth century will witness numerous and terrible wars throughout the entire globe. In the centre of Europe I see war break out on the morrow of the death of Francis Joseph.

There is not a single reflecting being who can suppose that, at Francis Joseph's death, the marvellous mosaic, which from the Austria of yesterday has become the Austria-Hungary of to-day, will continue to remain what it now is. With the disappearance of the direct heir to the throne vanished all possibility of a peace-

able succession; and, most extraordinary of all, by imposing upon François d'Este, the present heir, a solemn oath renouncing for his descendants all rights to the succession, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has deprived the successor of Francis Joseph of still another chance of reigning, for it has reduced to his existence alone the duration of his succession. Just how the war which will follow Francis Joseph's death will occur, it is impossible to foresee, for the very reason that it is inevitable, and any and every circumstance may light the spark. But that it will break out is certain, for Roumania, encouraged by Russia, will wish to seize Transylvania from Hungary, which Hungary in turn never will give up. It will break out, because the Slav countries, also encouraged by Russia, will refuse both to live under the shadow of the Hungarians and under the shadow of the Germans. It will break out because neither Russia nor France, nor the other Powers, will ever peaceably suffer Germany to be augmented by the six millions of Germans in Austria. It will break out because Bosnia and Herzegovina will find themselves coveted by Montenegro, Bulgaria, Servia and Slav Croatia. It will break out because Italy will dream of extending its territory from Trieste to Cattaro and of recovering its Adriatic coasts, of which it possesses to-day the immortal and ever-glorious queen, Venice.

It will break out, and if arbitration were not a mad chimera, it would be indeed a case in which to apply it, this death of Francis Joseph; since no one would venture to have recourse previously to the solution of the assembling of a vast European congress.

As for Germany, the task incumbent upon her during the coming century is to transform its union into a real unity, and to complete itself imperially by the incorporation of those six millions of Austrian Germans who will make her the most formidable nation in Europe. If to her material power be added her ingrained national obstinacy, the facility with which she changes her skies and acclimates herself in new air, her slow but sure and hard-working temper, and her ambition to keep what she has won, it will be understood that she is destined in the twentieth century to constitute the most absolute force in Continental Europe. This immense material force was prepared by Prince Bismarck, the giant of diplomacy to whom she owes all that she is to-day. But, to be just, we should admit that his disappearance was a tangible benefit for Germany, for it restored

to that nation the moral strength and the natural uprightness which distinguished it before him. Prince Bismarck, to whom the German nation owes everlasting admiration and gratitude, did not sufficiently, during the thirty years in which he fashioned in his own way the spirit of all Germans, Prussians or no, hesitate as to the means, in attaining his ends. The truth he scorned, and when he pretended to tell the truth it was because he counted on the incredulity of the world, which thus protected him against the consequences of a calculated and deceptive frankness. But so vast was his influence on the nation that, beholding him, as it did, so cleverly capable of mixing up truth and falsehood, it lost something of that intellectual probity known as "heaviness of wit;" and Bismarck disappeared just at the right moment for his baneful influence to suffer a check.

William II. has not continued the arrogant and underhanded policy of the Chancellor. He has not given his nation the example of a duplicity raised to the dignity of a principle. He is a man of violent impulses, of lofty temper, superior to all ordinary concessions, although, to be sure, maintaining always one foot well planted on the earth, a man whose forehead is lighted by ardent convictions and who loses himself in images. He, too, teaches the nation of which he is the head the disdain of others; but his teaching is more elevated, of a finer quality, more worthy of the destiny toward which he thinks to lead it. Thus far, it should be said, William II. has been content with little. He has, nevertheless, effaced the acute antipathy so bitterly felt here and there toward the German nation. To-day, Germany is respected. It weighs a good deal in the human scales. No one would venture to insult it, but it inspires no immediate apprehension. No one looks to see it appearing at a moment's notice on the battlefield where are to be determined for all time the destinies of Europe. William II. has by himself tempered the anger of Germany's enemies, and moderated their impatience. But he feels well enough that, were he to disappear to-day, he would not have justified the imperious action which upset the omnipotent Chancellor. He feels that he would leave behind him merely the memory of an impetuous personality, always seeking to keep himself well in view before the footlights, and dreading most of all even the passing eclipse of his name. During the coming century the young sovereign's rôle will become quite different and more

marked. And in the more or less general conflict of which I catch glimpses, his part will not be one of the least preponderant.

Young, too, is the sovereign whom an inexcusable, pitiless and objectless crime has just elevated to the throne of Italy. He, too, in the military drama of the twentieth century, will be called upon to play the brilliant rôle that devolves upon those who, seated upon a throne, are solicited by the growing ambition of their nations.

And, finally, in the midst of this explosion which is to resound throughout the opening years of the century, what will be the rôle of France? Will she confine her activity to the task of seeking to cure the internal ills which menace and devour her; or will she, too, in the vast *mêlée* of covetous ambitions, seek to recover her lost frontiers, or undertake to secure for herself, by compensations which it would be rash to define, fresh boundaries? Undoubtedly, a French diplomacy, far reaching in its views and quick to act, might even now prepare to cope with the problem of divisions of European soil during the next century. But you cannot expect this of a diplomacy which is constantly obliged to defend itself, and whose activity is thereby constantly enfeebled. The utility for France of the alliance with Russia is that it protects her against self-distrust. It releases her from a solitude which, for an impulsive nation, constitutes a real danger. It allows her to discuss matters more calmly after they have been well matured, and after she has had the benefit of advice tempering her own impetuosity. But, quite apart from this advantage accruing from the alliance, she will certainly, I am sure, find therein a positive assistance against that social parasitism which she is aware is invading her, for the alliance will afford her the one indispensable auxiliary to all reforms, namely, time.

For a long time I was resolutely opposed to the establishment in France of an income tax, but ever since I have been haunted by the necessity of dealing with this great national malady of parasitism—of diking in these moving sands which are, little by little, obstructing the access to all the refuges of the nation—my opinion has changed. But my notion of the application of this tax is a peculiar one. I look upon it for France, and indeed for any other country where the necessity may arise, as a means of palliating the evil upon which I have insisted. The tax, in my opinion, should fall as heavily as may be on the

national parasitism. But it should in no wise be employed to diminish in any way the present tax; for the law of labor is the supreme, the universal law, the real law of a democracy, the condition of salvation for the Republic. The free citizens of the United States, which is the highest exemplar of a republican state, are giving to all republics, present and to come, the example of a pervasive and unremitting activity, of common labor, in the spirit of a common obligation. For me, therefore, an income tax should exist in addition to the normal budget, and the enormous resources thus obtained should be put aside and utilized for premiums on emigration for any Frenchman wishing to settle in the colonies, and giving satisfactory guarantees of his capacity to make proper use of the money which will be advanced him. My object would thus be that national parasitism be obliged to bear its responsibility both at home and abroad; for it is the grand law of universal labor which the next century, I hold, will render paramount. Science and discoveries have provided it with the most effective means of getting the most out of labor, and of extirpating the universal parasitism which is the greatest plague and menace of the human race. Parasitism engenders the calculated sterility of woman, which, in its turn, is the creator of parasitism; for it affords to the rare offspring that are born the means of living without work, and thus it menaces the stability of institutions, peace between men and that dignity which is the greatest safeguard of human honor and independence. For humanity to progress in the coming century, and to continue its onward march toward the supreme ideal of creation, this parasitism, which is a challenge to human equity, must disappear; and the coming century, to which the nineteenth century has bequeathed the marvellous outfit of its inventions and devices, must be above all and everywhere the age of universal toil. This will prevent neither the struggle among men, nor war, nor conquest, nor hatred; but it will call a halt to the shames and stupidities of the present hour, and prevent here or elsewhere the gangrene from spreading in social organism, and the advance of universal existence toward the eternal tomb.

I lay down my pen here, for, after all, I must fix a limit to this essay. Yet scarcely have I given a glimpse of the problems to come which haunt every thinking brain whenever it lets its thoughts play freely in observation and reflection. I have the

presentiment, if not the absolute certainty, that the nineteenth century has been but the preface of the solutions which are to be the privilege of its successor. My conviction is that there is a force, whose real scope and power remains unsuspected by men, for it is as yet hardly wrested from the enigmatic obscurity in which it lurks. I refer to electricity. It is my conviction that the task of revealing the full meaning of this demiurgic force is to devolve upon the twentieth century, and that then, the question solved, the entire problem of existence on this globe will be seen to have been solved as well. The solution of all the problems which are tormenting the human mind is bound up in this one. This solution will suppress frontiers, change the aims of armies, subject the planetary spaces to the human will, modify altogether the faith of the race, and give in general to the efforts of its intelligence a fresh direction and an object as yet undreamed of.

It is the progress of the power of electricity which is destined to offer to the human race the penultimate word on the everlasting enigma which it has sought to solve, ever since the problem and mystery of human destinies have been its torment.

H. G. DE BLOWITZ.

Postscript:

Some of my readers may have been asking themselves why in my appreciations as to the future of certain states I have passed over in silence the fate of Russia. This is because the future of that state escapes every law of logic. That empire is the product of a single brain and a single will, and it remains to-day, as at its origin, subject to individual action, to a single predominant authority. Violence alone can alter this situation, and what will then ensue staggers thought. Besides this, only the will of the Czars, expressed in the most astonishing and unexpected way, can effect a change. In all likelihood, it is the latter hypothesis which will be realized. Russia has had a Czar Creator; it has had a Czar Emancipator; it will have a Czar Liberator. But in determining the drift of its future, logic can play no rôle; it cannot pretend to prophesy.

THE FOOD OF THE ARMY DURING THE SPANISH WAR.*

BY R. A. ALGER, FORMERLY UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE Commission appointed by the President at my request to investigate the conduct of the War Department in the war with Spain, commonly known as the War Investigation or the Dodge Commission, met on the 24th day of September, 1898. Up to the 21st of December, 1898, this Commission had taken testimony in seventeen towns and cities and in many different camps, granting, wherever it went, to the citizens, soldiers, or ex-soldiers, an opportunity to appear for complaint or testimony of any kind regarding the conduct of the war. The Commission visited numerous camps in which there still were many thousands of soldiers, both regulars and volunteers, who were invited to give their evidence without regard to rank or service. On the 21st of December, the Major-General Commanding the Army of the United States appeared before the Commission, then sitting in Washington, and made his statements with respect to the canned fresh and refrigerated beef furnished to the army during the war. General Miles refused to be sworn or affirmed, as every other of the 495 witnesses had been, declaring in substance that he would "make his statements without being sworn and was responsible for what he said."

Although the Commission had been sitting nearly three months, the charges with respect to canned and refrigerated beef were now made for the first time; and, stranger and more inexcusable and more unsoldierly still, during all those months, with this pretended knowledge of facts which, if they existed, should have been made known to the Secretary of War, for the protection of the army—General Miles never mentioned the subject. Nor did I ever hear a rumor of chemically treated beef being purchased

* This article forms the substance of the twenty-second chapter of General Alger's forthcoming book on "The Spanish-American War."

for the army until the General's testimony was given before the Commission. These allegations are as follows:

"Capt. Howell: 'I want to ask you, General, is that canned beef a part of the ration?'

"General Miles: 'It was made part of the ration during this war, to the extent of sending to Porto Rico, as I say, nearly 200,000 pounds of it.'

"Q. 'I mean by that, was it fixed by Congress as a part of the army ration?'

"A. 'No, sir.'

"Q. 'Who fixed it, then, as a part of the army ration?'

"A. 'You will have to ask some one here in Washington.'

"Q. 'I want to know how it became part of the army ration. If he does not know, who should' (referring to General Miles)?

"A. 'You had better ask the Secretary of War or the Commissary General; I think they can tell you. I know it was sent to the army as food, and the pretense is that it was sent as an experiment. . . . . There was sent to Porto Rico 337 tons of what is known as, or called, refrigerated beef, which you might call embalmed beef. . . . . Now, if you want to ascertain the cost to the Government of this so-called refrigerated beef—embalmed beef—take the original cost. . . . . I do not know what may have been injected into it. . . . . The understanding is that this is a secret process of preserving beef. . . . . It may be that they are still sending the stuff down there. I don't know. . . . . If I was furnished for any expedition in this country, or any other, with such stuff, I would prohibit the men from taking it. . . . . I do not think that beef such as was sent to Cuba and Porto Rico would be good in any country in the stomach of any man. . . . . They could get some bacon, but that is not considered suitable food for the Tropics. . . . . You ask about food. In my judgment that was one of the serious causes of so much sickness and distress on the part of our troops.' "

Not content with these grave and scandalous charges, thus made public for the first time before the War Investigating Commission, General Miles permitted himself to be interviewed on the following day, at Cincinnati, Ohio, when he made these charges:

"The part in my testimony of yesterday of 337 tons of refrigerated beef and 198,000 pounds of canned fresh beef, which was unfit for food, is only an item. This quantity was sent to one town in Porto Rico. How much more was sent I do not know. . . . . Yes; or it might do for one man to try it on his own stomach; but to feed an army, that was more than an experiment. . . . . As I stated in my testimony, I believe the action of these chemicals was largely responsible for the sickness in the army. I have medical authority for this statement, and believe it to be true."

General Miles was given an opportunity to officially deny this interview, but he did not do so. His written and official reply was evasive and equivocal. When he appeared before the Court of Inquiry he was unable to repudiate that interview under oath.

The allegations that unsuitable food, not a part of the legal ration, had been furnished to the army under pretense of an experiment, and that refrigerated beef, treated with poisonous chemicals, had been and was being supplied to our army of 275,000 men, were indeed serious, implying, as they did, criminal incompetency on the part of the Commissary Department, if not willful negligence and dishonesty.

Upon Commissary-General Charles P. Eagan the charges fell with the suddenness and sharpness of a blow from an assassin's knife out of the dark. General Eagan had been an officer of the regular army for thirty-six years. He had risen from a second-lieutenancy to the highest rank in the Commissary Department to which his ambition could aspire. Gallant and fearless on the battlefields of the Civil War and the hostile Indian plains of the West, he had a record for soldierly qualities of which any officer might well be proud. With energy, honesty and zeal, he had administered his Department during the war with Spain; a fitting climax to a long and honorable career in the service of his country.

No other supply bureau of the army had excelled the Commissary Department in promptness, efficiency, and successful administration during the war. I never entered the War Department, whether early in the day or late at night, and called for the Commissary-General that he did not report at once. I never gave him an order that was not immediately carried out to the letter. Indeed, his zeal and anxiety for the soldiers in camp and field were so great that his efforts in their behalf, during the long and weary days and nights of the hot summer, nearly resulted in his prostration from overwork. The charges of General Miles, made so publicly and so positively, and the manner in which they were for the first time made known, seemed to General Eagan, in his nervous condition, the more magnified and horrible. Upon hearing them, he pitifully exclaimed: "General Miles has crucified me upon a cross of falsehood and misrepresentation."

General Eagan had already been examined by the War Investigation Commission when General Miles's hearing occurred; but, when the testimony of the latter appeared in the newspapers, General Eagan immediately requested a rehearing. This was granted him on the 12th of January, 1899. After being sworn, General Eagan said:

"I desire to say here that the first intimation I ever had that this

beef was chemically treated beef, embalmed beef, was read by me in the newspapers as coming from the senior Major-General of the Army, Nelson A. Miles. When I read it I could not believe it. The statements in the newspapers were so utterly at variance with the truth that I expected to see an immediate denial from General Miles."

General Eagan read his reply to the War Investigation Commission from a carefully prepared typewritten manuscript. Lashed to the quick by the allegations contained in General Miles's testimony, and in his subsequent interview, which appeared on December 23d in a New York newspaper, his indignation exceeded the limits of his self-control, and in his efforts to deny the charges made, his language became vituperative, extravagant, and highly improper. I believe that, had General Eagan's health not been seriously impaired by overwork and anxiety, the two objectionable paragraphs—of 300 words, out of an aggregate of 12,000 words contained in his reply—would never have been written or uttered. Even yet, divested of its offensive adjectives in the two paragraphs referred to, his reply to General Miles remains unanswerable in its logic and incontrovertible in its facts.

The allegation that I had inspired or had any knowledge of General Eagan's intended attack upon the statement of General Miles, is absolutely untrue. He did not make known to me the nature of his proposed answer to the charges. Neither did he consult me in the matter. I never saw the reply, nor did I know its character until a copy of it was handed to me by a member of the press. Had General Eagan submitted his manuscript to me, he would undoubtedly at this writing still be in full possession of the rank and privileges of the office of Commissary-General of the United States Army. As it was, even the self-prejudicial and intemperate presentation made by General Eagan convinced the Commission that there was no foundation in fact for the charges and insinuations deducible from the terms "pretense of experiment" and "embalmed beef."

As soon as I learned of General Eagan's statement before the Commission, I sent for him. I informed him of my surprise and mortification at his conduct. "Why did you not permit your friends to read your testimony? Why did you not show it to me and thereby have prevented the disgrace that is now sure to come upon you and the uniform you wear? You had no right," I continued, "to make use of such unbridled language at a time and

under circumstances which will assuredly result in associating the President's name and my own with such a disgraceful episode."

The language of General Eagan could not be overlooked. He was tried by court-martial for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and for conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline; of these charges and specifications he was found guilty, and recommended to be dismissed from the service. The sentence of the Court, however, was commuted to suspension from rank and duty for six years until his retirement—"in view of his gallant conduct in battle upon more than one occasion, which merited and has received the warm commendation of his superiors, and of his long and honorable record of service, extending over a period surpassing in duration that usually allotted to a generation; having regard, also, to the mitigating circumstances which were developed during the trial of the case, and in deference to the recommendation of clemency submitted in his behalf."

The suspension of General Eagan from the functions of his office until his retirement, stripped the service of an honest and able officer. His court-martial was not the outcome of General Miles's charges, but the result of intemperate and unmilitary language, conceived in an indignation pardonable, perhaps, in its existence, but unpardonable in its mode of expression.

General Miles seemed to be pleased with the notoriety which his startling statements before the Commission and in his subsequent newspaper interview gave him; for again, on the 31st of March, 1899, in New York City, he published, through representatives of the Associated Press and of a metropolitan paper, additional charges. This interview, which appeared on the morning of February 1st, General Miles was called upon to deny under oath; and, as he was unable to do so, part of his statements in it were used by the Court of Inquiry as a basis for investigation. I quote two paragraphs proven to be part of the statements made by General Miles to the reporters:

"I have overwhelming evidence that the embalmed beef was treated with chemicals in order to preserve it. I have affidavits from men who saw the beef undergoing treatment or embalming process. . . . . Now, as to the canned roast beef, that was different from the embalmed beef. The canned roast beef was the beef after the extract had been boiled out of it. You have seen the advertisements 'Beef Extract, one pound contains the substance of from four to five pounds of prime beef.' Well,

this is the beef after the extract has been taken from it. They put this beef pulp up in cans and labelled it 'canned roast beef.' The soldiers report that the canned beef was nauseating. If swallowed, it could not be kept on the stomach."

It is proposed to treat General Miles's allegations specifically and in detail. His charges with respect to canned roast beef were, that it was not a part of the army ration and (by inference) had been issued to the army by the Secretary of War and the Commissary-General without authority of law; and that it was the meat residue—a beef pulp which was left after the extract had been taken from it. With respect to refrigerated beef, he alleged that it was "embalmed beef," which had been artificially preserved by injecting chemicals into it; that he had overwhelming evidence that the "embalmed beef" was treated with chemicals to preserve it; and that the refrigerated beef would not be "good in any country in the stomach of any man."

He also said, generally, that bacon was not considered a suitable ration for the Tropics, and that the beef furnished the army was the cause of much sickness and distress; that it was largely responsible for the sickness in the army, and that he had medical authority for this statement.

General Miles should have known that neither the Secretary of War nor the Commissary-General could legally alter or add to the ration of the army. The ration is fixed by law, and its components can be changed only by the President of the United States. An examination of the records of the War Department, or inquiry of the Commissary-General, would have speedily developed the fact that canned fresh beef (or, as it is known, canned roast beef) had been a recognized part of the army ration for nearly a quarter of a century. If General Miles did not know that canned fresh beef was a part of the army ration, then he displayed an ignorance in an important matter of his profession that is, to say the least, most remarkable; if he did know that canned fresh beef was a recognized part of the ration, then his allegation to the contrary is so much more reprehensible.

On the 1st of August, 1878, canned fresh beef first became a part of the travel ration of the United States Army, then under the command of General Sherman, and while the Honorable George W. McCrary was Secretary of War. This fact was made known in a public order issued by the War Department:

"Headquarters of the Army,
"Adjutant-General's Office,
"Washington, August 1, 1878.

"General Orders,
"No. 59.

"By direction of the Secretary of War the following order is published to the Army:

"I. The following issues may be made to troops travelling upon cars or transports, or in the field, when it is impracticable to cook their rations, viz: Seventy-five pounds of canned fresh or corned beef, and sixteen 3-pound cans or six 1-gallon cans of baked beans, or 15 pounds of cheese per hundred rations—the issues of canned beef to be in lieu of the meat, and the beans and cheese in lieu of the vegetable ration authorized by existing regulations and orders. None of the above-mentioned articles will be sold by companies or detachments as savings.

* * * * * * *

"By command of General Sherman:
"E. D. TOWNSEND, Adjutant-General."

Canned fresh beef was again specifically referred to in General Orders, under dates of November, 1879, of September 28, 1881, January 19, 1888, and February 8, 1888. The last mentioned order changed the Army Regulations and included in those regulations a reference to canned fresh beef:

"[General Orders, No. 8.]

"Headquarters of the Army,
"Adjutant-General's Office,
"Washington, February 8, 1888.

"By direction of the Secretary of War, paragraph 2150 of the Regulations is amended to read as follows:

"2150. A ration is the established daily allowance of food for one person. For the United States Army it is now composed as follows: Twelve ounces of pork or bacon or canned beef (fresh or corned), or 1 pound and 4 ounces of fresh beef, or 22 ounces of salt beef; 18 ounces of soft bread or flour, or 16 ounces of hard bread, or 1 pound and 4 ounces of corn meal. To every 100 rations, 15 pounds of beans or pease, or 10 pounds of rice or hominy; 10 pounds of green coffee, or 8 pounds of roasted (or roasted and ground) coffee, or 2 pounds of tea; 15 pounds of sugar; 4 quarts of vinegar; 1 pound and 8 ounces of adamantine or star candles; 4 pounds of soap; 4 pounds of salt; 4 ounces of pepper; and to troops in the field, when necessary, 4 pounds of yeast powder to the 100 rations of flour.

"By command of Lieutenant-General Sheridan:
"R. C. DRUM, Adjutant-General."

The allegations of General Miles, that canned fresh beef was not a part of the army ration and that it was issued as the "pretense of an experiment," were not only contrary to fact, but were made absolutely without a particle of evidence or excuse. If General Miles really believed his serious charges, his conduct is all the more blameworthy, in that he apparently made no effort to

assure himself of their truthfulness, nor to report them to the Secretary of War before publicly uttering them.

If we are to believe written evidence to the contrary, it does not appear that General Miles was even honest in making his dilatory charges that the tinned beef was issued as the pretense of an experiment and that it was not a part of the ration. On the 17th of June, 1898, his most confidential staff officer signed a letter by "direction of the Major-General commanding the Army," instructing the Depot Commissary at Tampa to furnish to General Nunez 10,644 pounds of canned roast beef, to be issued from the "subsistence stores of the army." If we are to accept the reading of this letter as correct, it proves that General Miles knew that canned fresh beef was a part of the ration; that he knew there was a large quantity of it at Tampa for issue to the troops; and that he so far approved of its use as to direct that the ration be furnished in large quantities to our allies. The letter is as follows:

"Headquarters of the Army,
"Tampa, Fla., June 17th, 1898.

"Major A. L. Smith, Dept. Commissary, Tampa, Fla.—
"Sir:

"The Major-General commanding directs that you transfer to Gen. Nunez, of the Cuban Army, on board the steamer 'Florida,' at Port Tampa, for issue to the insurgent forces, the following subsistence stores:

48	barrels Pork	9,600 lbs.
336	crates Bacon	67,275 "
19	cases Beef, Canned, Boiled No. 4	456 "
37	" Beef, Canned, Roasted No. 6	444 "
406	" Beef, Canned, Roasted No. 2	9,744 "
159	barrels Corn Meal	31,164 "
189	sacks Beans (176 barrels.)	18,900 "
3	sacks Potatoes	48,760 "
22	" Green Coffee	3,330 "
24	" Sugar (issued)	2,400 "

"Yours very respectfully, "F. MICHLER,
"Asst. Adjutant-Gen."

It was never intended by the Commissary Department that canned beef should be used other than as an emergency or travel ration. General Eagan's predecessors in office had, twenty years before the Spanish-American war, highly recommended its use, and it had been officially included in the regular travel ration. Canned fresh beef has, ever since the Civil War, been a part

of the regular navy ration, 500,000 pounds of this food having been used annually in our navy before the war with Spain. For years, large quantities of canned fresh beef have been shipped to the European armies, France alone purchasing 25,000,000 pounds of one firm in the United States, while Great Britain has secured from the same establishment, for her army and navy, no less than from ten to fifteen million pounds. With a legal warrant for its use, the approval of at least two previous Commissaries-General, its general use abroad, and its large consumption in our own navy, General Eagan was certainly fortified in his belief that it could be efficaciously used by our troops. Moreover, the present Commissary-General, then Colonel J. F. Weston, in a letter to General Eagan under date of March 24th, 1898, thus refers to canned fresh beef:

"The Armour Company is putting up a roast beef and boiled beef canned. It is from strips, and about what I wanted so far as process, but not so good, as it does not include the whole; still it is good. I have made hash, also stew, from it that was fit for the immortal gods and not beneath the notice of a general, using a little bacon, potatoes, onions, flour, and condiments; just what a soldier has. It makes a good, palatable, hearty meal, and I am entirely safe in saying that we, in this way, can furnish fresh beef to any number of men concentrated in Florida or Cuba at about 10.5 cts. per pound. It will not be steak, or choice roast; still it will be fresh beef. It can be furnished without loss, and that is more than can be said of cattle on the hoof or in refrigerator cars; it will be healthful, which is not the case if killed at once; a necessity if furnished on the hoof. To me it presents a solution of a difficult problem, a problem that must be met; there is no substitute."

Fresh canned beef was preferred over corned canned beef, because of the fact that the salt in the latter produced thirst—a decided objection in a tropical country; but the tinned beef should have been used only when cooked with vegetables and properly seasoned. In this statement lies the secret of the source of complaint against canned fresh beef. The only fault found with the ration was that it was unpalatable when served without additional cooking and without vegetables and condiments. The ration was not used to any great extent in the camps in the United States, but only on the transports to Cuba and Porto Rico, and for a short time in Cuba by part of Shafter's army in the trenches, where objection to its use could also be raised on account of the inability to cook and serve it suitably. A few issues were also made in Porto Rico. And yet, despite the improper preparation of the

food, owing to unavoidable circumstances resulting from military necessity, no complaints of its unpalatability reached the War Department. The Chief Commissary of the Shafter expedition testified under oath that, while he was in Cuba, he "never heard a single, solitary complaint." General Shafter testified to practically the same effect; and the chief surgeon of the Fifth Corps says that there did not come to him any complaint of the use of the tinned beef.

While General Miles's charges that canned fresh beef was not a part of the legal ration, and that it was furnished as a pretense of experiment, could be and were so easily disproven by records and incontrovertible facts—of which he could have readily been made cognizant, had he been as thorough in his prior investigations as he had been positive in his charges—his allegation that the meat was the "pulp" from which the extract of beef had been taken, while not believed, required painstaking and careful investigation. It was immediately determined that no expense or effort should be spared to ascertain the truth or falsity of this charge. The most expert and scientific men in the country were, therefore, employed by the Government to further the investigation—such physiological chemists as Professor R. H. Chittenden of Yale and Professor W. O. Atwater of Wesleyan University, as well as Dr. W. D. Bigelow, a chemist in the Bureau of Animal Industry in the Department of Agriculture.

The Court of Inquiry visited several of the large packing-houses accompanied by Dr. Bigelow. The results of personal examinations and of the investigations of the experts employed, conclusively showed that there was not one jot or tittle of evidence or excuse for the statement that canned fresh beef was the pulp after the beef extract had been removed. The methods obtaining in all packing-houses for the preparation of this product are practically the same. After passing an inspection by the officials of the Agricultural Department representing the Government at all of these establishments, the beef is cut up into small sections, boiled for fifteen or twenty minutes, placed in cans after the tendons and gristle have been cut away, sealed, subjected to a sterilization process under a temperature of 215 degrees to 225 degrees, Fahrenheit, for two or three hours, then punctured to allow the gas to escape, and again sealed. This process does not extract any of the nutritive or muscle-forming elements of the

meat, the only losses incurred in it being "water, fat, soluble ash, and meat bases. Of these the fat is useful in supplying fuel for body heat, and the meat bases have some value as a tonic."* Instead of being "pulp" or residuum of any character whatsoever, canned fresh beef is a concentrated product.

While General Miles's specifications did not include any statements regarding the use of preservatives in the tinned meat, a number of cans sent to Havana, Santiago and Porto Rico with the army were furnished by General Miles and carefully analyzed. No trace of any preservatives or chemicals were found in them.

The imputations with respect to canned fresh beef were most carefully and thoroughly examined and reported upon by two impartial tribunals, one being composed of eminent citizens, ex-soldiers, and a distinguished general officer of the regular army (I refer to the War Investigation Commission); the other, the Court of Inquiry, consisting wholly of officers of the regular army of high rank and unimpeachable integrity, especially assembled to investigate this question. There was no subject to which the Dodge Commission devoted more time or more thoroughly investigated than the assertions of the senior Major-General of the Army. This Commission personally visited many large camps and numerous cities, receiving and courting testimony on this important matter wherever they went. The Court of Inquiry was even more thorough in its research, its visits including the large packing-houses where the canned meat is prepared. What did these tribunals find? That there was no foundation for the charge that canned fresh beef was not a part of the ration, or that it had been furnished as the pretense of experiment, or that it was the pulp from beef.

The Court of Inquiry properly found that canned fresh beef was an unpalatable ration, without condiments, when not cooked and when not served with vegetables. In the haste under which the Santiago expedition left Tampa, proper provision for cooking the food of the men on the transports seems to have been either neglected or impossible, on account of the lack of time. General Miles arrived at Tampa on June 1st, for the purpose of rendering such assistance to the Commanding General of the Santiago expedition as his military experience and high rank could give.

*Report of Dr. W. D. Bigelow, Assistant Chemist, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

He was the special representative of the War Department, delegated to overlook that expedition and assist in its preparation and embarkation. He remained at Tampa until June 15th, the day after the Fifth Corps sailed. During his stay at Tampa, there arrived there no less than twenty days' rations—for Shafter's army of 16,000—of canned fresh beef alone, or fifty carloads. If General Miles did not look into the question of food for the Santiago expedition; if he did not consult with the Commanding General of that expedition concerning the ration to be taken with the troops and its method of preparation; if he did not consult with the Chief Commissary of that expedition concerning this important feature of the campaign, he was as culpable as though he had failed to inspect all other important matters, such as ammunition, transportation, etc., and he must share whatever responsibility attached to the use of the canned fresh beef on the transports. There was no shortage in vegetables, since nearly 2,000,000 rations of potatoes, onions and canned tomatoes were shipped to Cuba with General Shafter's army; and, before the end of July, this supply had been increased to nearly 4,000,000 rations of vegetables. The unexpected delay of eight days on the transports off Tampa, resulting from the fright of the ghost fleet, prolonged the use of the canned beef on the transports and intensified the dislike for it, which was created by improper cooking facilities and lack of accessibility to the vegetables.

The use of the ration in the trenches before Santiago has never been fully explained. While only part of the army used canned fresh beef during the siege, it seems strange that any regimental commissary should have drawn it at Siboney if, after its use on the transports, the troops objected to it, and when there was plenty of bacon available. No less than 1,230,317 rations of bacon were at Siboney and on the transports off shore. The men in the trenches were confronted with the same unfavorable conditions which had already attended the use of the beef ration on the transports. It could not be properly cooked, and the difficulties of communication between Siboney and the Santiago trenches made it impossible to transport any large quantities of vegetables before July 17th.

Besides finding that canned fresh beef was unsuitable when not cooked with vegetables, the Court of Inquiry also expressed the opinion that the purchase of 7,000,000 rations by the Com-

missary-General, during the first two months of the war with Spain, was a "colossal error for which there is no palliation." This, of course, is a question for judgment as between the Court of Inquiry and General Eagan. The latter has stated, however, that 7,000,000 rations would provision a force of 257,000 men for which it was purchased for only 25 5-11 days. No canned fresh beef was purchased after June. The entire force of the army was intended to be used in active military operations, its disposal to depend on the development of the war. It was expected that at least a large portion of this force would constitute armies of invasion. Under these conditions, travel rations must be provided. The Commissary-General was by law confined to canned fresh beef or corned beef as the meat component to the travel ration. At the time this quantity of canned fresh beef was purchased, the investment of Havana by an army of 70,000 was in contemplation, besides expeditions to the south coast of Cuba, to Porto Rico, and to the Philippines. It was also proposed to open up communication with the insurgent army, then estimated at 100,000, and to feed them, as well as the thousands of Cuban reconcentrados, whose numbers were at that time greatly overestimated. The ration was not a perishable article, and I do not think that the expression, "colossal error," as applied to this purchase, was warranted. Moreover, the Navy Department, for its force of 13,121 officers and men, prior to the war, purchased annually 500,000 pounds, or 667,000 rations, of this same canned beef. This would be at the rate of 14,000,000 rations a year for a naval force the size of the army during the war. Again, the War Department is now sending to the Philippines 160,000 rations of canned fresh beef a month, for a force something less than 70,000! This is at the rate of approximately 2,000,000 rations a year for a force about one-fourth the size of the army for which General Egan provided 7,000,000 rations during the war with Spain, when he expected to feed, and did feed, also our Cuban allies, besides many starving Cuban reconcentrados. That the war was fought out in an unexpectedly short time should not be charged up against General Eagan's forehandedness, especially since nearly all of the canned beef purchased by him has been consumed by the army.*

* Some was distributed to the destitute Cubans. A few cans were spoiled as a result of being punctured and letting in air, less than ½ of 1 per cent. in all.

General Miles's charges with respect to refrigerated beef were much more serious than his imputations regarding canned beef. His allegations, in substance, were that the beef furnished the army had been artificially preserved by injecting into it chemicals which were injurious to health; that he had overwhelming proof that this "embalmed beef" had been treated with chemicals; and that the refrigerated beef, such as was furnished our army, would not be "good in any country in the stomach of any man." It is significant to observe, at the outset, that the War Investigation Commission says: "Of the witnesses examined by this Commission, General Miles and Dr. Daly are the only ones who make this charge" of chemically treated beef. Astounding as this statement may seem, General Miles did not base his allegations upon personal experience or submit any proof in support of them. His startling and scandalous accusations appear to have been based entirely upon the verbal statements of Dr. W. H. Daly, a volunteer major and surgeon upon his staff during the war with Spain, and upon a single letter subsequently sent him by this volunteer. This letter is as follows:

"Washington, D. C., *September 21, 1898.

"The Assistant Adjutant-General,

"Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.:

"Sir: I have the honor to report, in the interest of the service, that in the several inspections I made in the various camps and troopships at Tampa, Jacksonville, Chickamauga, and Porto Rico, that I found the fresh beef to be apparently preserved with secret chemicals, which destroys its natural flavor, and which I also believe to be detrimental to the health of the troops.

"While on duty at headquarters of the army at Tampa at the time of the embarkation of the 'Shafter expedition,' Colonel Weston, the efficient chief commissary, showed me a quarter of beef that had already, as a test, been sixty hours in the sun without being perceptibly tainted, so far as the sense of smell could detect.

"It is impossible to keep fresh beef so long untainted in the sun in that climate without the use of deleterious preservatives, such as boric acid, salicylic acid, or nitrate potash, injected into it in quantities liable to be hurtful to the health of the consumer.

"At Ponce, Porto Rico, much of the beef I examined arriving on the transports from the United States was also of the same character, being apparently preserved by injecting chemicals to aid deficient cold storage.

"Where efficient cold storage is impossible transporting beef alive is the method that should receive the fullest consideration by the Government as being safest for the health of the consumer. When detailed

* Dr. Daly claimed in his evidence before the War Investigation Commission that this letter should have been dated October 21.

to take charge of the transport 'Panama,' for conveying convalescents to the United States, I obtained 2,000 pounds of fresh beef from the commissary at Ponce. It looked well, but had an odor similar to that of a dead human body after being injected with preservatives, and it tasted when first cooked like decomposed boric acid, while, after standing a day for further inspection, it became so bitter, nauseous, and unpalatable as to be quite impossible for use. I was therefore obliged, owing to its condition, and the just complaints of the sick about it, and the disgustingly sickening odor it emitted when being cooked, and its mawkish, flat taste when served, and the safety of my patients—255 convalescent soldiers on board—to organize a board of survey, condemn and throw 1,500 pounds, all we had, overboard; consequently the convalescents were entirely without much-needed fresh beef, making the duty of bringing the men to the United States in an improved condition a very difficult matter.

"In my inspection of the Fourth United States Volunteer Infantry at Jacksonville recently I observed the same odor and taste upon the fresh beef, but not so marked, and at camp of Sixth United States Volunteer Infantry at Chickamauga I also, at several inspections, observed it markedly. I there inspected a lot of beef just issued to that regiment, and, while it looked well, was of a sickening odor, like a human body dead of disease and injected with preservatives, and when cooked was quite unpalatable, consequently likely to prove an efficient cause of ill health. The men complained of its insipid and mawkish flavor that high seasoning could not conceal.

"Believing that the Commissary Department has been imposed upon by the misdirected commercial spirit of persons furnishing beef, I respectfully recommend that the matter be investigated by experts making a quantitative and qualitative chemical analysis of the several preservatives suspected to be used by getting samples of beef furnished for export to Cuba and Porto Rico.

"If the question arises that a report should have been made by me earlier, I beg to say that I have endeavored, with all my opportunities, to first inform myself, by observation, of the conditions above noted sufficiently to warrant my drawing the attention of the Adjutant-General at Headquarters of the Army to the matter.

"Very respectfully, "W. H. DALY,
"Major and Chief Surgeon, U. S. Volunteers."

The processed beef at Tampa exhibited by a Mr. Powell, referred to in Dr. Daly's letter, was brought to Tampa by the inventor of the method by which it was treated, on his own responsibility and at his own expense. Neither the process nor the meat he furnished, nor the inventor, Mr. Powell himself, bore any relation to the contractors who supplied the army with beef, then or since. The inventor requested permission to exhibit his artificially preserved beef, and was allowed to do so in his private capacity. He requested and received permission to put two quarters of his own beef on one of the transports. It spoiled when at sea a few days later, and was thrown overboard. None of it

was ever issued to the troops. Mr. Powell never again approached the Government in the matter, and he has stated under oath that his secret process was neither used then nor since by the contractors who furnished refrigerated beef to the army. Upon this single exhibit, his individual experience in eating some of this meat at Tampa and some refrigerated beef in Porto Rico, and upon the alleged chemical tests made by himself of meat claimed to be refrigerated beef, this volunteer doctor based his opinions and his evidence. Dr. Daly's "observations," as he terms these experiences, at Tampa, in Porto Rico, and subsequently at several of the camps in the United States, were confined almost exclusively to his sense of smell and taste—especially the latter. In his testimony before the Dodge Commission, he stated that he took some of the meat treated by the Powell process, cooked and ate it; that he afterwards became sick and had a taste in his mouth similar to that experienced when, on a hunting trip out West, he had eaten some antelopes and elk treated with boric and salicylic acids. He also claimed to have experienced the same taste when he ate some of the refrigerated beef in Porto Rico. This led him to infer that the Powell meat, and also the refrigerated beef in Porto Rico, had been treated with the same chemicals as the antelope and elk meat already mentioned. As a matter of fact, the inventor of the Powell process of treating meat swore that the beef exhibited by him at Tampa and eaten by Dr. Daly was treated by fumigation, and that neither boric nor salicylic acid was used at all in the operation. Dr. Daly made himself further ridiculous, in his letter to General Miles, by referring to the taste and smell of decomposed boric acid in the meat condemned by the Board on the "Panama." Scientific evidence was submitted to the effect that boric acid does not decompose when used as a meat preservative, and that it has neither taste nor odor.

The beef placed on board the "Panama" had been taken from a refrigerator ship, removed to the shore, kept there several days, and then put on the "Panama" with some native Porto Rican beef. Proper care had not been used to protect this meat from spoiling, and when, several days out from Ponce, the beef became bad, a Board of Survey condemned 963 pounds (not 1,500 pounds, as claimed by Dr. Daly). The Board of Survey, consisting of three officers, one of whom was a surgeon of the regular army,

reported simply that the beef was "rotten and unfit for use," and that it was "not in prime condition when received in the hurry of leaving Ponce." Dr. Daly approved the proceedings of the Board and directed "that the tainted meat be at once thrown overboard." No mention is made in this Board's report of any suspected treatment with chemicals, and Dr. Daly does not refer to it in his endorsement on the Board's report. Without consulting any of his brother officers, or making known to them his suspicions that the beef had been chemically treated, he claims to have taken two samples of the meat from a kettle in which some beef was cooking on the ship, and, upon his return to the United States, to have made a chemical analysis thereof, and to have discovered traces of boric and salicylic acids. But he could establish no connection between the material which, he alleges, contained these acids and the refrigerated beef furnished by the contractors. As soon as this volunteer doctor offered his testimony, the War Investigation Commission sent telegraphic instructions to Cuba, Porto Rico and several places in the United States for samples of refrigerated beef then in the hands of the troops, and furnished by the same contractors who had supplied all the beef during the war. These samples were sealed in jars, brought to the United States and tested by expert chemists. Of the twenty-nine samples thus secured and analyzed, not one developed the presence of so much as a trace of boric, or salicylic, or any other acids or adulterants. They were all pure beef.

Dr. Daly also claimed, in the course of his testimony before the Dodge Commission, that he repeatedly tested (only by his two senses already referred to) the refrigerated beef at some of the camps of Porto Rico, and that he got the "same taste." Yet Colonel Huidekoper, a surgeon upon General Miles's staff, who made repeated observations of the troops, their camps, and the food used in Porto Rico, testified that he found no complaint regarding the meat; and he visited the camps in Porto Rico at practically the same time as Dr. Daly did. Dr. Daly also alleged that the beef at Chickamauga was apparently artificially preserved. The records show that 5,100,000 pounds of refrigerated beef were supplied to the troops at Chickamauga during the war with Spain. Not a single complaint was ever made regarding the beef furnished, either to General Brooke or to General Breckinridge, or to any person whomsoever. Indeed, Dr. Daly was the only witness

who ever testified that refrigerated beef was artificially preserved with chemicals, or "doctored" at all; and General Miles's allegations seem to have been based entirely upon the flimsy experience of this volunteer officer's defective taste and his highly questionable "observations" on the "Panama." At the time the "Panama" incident occurred, Dr. Daly himself admits that his observations had been in progress for three months. He did not communicate his suspicions to the Board which condemned and threw overboard the spoiled meat, which he claims to have suspected of being treated with chemicals, although the opportunity was an excellent one to have conclusively proven either the truth or error of his opinion. Neither did he submit his alleged samples of that meat to the Government experts and chemists for examination and test, but secretly took them to his home, and made an analysis himself, to which he did not even refer in his official report on this matter to General Miles. He did bring to Washington a residue claimed to have been taken from the "Panama," but not proven to be refrigerated beef, which contained traces of boric and salicylic acids. The circumstance is suspicious, and does not reflect credit upon General Miles's only witness.

The War Investigation Commission thus reported:

"The Commission is of the opinion that no refrigerated beef furnished by contractors, and issued to the troops during the war with Spain, was subjected to or treated with any chemicals by the contractors or those in their employ."

The Court of Inquiry went even further, and stated:

"The Board has recorded its opinion that the refrigerated beef, furnished under contracts for the use of the armies, was not 'doctored' or treated with any other agent than cold air. If any such treatment had been applied, it is the opinion of the Court that a knowledge of it could not have been concealed from the Commissary-General and his officers."

Again it says:

"The use of refrigerated beef on shore, after the troops had secured convenient harbors and landing facilities, was wise and desirable. The Court believes that there was no better food available or practicable."

With reference to General Miles's general charges that bacon was "not considered a suitable food for the tropics," and that the food furnished was the cause of the sickness in the army, little need be said with respect to bacon other than that it now continues to form one of the principal components of the ration furnished to the troops serving in the tropics and in Cuba.

The allegation that the food furnished the army was the cause of much sickness, seems to have been as little investigated or to have had as little warrant for its utterance as the other disproved charges. Although on the transports for fourteen days, during which time canned fresh beef was the principal meat ration, the Shafter expedition of nearly 17,000 men landed in Cuba with only 150 sick. It is the concurrent testimony of every officer, that the army landed in Cuba in excellent condition, notwithstanding the heat and confinement on the transports. It was not until August 1st, fifty-three days after the Fifth Corps had embarked at Tampa, that sickness became alarming; and then the causes of that sickness were indisputably traced to the climate and the diseases indigenous to the tropics. Kent's division of 4,442, on the 10th day of July, had but 214 sick, and five days afterwards this had fallen off to 200; and when the sickness in Shafter's army grew to such proportions as to cause concern, Lawton's division, which had subsisted almost entirely on bacon as the meat component of its ration, had the same percentage of sickness as Kent's division, which had subsisted almost entirely on canned fresh beef. The First Volunteer Cavalry had had little canned beef in Cuba, and yet its sick rate was practically the same as Kent's and Lawton's divisions. Moreover, we have already seen from General Wood's statement, which is supported by the records of the War Department, that every regiment that came to Santiago after the war, even when provided with floored tents and boiled water, had practically the same amount of sickness as Shafter's army. There was no evidence to support General Miles's statement that the food caused the sickness, but there was and is incontrovertible evidence to disprove it.

In matters of professional detail, the President and the Secretary of War must of necessity rely upon the Major-General commanding the Army, the Adjutant-General, the Inspector-General, and the other Bureau chiefs. But it is the especial duty of the Inspector-General's department to discover and report upon:

"All that pertains to the efficiency of the Army, the condition and state of supplies of all kinds, of arms, equipments, etc., etc., and report with strict impartiality in regard to all irregularities that may be discovered. From time to time they will make such suggestions as may appear to them practicable for the cure of any defects that may come under their observation."

The Inspector-General of the Army was with General Shafter's

corps at Tampa; he accompanied that expedition to Cuba; he was at the front during the entire period occupied by that army in the trenches; and, finally, he was, from August 2d until the abandonment of that camp, in command of the army and camp at Chickamauga. Tampa, the transports to Cuba, the trenches before Santiago, and Chickamauga were designated by General Miles as the particular places where bad beef, both canned and refrigerated, was issued. And yet on the first of November, 1898, the Inspector-General made no mention in his official annual report of any complaints against either canned or refrigerated beef, but specifically stated: "The Commissary Department has conducted its business, so far as I have been able to observe, in a most satisfactory manner in this war;" and again: "The quality of the food furnished is generally reported excellent, and there has been no complaint as to the quantity."

The army had won its battles in Cuba and the Philippines; Porto Rico had peacefully come into our hands after a few skirmishes; the protocol had been in operation for over four months, and even the Treaty of Peace had been signed at Paris. Then comes the Major-General commanding the Army of the United States with his charges. While the allegations of General Miles were not based upon fact, and were conclusively disproven by two separate tribunals, unimpeachable in their composition and methods of investigation, the irreparable damage had been done. A brave, honest, and faithful officer, suffering under the lash of such cruel, unwarranted and unjustified imputations, while exonerated from the heavy odium of those charges, was, as a result of them, sacrificed on the altar of his own passion, righteous in its existence but inexcusable in its expression. Besides this, a false impression had been created throughout the country as to the food furnished the army, which may never be removed. The charges of General Miles, twice proven false in spirit and substance, are therefore the more heinous in their effect. Yet the present Congress promoted General Miles to be Lieutenant-General, and has thus far failed to give to General Shafter the rank of Major-General to retire upon in his old age, and this, after his magnificent campaign at Santiago, as well as his former distinguished services.

R. A. Alger.

CHINA AND HER FOREIGN TRADE.

BY SIR ROBERT HART, G. C. M. G., INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF CHINESE IMPERIAL CUSTOMS AND POSTS.

MANY regard China as a far distant land, with an immense population, but so wanting in all that others possess as to be ready to purchase, in unlimited quantities, whatever is offered for sale; whereas, what is true is this: China needs neither import nor export, and can do without foreign intercourse. A fertile soil, producing every kind of food, a climate which favors every variety of fruit, and a population which for tens of centuries has put agriculture, the productive industry which feeds and clothes, above all other occupations—China has all this and more; and foreign traders can only hope to dispose of their merchandise there in proportion to the new tastes they introduce, the new wants they create, and the care they take to supply what the demand really means.

The sanguine expectations which were expressed when treaties first regulated intercourse, a cycle back, have never been realized. Trade, it is true, has grown, and the revenue derived from it has multiplied; but as yet it is far, far from what our predecessors looked for; and the reason is not that the Chinese Government actively opposed foreign commerce, but that the Chinese people did not require it. Chinese have the best food in the world, rice; the best drink, tea; and the best clothing, cotton, silk and fur; and possessing these staples, and their innumerable native adjuncts, they do not need to buy a penny's worth elsewhere; while their Empire is in itself so great, and they themselves so numerous, that sales to each other make up an enormous and sufficient trade, and export to foreign countries is unnecessary. This explains why sixty years of treaty trade have failed to reach the point the first treaty framers prophesied for it.

Nevertheless, trade has grown, has gone on growing, and will continue to grow. Production has mostly a surplus to dispose of —exchange of products does modify tastes and create wants—and the profits of various transactions encourage traders to try new ventures and extend operations. Thus, an important and increasing international commerce has been founded and fostered, and the business done last year (1899) showed such a marked increase in quantities, values and duties that every one was looking forward to future expansion as a certainty, on a large scale. The first quarter of the present year (1900) exhibited further growth, and the revenue was some twenty-five per cent. better than that of the corresponding quarter in 1899. Unfortunately, the Boxer movement stepped in to upset calculations; and, although local trade has continued south of the Yangtsze River, the northern ports have done little or nothing since June, and may be long in regaining the promising condition they had attained previously. Whether the present disturbances will run through all the Provinces, and be followed by years of anarchy and more or less complete cessation of trade, or the northern half of the Empire alone is to suffer, cannot to-day be foreseen; but in the north great harm has already been done, and recovery will be slow. Besides, the Manchurian Provinces may cease to be Chinese, and the commerce and wonderful growth of New-chwang during the last two or three years, and its promise of future expansion, may not only cease but disappear—at all events, as far as China and old channels are concerned.

Foreign trade is, in fact, at the close of an old chapter and is commencing a new one, and a serious question here meets the looker-on. Will possible changes for the better on the foreign side make up for probable changes for the worse on the native? Will any improvement in treaties, in mercantile methods and in commercial regulations make up for loss of customers and for decrease in the producing and consuming power of the Chinese? That this year's doings will long affect trade prejudicially may be taken for granted; and that the evil effects may continue to work harmfully for years to come is almost as certain. The whole matter bristles with difficulties when fairly, fully and calmly considered, and the Far Eastern trouble will be felt in many a quarter that does not yet realize how intimately economic conditions connect man and man. The siege of the Peking legations will

long be laid to China's charge as a monstrous crime, even although it was preceded by the seizure of the Taku forts without any declaration of war; but, whether the joint action of the treaty Powers may not do more than vindicate the majesty of international law, may not, in fact, kill commerce, can only be known when negotiations are allowed to be begun, and the ensuing stipulations have laid down the lines for future intercourse.

Chinese may be said to be born traders; but they did not originally require to go outside the bounds of their own ring fence to engage in business. The outlying parts and dependencies need not be referred to, seeing that the eighteen Provinces of China proper—each of them as large as and many of them more populous than most European states—afford room enough for every kind of operation and transaction. Government taxation has always and everywhere been of the lightest possible kind, and what are called "squeezes" have been either legitimate collections other than the dues and duties foreign trade tariffs published, or such variable amounts as traders have compounded for between their own offer and the sum the collector would consent to accept below the rate fixed by the tariff concerned. Very wealthy individuals have, from time to time, been called on for special and occasionally large contributions during periods of provincial or national difficulty. But, on the whole, trade has not been charged beyond what it could afford to pay. When a tax looks like becoming too heavy, traders simply close their establishments as a protest, and the local officials soon remedy the matter; and it is curious to see how, in this weakest and yet toughest of Empires, age and experience have worked out what may be styled automatic action to keep the huge machine in order. It must be remembered that each Province is a little kingdom in itself, and has its own budget, while Government interferes as little as possible, and whatever the people can do for themselves the Government avoids doing for them. Our golden rule says "*Do* unto others," and hence so much that is intolerant in philanthropy and fussy in benevolence; while the Chinese corresponding dict says "Do *not*," and the result is a national avoidance of interference and wide-spread tolerance, each side, of course, falling more or less into a pitfall when it does too much or too little. Trade has thus been free to follow requirement; demand and supply have obeyed their natural laws; hamlet has traded with hamlet, town with

country, and province with province; the coast has been crowded with junks, the rivers and canals with boats, and the roads with carts, pack animals and porters. And this has gone on in much the same way for thirty centuries.

When the foreigner appeared, changes began; and, although change has as yet only touched the fringe of the Empire, its effect has been felt in various ways inland. At first, the foreign merchant was in China on sufferance, and had to abide by local practice and accept local rule. Then came the opium and "Arrow" wars, and the reigns of the Emperors Tao Kwang and Heen Fang saw added to the original laws and tariffs of the Empire the tariffs and regulations of foreign trade, and the stipulations of treaties. To any foreigner who reads either treaty or tariff, there is not on the surface anything to object to, and nobody would pronounce either one or the other calculated to hurt or irritate; and yet the other side—the Chinese—has always been of another way of thinking. The most striking among the treaty clauses are those which, under the heading "Extra-territoriality," withdraw foreigners from Chinese control and place them under their own national officials in China; and, under the heading of "The Most Favored Nation," provide that whatever is accorded to newcomers will be enjoyed by their predecessors. The "Extra-territoriality" stipulation may have relieved the native official of some troublesome duties, but it has always been felt to be offensive and humiliating, and has ever a disintegrating effect, leading the people on one hand to despise their own Government and officials, and on the other to envy and dislike the foreigner withdrawn from native control. The "Most Favored Nation" clause has always stood in the way of change, and prevented the Chinese Government from securing and conceding various ameliorations in exchange for special advantages, seeing that, although new negotiators might be willing to give a *quid pro quo,* their predecessors would claim the advantage but reject and refuse to be bound by the conditions. There is also a "Missionary" clause for the protection of missionaries and converts, but in this paper on Trade it need not be discussed.

The five per cent. tariff may be pronounced unobjectionable and suitable; but it is supplemented by a special rule which allows goods to be carried from or to a port to or from any inland place, however distant, on payment of a transit due of two and one-half

per cent. The foreigner wishes to read this rule as exempting his goods, if imports, from all subsequent, and if exports, from all anterior taxation; while the Chinese official maintains that it merely protects a transit between port and place. This is already a sufficient cause for disputes and ill-feeling; but the real hardship caused by this incomplete stipulation lies deeper. In the first place, it takes no account of the immense size of the Empire or the Provinces to be passed through, or of the fact that each Province is a little kingdom in itself, manages its own taxation and finances, and is caused serious embarrassment by a stipulation which neither recognizes its circumstances and requirements, nor was made a subject of provincial discussion and arrangement in advance. It is not quite an adequate reply to this complaint to say that the Central Government, having entered into an international engagement for the whole, ought to have thereon proceeded to rearrange the parts. In the second place, while the stipulation was only intended for application to foreign traders and foreign trade proper, it soon became the practice of unscrupulous persons, foreign and native, to take advantage of it—the latter to escape provincial taxation, and the former to create a new source of gain out of fees received for passing Chinese property as belonging to foreigners.

It has thus come to pass that Chinese officials have felt themselves belittled and inconvenienced by treaty and tariff, and foreign trade and foreign intercourse have consequently never been regarded by them with sympathetic eye. Some one once remarked to the great Wên Hsiang, Chinese Prime Minister, so to speak, during the minority of the Emperor Tung Chih, that surely the increasing revenue derived from foreign trade must make its growth agreeable to the Chinese Government. "Agreeable!" retorted Wên Hsiang. "Quite the contrary! Every sign of growth means another provincial difficulty; and, instead of delighting in the increase of foreign trade revenue, we would willingly tax ourselves equivalently and pay over the amount to foreigners to keep them out of the country!" Doubtless, there was some exaggeration in this; but it fairly expressed the real feeling of the official mind in this connection, and Wên Hsiang was one of the ablest, fairest, friendliest and most intelligent Mandarins ever met by foreigners. Prince Kung, as is well known, said to the British Minister, about the same time: "Take

away your opium and your missionaries, and you will be welcome!" During the negotiation of the never-ratified Alcock Convention in 1868, the same Wên Hsiang one day said: "Do away with your Extra-territoriality clause, and merchant and missionary may settle anywhere and everywhere; but retain it, and we must do our best to confine you and our trouble to the treaty ports!"

These sayings of two of China's most eminent men have a weighty meaning. China's treaties are said, and may seem to the foreigners concerned, to have been negotiated. But, in point of fact, they were, in the first instance, drafted by the foreign negotiator, and if not dictated, were so hurriedly drawn up and concluded that they ignored, or rather did not take the trouble to ascertain, the provincial circumstances therewith connected. So that, fair and suitable as they may appear to the foreigner, they were and are, in some of their more important practical points, condemned by Chinese as both damaging and unworkable; and thus, although ratified and sanctioned by Imperial Decree, they have neither been popular nor an unqualified success. When later and perhaps less dictatorial negotiators subsequently came to China, begging for treaties, China acceded. But such new negotiations, on the Chinese side, did not aim at correcting former mistakes—except on one occasion, when the foreigner allowed a "most favored nation" clause to be so worded as to make enjoyment of an advantage entail acceptance of the conditions of its original grant, and at the same time withdrew one or two other demands, when the Chinese negotiator said he would assent to them provided Chinese in the country concerned were similarly treated. They simply tried to keep out everything new; to give the newcomer only what some predecessors had previously extorted, and so to keep the evil of foreign intercourse at a point already understood, instead of injudiciously expanding it further. Thus initial obstacles have been perpetuated, and with the exception of the Alcock Convention no negotiation, to the Chinese mind, has held the balance fairly. The non-ratification of that convention was damaging, for it had been negotiated leisurely and in a sympathetic and friendly spirit, and Chinese officials regarded its rejection as equivalent to saying that their interests must always give way before what the foreigner thought to be his.

Later treaties, too, have had one other unwholesome effect. The foreign negotiator generally presented himself in a more or less beseeching attitude, and China assented—generously, as she thought—to his prayers for treaty relations. But ratifications once exchanged, what China had granted as treaty advantages forthwith became, in the hands of the other party, treaty "rights," and woe betide China if she failed to live up to her new duty! It is, of course, not unnatural for those who have to administer a treaty already made to interpret it literally; but, all the same, Chinese officials have felt mortified and "sold," and treaty relations have sunk in their estimation. It is not altogether inexplicable, then, that foreign intercourse has been seen on its darker side by the Chinese, or that foreign trade has continued to be regarded as at the best only something to be tolerated but not encouraged. Both intercourse and trade would benefit China, but for the first to be welcome it must be sympathetic, and for the second to be encouraged it must be so shaped as not to pinch.

Apart from its being a thorn in the side of the provincial administrations, owing to various difficulties originating in transit abuses, the advent of the foreigner has also been a death-blow to old and long recognized vested interests, and notably to China's own shipping trade and junk owners. The coasting trade which fleets of junks carried on fifty years ago has almost been destroyed between New-chwang and the southern ports, and much of the southern trade has likewise passed from native to foreign bottoms; while on the Yangtsze, an inland water, an ever-increasing home trade is attracting more and more foreign-flag steamers. Such change is not all bad; freights are lighter, goods are safer, passages are quicker, insurance is possible, and regularity has developed trade and increased passenger traffic. But the untravelled Chinese, who at first smarted under loss of business, has now travelled, and he asks, Does any other country in the world allow foreign flags to participate in its coasting trade? Does any other throw open its inland waters to outsiders, and those, too, outsiders who are not merely enjoying special commercial advantages, but are also by treaty extra-territorialized? So that such change is not all good. The native capitalist of former days is a beggar now, and the crowds of junkmen he employed are as angry with their Government for permitting the

foreigner to step in and seize such local trade as with the foreigner himself for doing so.

In all such cases, the transition period is a bitter one. Many suffer, and much bad blood is engendered; but time, that wonderful restorative, brings its remedy, and much Chinese capital is now invested in steamers. The Chinaman is taking many a leaf from the foreign interloper, and the day will yet come when China's coast trade and river traffic will all be done by vessels under the Chinese flag. Doubtless, the same kind of experience, and the angry feeling with which any man sees another interfere and take the bread out of his mouth, have also had something to do with the readiness with which railway lines have been destroyed and trains wrecked during the Boxer troubles, and perhaps, too, even with some of the difficulties foreign enterprise stumbles against inland. Whether the superior strength of even a more civilized nation can be legitimately employed to dictate, or even to obtain international concessions of a kind which, on the one hand, create difficulties for an internal administration, and, on the other, displace native methods and substitute foreign enterprise, need not be discussed. But it is an unquestionable fact that native populations will always feel sore when ousted from business by privileged foreigners, and that in China grants of advantages which are made at the expense of and without consideration for or the consent of the nation's component parts—the Provinces—will cause ill-will and end in failure.

A notable instance of this latter kind is the concession which opened all inland waters recently to steam navigation. Not only were the Provinces neither consulted nor taken into consideration, but the concession became known to the public, and was even formulated, before negotiation had had its final say in the matter. The Chinese ministers were proceeding on the assumption that the waters would be opened to steam in accordance with either existing native craft rules or new regulations yet to be drawn up; and it was so far a conditional concession. But, unfortunately, the first form it appeared under in public was absolute, and the inland waters were spoken of as if opened to steam without regulations! The result has been what might be expected. The experiment is a failure in the eyes of the world, precisely to the extent to which it has been attempted to subordinate it to necessary rule, and bend it to meet existing local

conditions; and it has irritated everybody—native merchant and foreign merchant, foreign official and native official. Some will question the wisdom of accepting such a concession at all—a concession proposing to open inland waters to foreign vessels, considering the difficulties and disputes it must inevitably give rise to in connection with both its trading and its magisterial sides; for occurrences will assuredly furnish inland cases of many kinds for foreign courts to deal with, while inland trading competition, however much it may tend eventually to improve inland trading methods, must certainly disturb inland traffic and hurt inland traders. But, in any case, such a concession ought to be well threshed out, so as to secure the maximum of benefit with a minimum of damage; and not only ought each Province to be separately consulted and separately legislated for, but regulations ought to be adopted of a kind that shall accord with provincial circumstances and requirements, and prevent the concession from being so used as to create internal difficulties, or be injurious to the interests of the native inland traders. The original idea was simply to allow steamers to do in inland waters what junks do. But, while it is a question whether steam traffic could thrive or pay under junk regulations, it is also worth consideration whether they should be not only extra-territorialized inland, but also be so privileged as to hurt native interests and oust boat owners and native traders.

What foreign merchants can to-day do in China may, without going into details, or loading this paper with statistics, be thus described: They may import foreign goods into China, and export native products from China, through any one of some thirty treaty ports, on payment of a tariff duty amounting to what was five per cent. on the values of 1860; and they may take foreign goods to, and bring native products from, any place inland, on payment of an additional half tariff duty, as Transit Due. They may also convey Chinese produce from treaty port to treaty port, paying a full export duty on shipment and a half duty on landing. At the treaty ports where they reside, they are freed from all local taxation, and they may bring in whatever they require for their own personal and household use, duty free. Everywhere they are withdrawn from Chinese control, and placed under that of their own national officials, the consuls; but merchandise can be moved only in accordance with Chinese customs regula-

tions, and ships must anchor in accordance with harbor rules and the directions of the Chinese harbor-masters. Merchants may trade with and employ whatever persons they please, and their movements are free and unrestricted. Such, in a few words, is the foreign merchant's position in China. Treaty makers secured for him all he asked for, and the Chinese Government assented to it. It is not desirable that he should live everywhere, seeing that he is withdrawn from Chinese jurisdiction; but in the case of missionaries, this prohibition is not enforced, although the right is open to question, as being found only in the Chinese text and not in the corresponding foreign text of a treaty which says that the foreign text rules wherever opinion differs as to interpretation. The merchant's transit rights, which practically open to him or his agent every market in the interior, have the drawbacks already alluded to—drawbacks which originated in either ignorance of or inattention to local requirements, in defective legislation and in abuse of the treaty privilege. Otherwise, the foreign merchant's status and freedom leave nothing to be desired, except from the Chinese point of view, which thinks them too privileged. As to the merchandise he may deal in, the only article a foreigner may not touch is salt; and he must take out special permits and comply with special conditions if he trades in munitions of war; and he does trade in them, and finds it profitable; and he is not allowed to export native rice from China. He is thus free to import whatever he thinks he can find a market for, except salt, and to export whatever he can find in the country for sale except rice. Weekly mails carry his correspondence to all parts of the globe, telegraph lines connect him with Chinese places inland, and cables with the rest of the world; local banks supply all banking facilities; post-offices compete for the honor and profit of carrying his mails; newspapers are at hand to ventilate questions of all kinds and advertise his wares and ships; schools are springing up for the education of the children that cannot be sent home, and there are churches and chapels for all denominations of worshippers, lawyers and courts for all sorts of litigation, and doctors and hospitals for all who are ailing. He has his own docks for repairing and building ships, mills for weaving cloth, and manufactories of various kinds. He has also lately been building railroads, and syndicates have been formed to build more, as well as to work mines and start other industries

in the interior. The Boxer doings have, however, interfered with these later developments, and have led thinking people to wonder whether the exploitation of China inland is the safest of paying investments for capital.

Such being the condition and methods of Chinese commerce at this date, as far as foreign trade is concerned, all who are interested in it will naturally ask what can be done to extend and expand it in the future, and make it at once more profitable to foreigners and more acceptable to natives, whether traders or officials. This task was being taken in hand when the Boxer movement was growing; but although not abandoned, it is postponed, one might almost say, indefinitely. In the autumn of 1899, a special commission was appointed by Edict to consider the subject of tariff revision and questions therewith connected, and its members hoped to make it the commencement of a new era of profitable and acceptable commercial relations. These were Sheng Hseuen Huai (a titular metropolitan official, who is Director-General of Telegraphs and Railroads, and Manager of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company), Nieh Chi Kuei (Provincial Treasurer and Acting Official of the Province of Kiang-su), and Sir Robert Hart (Inspector-General of Customs and Posts). After several meetings they separated in May last, to resume their sittings again in October. But the Boxers reached Peking a few days afterward, and governmental chaos has upset all plans. The commission would probably have elaborated various proposals for the consideration of the Chinese Government and the treaty powers in the interest of trade. Meantime, it may not be without its advantages to put forward some of the views then discussed, and some of the points which the experience of the past shows to be worth reconsideration.

The Extra-territoriality and Most Favored Nation clauses will, of course, be retained, whether old treaties are revived or new ones negotiated after the present disorder ends. But to the latter it would be fair, and in the general interest, too, to add a rider to the effect that whatever power claims to participate in any advantage newly accorded to another power by China will, on the other hand, accept and be bound by the conditions on which such advantages are granted.

The Tariff requires revision, for since 1860 all values have altered, and many new commodities have appeared. Whether it is

to remain a five per cent. tariff or be made ten per cent. is a point for negotiators to deal with. The commission consulted the provincial officials in this connection, and purposed to propose a ten per cent. import duty, plus a five per cent. transit due, payable simultaneously, coupled with the total abolition of all other taxes on such imports forever after and everywhere, and the Government was to arrange for the equitable division of the amount so realized between the central and the provincial treasuries. As for exports, it was under consideration to retain the five per cent. rate, but do away with the right to bring produce from the interior under transit passes, coupled with an undertaking to refund to the exporter, at the time of export to a foreign country, whatever amounts he had paid on such produce over and above a half tariff rate between the place of purchase and the port of export. Some such arrangement would satisfy the provincial officials, would efface hostility to the spread of foreign trade, and would also at once do away with the malpractices and abuses connected with the present unpopular transit system.

The most important point of all, however, is that which is connected with negotiation. Negotiation concerning commercial matters ought not to be in any degree of the nature of dictation, and it ought to proceed slowly and cautiously, and not only with a perfect knowledge of facts and circumstances, but with a full and friendly consideration for the other party's views and necessities; and in no country is this more necessary than in China, an Empire composed of a score of grand Provinces, each a kingdom in itself, with its own budget and its own system of taxation. What is good and suitable elsewhere is not necessarily so in China, and a negotiator there, to do any matter justice and formulate a workable and useful rule, must put himself in the other's place, and see with the other's eyes. Such procedure, in addition to being what justice and common sense demand, would have the additional recommendation and advantage of winning the native negotiator's sympathy, and enlisting the Chinese Government's support, and so would secure honest effect for the rules agreed on.

But let negotiators be as painstaking as you please, they and their Governments only lay the rails, so to speak, and the merchant himself must provide the trains and find the passengers. Individual study, individual exertion, individual tact and initiative are the necessary conditions of success in any individual commer-

cial career, and in the thence growing general expansion of commerce. Governments do the best they can, according to their lights and requirements, to provide openings and afford protection; but the real work of founding a house, building up a business, extending connections and making it pay, must be done by the merchant himself. Whoever looks Chinawards must also remember that the country has its own civilization, and has been perfectly settled for tens of centuries; that it has an immense trade of its own, by the side of which foreign commerce is so far a mere bagatelle; that although foreign commerce is growing and will go on growing, the tendency is for it to pass more and more into Chinese hands in China (as I write a case of California claret has just been brought in, which, the label tells me, was imported and bottled by a Chinese store-keeper in Shanghai); that competition is great, and individual profits small; that taste for novelty is to be cultivated, wants created and customers' wishes consulted; and that, although with a population of four hundred millions there would seem to be no bounds to the possible demand of consumers, the Chinese are quite able to dispense with foreign commerce and supply all they require for their own consumption.

As for those who wish to improve communications, build railroads, open mines and start various industries, they, too, should remember that their eagerness to supply does not necessarily mean a corresponding demand, and that whatever they do take in hand can only be a success provided native sentiment and prejudices are studied and shown consideration for. The syndicates which handle concessions owe it to their shareholders to see that their title is not only legally indisputable, but locally acceptable; otherwise, failure must be, and dividends need not be, looked for. The motto of the Chinese trader is to live and let live, and his trading strength lies mainly in combination, an inherited science of business organization, safe for its members and not harmful to their clients; and he is quite a match for the foreigner whose aim is to cut the ground from under his neighbor's feet, and whose commercial gospel is that competition is the life of trade.

ROBERT HART.

THE SIMULTANEOUS NEWSPAPERS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BY ALFRED HARMSWORTH, EDITOR OF THE LONDON "DAILY MAIL."

THE comparatively slight progress that has been made in the development of the newspaper during the last hundred years inclines one to the belief that we are still merely at the fringe of journalistic development.

The newspaper as an institution is an essentially modern outgrowth of civilization. The earliest British example is seen in *The Courant, or Weekly News,* of 1621. Less than three hundred years old, the Press is a thing of yesterday when compared with the Theatre, which had reached a high stage of development long before the Christian era; or with the Parliament, which in one form or another existed among the most ancient civilizations.

In America, the issue of the pioneer paper, *Publick Occurrances, both Foreign and Domestick,* from a Boston press in 1690, marked the birth of that vast newspaper enterprise which makes such an impression upon the Englishman who crosses the Atlantic for the first time. The fact that the little news-sheet was promptly suppressed by the authorities of Massachusetts forms a curious commentary on the subsequent extraordinary growth of periodical literature in the United States.

Fourteen years later, on April 24, 1704, *The Boston News-Letter* was established.

The report of the Tenth Census, published in 1884, showed twenty-nine daily journals published in the city of New York, as against twenty-eight at that time published in London.

Having in view the vast supply of morning, evening, weekly and Sunday editions, employing scores of thousands of workers and consuming millions of tons of paper, my assertion that the newspaper Press has shown comparatively slight development dur-

ing the past century may, perhaps, seem paradoxical, and be met with considerable incredulity. But I maintain that, considering the fact that practically every new invention of real importance is sooner or later called into the service of newspaper production in one way or another, the development has been less than might reasonably have been expected.

Telegraphy, telephony, electrotyping, process engraving, rapid transit both by land and water—all these, and a host of other inventions, have been applied in one way or another to the newspaper, and yet newspapers have not exhibited such rapidity of progress in mechanical matters as is seen in the evolution of the up-to-date battleship, or such perfection of organization as has been attained by one or other of the greater American Trusts.

To the enthusiastic American temperament—which does not worry about the past, considers the present altogether delightful, and takes the most optimistic view possible of the future—these remarks may come somewhat as a surprise.

"No progress indeed!"—I can imagine the tone of indignant protest. "Look at the rotary press, the mechanical typesetter, the lightning stereotyping box, the use of the cablegram, of wood pulp, the development of the 'interview,' the equipment regardless of cost of the war correspondent with his special despatch boat and his despatch riders, the more popular presentation of news and ideas, and last, but not least, the abundant use of illustrations!"

But many of the developments just referred to by my supposed objector are not altogether new, and some of them are not unmixed blessings, as, for example, the last of them—the illustrations which are so much in fashion nowadays.

I venture to think that twenty years hence, if illustrations are then as frequent a feature of purely news journals—which I greatly doubt—the present day newspaper picture will seem to our sons as great a curiosity as does to us a copy of the London *Morning Post* or the New York *Advertiser* of a hundred years ago.

An occasional newspaper illustration, if it can be properly produced, is no doubt a good thing, and is appreciated as helpful by the reader; but many of the present-day illustrations are quite unnecessary, and are merely given as a matter of habit, or because rival journals use them, or even for the less urgent reasons

that there is a certain amount of space to be decorated and artists or photographers to be kept occupied.

The political cartoons and fashion plates are often excellent; but, when portraits are attempted, the result is usually unrecognizable, if not absolutely grotesque. Even when half-tone engravings are employed, the present imperfections of the printing press often reduce them to mere smudges. No daily journal which relies principally upon its illustrations has been, in any real sense, an overwhelming success. Even the genius and untiring labor of the late Mr. Thomas could not raise the *Daily Graphic* of London to such a high-water mark of success as its weekly namesake.

The fact is that newspapers throughout the whole world have gone on imitating each other for many years past, with here and there a minute and superficial improvement or alteration, which is heralded as a great stroke of originality. When a new journal appears—after a prolonged period of sensational promises—one turns to it in the hope of finding something really novel, something that will compel other newspaper proprietors and editors to seriously consider their ways—but only to be once more disappointed. The new arrival is "new" only in title and in the personnel of its staff. In matter, style, news and form of production it is only a more or less colorable imitation of some existing journal, and we have just one more newspaper of the old orthodox type.

Some of us have not yet realized the fact that the ordinary news-sheet is hopelessly clumsy in shape, verbose as to matter, and most imperfect as a record. I am not attacking the Press of any particular country, nor do I except any one country from my statement; the differences between the newspapers of different countries are very slight, certainly not so great as the contrast in the laying out of their cities, in the general appearance, for instance, of such centres as New York, London and Paris. This is certainly a noteworthy phenomenon, when one realizes the distinctions in temperament, modes of thought and methods of action which exist between the leading nations of the world.

With the newspapers of the whole civilized world before me each week, I look in vain for any great and impressive stroke of originality or daring. We still cling to the clumsy and awkward shape in which our newspapers are issued, and the man who has attempted to manipulate one of them on a windy day will best

appreciate the force of my remarks. Why should this relic of the days of the old and slow flat printing-press still inconvenience us daily? By the use of improved machinery it would be possible to issue the newspaper of the future in what is obviously its proper form—a small, portable and neatly indexed publication of the size of page of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and of the bulk and appearance of the New York *Outlook*, the best of weekly reviews. Something of the kind has been done in Germany, and one proposal to issue a daily journal in handy form was made in England (by Mr. Stead), but fell through.

Probably, the inherent conservatism which shows itself in men of all nationalities has something to do with the general attitude regarding this not unimportant question of shape; but this is a poor excuse at best. It will not satisfy the newspaper reader of the twentieth century.

The journals of the principal countries present at first sight certain strong contrasts, but a little examination proves that these are superficial and apparent rather than real.

To the Englishman who goes to America for the first time, some of the newspapers seem to be outrages on the public taste, and all of them to be arranged on a principle difficult for him to grasp at the outset. But after a very short acquaintance he is able to find his way about the American newspaper without much trouble, and he begins to feel at home in it. Sooner or later, the fact dawns upon him that it is practically the same as his newspaper at home, the differences lying mainly in its unwieldy bulk, "scare headlines," and a greater directness of style.

When the American comes to England, the British journal sits as heavily upon him as does the British climate. I have often watched him twisting and turning one of these great, big, dull puzzles of ours, yearning for the little home news that he may, or may not, find buried there, and thoroughly disgusted with what he considers the lack of arrangement, and even of news itself. But, as in the case of the Englishman, he soon discovers that the news is there very much as in his own familiar journal. The chief difference lies in the fact that it does not stand prominently out on the page and strike his eye at a first glance.

Turning to the German Press, one finds that, although as a rule very accurate, and in some cases issued in a far more handy form than the familiar "blanket sheet" with which most of us

wrestle at our breakfast tables, it is, as a whole, stupendously heavy. In the words of Mr. Charles A. Dana, no mean critic:

> "There are very few first-rate papers in Germany, not one anywhere which is to be compared to the American newspaper in the variety of news that it furnishes, in the amount of resources that are applied to it, or generally in the ability with which it is conducted. The German newspapers are like the German learned men, exceedingly learned, but not always in contact with the living sentiment of the people. They pursue their own theories, remote from the people, and do not feel their pulse and know their thoughts and understand their part at all times."

Among the newspapers that, in my opinion, are now making real progress, setting aside their entire lack of commercial morality, are some of the French journals. They have always been noted for their high literary excellence. The anonymous editorial has never been a particularly strong feature of the French newspaper. On the other hand, pure literature, in the shape of fiction or criticism, has been one of its chief characteristics. Nearly every French man of letters since the Revolution—and to some extent before—has been a regular or occasional writer for the Press. One has only to mention, among noted French journalists, such men as Marat, Mirabeau, Brissot, Camille Desmoulins, Sainte-Beuve, and, in more recent days, Thiers, Lemaitre, Sandeau, Zola and M. Brunetière, to call to the reader's mind the names of many others that might be enumerated. The French papers are now adding to their pre-eminent literary excellence very good news-services. For example, *Le Matin* is in many ways a better-written newspaper than is issued either in the United States or in Great Britain. In addition to its own news, it gives practically the whole news-service of the London *Times*.

One of the chief reasons for the slow progress of modern journalism may be due to the undoubted fact that, with brilliant exceptions, the best brains of the Anglo-Saxon countries have not hitherto gone into the profession of journalism, or have left it after a somewhat brief career. In Great Britain, they generally find their way to the Bar or into the public service. Notable examples of this process may be seen in the cases of Mr. John Morley, who left an editorial chair for a seat in the Cabinet, and of Sir Alfred Milner, who, after a somewhat brief career on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, entered a Government office, and is now Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa.

One might also mention Lord Salisbury, who, in his younger days, was a writer for the daily Press. In passing, it is impossible to avoid lamenting the loss which British journalism sustains in the fact that Lord Rosebery's unrivalled powers as a critic, debater and organizer are not at its disposal.

While the Bar and the public service have stolen so many of our best men in England, business and politics have proved equally attractive on the other side of the Atlantic.

I have sometimes thought, and I have been severely admonished for making the suggestion, that British and American newspapers are not always equal to the average intelligence of their readers. Possibly, this is one of the reasons why, among the more educated classes, newspaper opinion carries weight merely because of its known influence on the gentleman whom in England we call "the man in the street." It is commonly supposed that the individual just alluded to has no interest in literature, that he would rather read the language he is accustomed to speak, and that a slangy colloquial style has most charms for him. Now, while it is undoubtedly true that the ponderous and involved style adopted by some British newspaper writers of repute is not at all to his liking, I do not think that any such sweeping assertion can fairly be made. It is certainly the case that the average newspaper reader has shown his appreciation of writers like Rudyard Kipling and Andrew Lang, and still more emphatically of G. W. Steevens, whose recent death in South Africa called forth eloquent tributes from both sides of the Atlantic.

Is the "power of the Press" what it was?

With all its world-wide dissemination of facts and opinions, I am certain that the influence of the newspaper has not grown during recent years. In England, the gradually disappearing editorial—or "leader," as we term it—formerly possessed great weight. It was read and quoted by all men of intelligence. A large proportion—probably the majority—of Englishmen formed their views by the pronouncements of their favorite papers. The editor and the leader-writer controlled much of the thinking of the nation. This is certainly the case no longer. I greatly doubt if one newspaper reader in fifty condescends even to glance at the article which presents him with a well-considered judgment on some important questions of the day. The great cry is for news. The latest telegrams and reports are the first things that are read.

But even here the Press has lost in reputation. Lately, there has begun a kind of internecine warfare between the various organs of the Press, by which they very largely injure their own positions and that of their opponents. An item of news published in one paper is immediately discredited in another, and the public, naturally enough, comes to the opinion that newspapers are usually inaccurate, and too often dismiss a perfectly correct statement as mere "newspaper talk." It is highly probable that the craze for collecting more news if possible than one's contemporaries has something to do with this. I may be pardoned for saying that the newspapers of America seem to me to devote far too much space to news items altogether trivial and unworthy of publication. As Mr. Charles Dudley Warner said:

"The journal must cease to be a sort of waste-basket at the end of a telegraph wire, into which any reporter, telegraph operator, or gossip-monger can dump whatever he pleases. We must get rid of the superstition that value is given to an unimportant 'item' by sending it a thousand miles over a wire."

In England, where the newspaper is still treated very seriously by a large section of the public, this sort of thing is beginning, but it will probably not go far.

It needs to be pointed out, too, that the mere multiplication of newspapers, and the speed with which one set of views is controverted, or an item of news contradicted, tends very largely to the destruction of what is called "the power of the Press."

Prince Bismarck, in a cynical moment—probably irritated by an editorial opposing his policy—once defined journalism as nothing more than printing ink on paper. But his belittlement of the Press needs to be read in the light of the fact, that never in the whole history of statesmanship has any man made more constant and effectual use of the Press than did Prince Bismarck himself. His scornful dictum may be disregarded; but there is a very real danger lest the public may come to a similar valuation of newspapers. The public craving for sensation, and the competition that makes every editor eager, if possible, to produce a more imposing budget of news than his rivals, are undoubtedly answerable for much that has tended to undermine the influence of the Press.

The question what to put before the public, and in what manner to place it before them, is one that calls for the keenest acumen and best judgment on the part of the newspaper director. Here,

undoubtedly, the Press of the United States is in advance of that of Great Britain. Such newspaper leaders as Pulitzer, Dana, Bennett, Hearst, Raymond, Jones, Childs, Medill, Lawson, Russell, Cummings, Taylor, Pulsifer, Halstead, Patterson, De Young, Singerley, Godkin, Greeley, McKelway, Watterson and Wilbur Storey have had but few counterparts with us. The instinct that tells what is news, and how the public will best take it, is not given to every writer. There is a great art in feeling the pulse of the people.

Probably another secret of the waning influence of the newspaper is to be found in its wearisome prolixity. Our age is a busy one, and men work at a pressure hitherto unknown. They cannot afford the time to wade through a column of verbose descriptive matter in search of a problematical item of news. This is becoming more and more recognized in America, where the brief, "snappy" style and the informative headline have their native place. But the information afforded by the headline should find confirmation in the paragraphs that follow.

It must not, however, be supposed that, because I have passed this criticism upon the Press of the nineteenth century, I take any gloomy or pessimistic view of the future. On the contrary, the future of journalism in the twentieth century impresses me as being full of hopefulness. There are abundant signs that we are witnessing the birth of developments in newspaper enterprise which will make the past look insignificant by contrast. To predict with certainty the precise form that will be taken by those developments would call for the gifts of the prophet or the seer; but there are certain tendencies among us to-day which have come to stay, and I am strongly of opinion that behind them lie the forces which will direct the future growth and shape of newspaper enterprise.

We are entering the century of combination and centralization. For good or for ill, the day of the small trader is past, and that of the great emporium has come. The tendency is for large corporations to absorb the individual. I do not say that this is the best possible state of things; I only refer to it as a fact to be dealt with. I feel certain that the newspaper of the twentieth century will be drawn into the vortex of combination and centralization. In fact, given the man, the capital, the organization, and the occasion, there seems to be no reason why one or two newspapers

may not presently dominate great sections of the United States, or almost the whole of Great Britain. In other words, where there are now a multitude of papers—good, bad and indifferent—there will be then one or two great journals.

I do not know whether the thing could be done in a lifetime, for such an organization would necessarily be of slow growth, but I have no doubt that it could be done; the project is already forming itself in a humble way on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United States, Mr. Hearst is issuing his *American* in Chicago, his *Examiner* in San Francisco, and his *Journal* in New York. In England, I may be allowed to point to my own newspaper, which is published simultaneously each day in London and Manchester, two great centres of population two hundred miles apart, and, by means of my own railroad trains, is read at breakfast tables five hundred miles apart each morning. It will also be known to most Americans that Mr. Pulitzer has two papers, and that the Galveston *News* is published simultaneously at Dallas and Galveston in Texas.

Though not bearing on my scheme, a remarkable instance is that of Mr. Bennett, who publishes his journal simultaneously in two continents, with the Atlantic rolling between. Thus the views of the New York *Herald* are spread throughout Europe each day, almost as rapidly and effectively as they are in the United States. In passing, one should remark that Mr. Bennett has adopted the singular but not unwise policy of conducting his American newspaper in Europe, whereby he not only secures the best news-service of any United States journal, but by persistent personal effort is able to wield a very considerable influence on European politics as they are affected by those of America, and *vice versa*.

To a mere theorist, such a simultaneous issue of a newspaper in a dozen centres, separated by hundreds or even thousands of miles, would seem to be fraught with difficulties so great as to exclude it from the arena of practical effort. But experience, both in America and in Great Britain, has proved that these difficulties —as is usually the case in everyday working life—melt into thin air when they are resolutely faced by the man who means to surmount them. So far as the plan has been tried by practical journalists, backed by sufficient capital, it has been found to work smoothly, economically and practically.

I wish to emphasize this point. The suggestion for a simul-

taneously published paper—national in its truest sense—is not the dream of a visionary, nor the outcome of a heated imagination. It has been practically tried, not on the large scale that I shall proceed to outline, but locally and sectionally. Chapter and verse in the history of modern journalism can be produced in proof of the feasibility of all that is here asserted.

My idea of the newspaper of the twentieth century may be thus expressed in brief. Let us suppose one of the great American newspapers—say *The Sun,* of New York, in my opinion perhaps the best arranged of all American newspapers—under the control of a man of the journalistic ability of Delane, the greatest of the former editors of the London *Times,* certainly the greatest political editor in the history of journalism, backed by an organization as perfect as that of the Standard Oil Company, and issued simultaneously each morning in (say) New York, Boston, Chicago, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other points in America; or at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Edinburgh, Belfast and Newcastle, in Great Britain. Is it not obvious that the power of such a paper might become such as we have not yet seen in the history of the Press? And would not such a journal effectually revive the waning influence of the newspaper upon the life and thought of the nation?

The thing is not so improbable as it sounds. The whole tendency of the times, both in America and Great Britain, is toward the concentration of great affairs in the hands of a few. I may perhaps say without offense that the power of the British Parliament is now practically concentrated in the hands of one family, the Cecils, of whom the Marquis of Salisbury is the distinguished head. They, and one or two allies, form an inner ring which dominates the Cabinet, which in its turn rules Parliament.

The control of our railways is now centred in a small organization composed of the heads of those railways, holding regular meetings and working in unison.

Whenever I wend my way along one of our leafy English lanes, and encounter the hideous wagon marked "The Anglo-American Oil Company"—the English name for the Standard Oil Company—it comes forcibly to my mind that what a Rockefeller can do in the matter of oil, with its hundred and one adjuncts, another Trust could effect in the way of news.

Such an organization, or combination, with its forty or fifty

simultaneously published journals, each adapted to its particular locality, could dominate the newspaper situation as effectively as Mr. Rockefeller and his able colleagues control the illumination of the British farm laborer's cottage.

But how could such a multiple newspaper come into existence? Obviously, it would have to be initiated by some man, or group of men, holding practically unlimited capital, and possessing intimate knowledge of everything appertaining to the journalism of their country. Such a group might easily be formed of the directors of three or four leading papers of New York or London, forced to an unwilling friendship by the desire to escape competition. By combining their forces, they would be in a position to command the situation.

In my opinion, their first steps would be to buy the best brains, newspapers and machinery, to construct private telegraph wires and cables, or—where existing monopolies for the time prevented that course—to purchase the exclusive or preferential use of the wires. That this can be done is within the knowledge of every newspaper man. The immediate result would be that the journals owned by this combination would secure such capital, such a news service and other advantages that their rivals would be seriously incommoded.

The power to undersell would drive many newspapers into the combination, and little by little rival newspapers would be so weakened that, where they did not die a natural death, their purchase or absorption would be a comparatively easy and inexpensive step. The less important ones would be allowed to drop out of existence, but the others would continue to appear in their old form, but containing much identical news matter, and, of course, under the control of the combination.

By this time the wealth and influence of the combination would have grown to such an extent that opposition would be as futile as it has been in other fields. Backed by the acknowledged facts of an ever-growing circulation, an unlimited capital, and a practical monopoly of all the best writers and news-services of the whole world, the directors of the simultaneous newspaper could carry all before them. After the fashion of the great commercial Trusts of the United States, they could simply stamp out opposition and rivalry. It would be in their power to give any rival newspaper concern the option of either combining with them,

selling out, or facing financial disaster. They would be able to practically force their own journal upon any city or district. They would hold the newspaper monopoly of the land.

I do not say that such a state of things would be the best possible, either for journalism or for the community. Personally, I should oppose it very vigorously. The history of great Trusts shows that the question is a many-sided one. But I do say that the thing is practicable, and—unless I altogether mistake the signs of the times—it is beginning!

There would be practically no limit to the possibilities of such a development. Possessing its own cables, wires, despatch boats and special trains, the simultaneous newspaper concern would soon have its own paper mills, printing-ink factories, machinery shops and the like; this is already partly true of the London *Times* and other leading journals. It would probably take the control of all railway and street news-stands, and by persistent and overwhelming pressure would compel all news-agents to accept the position of agents of the combine.

All this would involve simultaneous publication in the great centres of population. Distribution over a wide area by means of special newspaper trains has its obvious limitations. It is practicable in England, but would be out of the question in presence of the much greater distances of America. It is of vital importance that the journal should be on sale early and punctually. Distribution by railways is always subject to the contingencies of accident or delay on the line.

The case would be met by the existence of an adequate number of editorial and publishing offices, so distributed among the great centres of population as to be in close touch with all parts of the country, and all connected directly, by special telegraph and telephone wires, with the central office, which would be a great news-distributing agency, as well as the seat of control. My own experience, and that of others, shows that there is no practical difficulty in the way of telegraphing the entire contents of the paper to a distant branch office, where it is set up in exact *fac simile* of the London issue, with the addition of local news, and published simultaneously. It would, of course, be essential to pay adequate attention to this local news. This would involve, as with my own paper, the existence of a local news editor, with his assistants and a staff of reporters, in each centre. The simul-

taneous newspaper would be so arranged as to provide space for a given number of columns of local news. This could, of course, be increased or diminished as occasion required.

In a simple form, this kind of thing already exists in Great Britain and in America. The smaller local weeklies are seldom of purely local production. With us the whole of the newspaper, with the exception of the middle opening, is edited, set up and printed in London, and is then sent in sheets to the various towns, where a local staff insert the news items and advertisements of the district, and publish the paper. This is not a very high type of journalism, but it works well, and supplies a better service than could be obtained by the local staff alone.

The local editorial staffs, as with my journal, would also act as special correspondents for the metropolitan headquarters. In this way an organized and capable local news service would be substituted for the present method of employing some local resident to send along any news that he may think suitable—a method which frequently breaks down on an emergency, and at best is but a casual and haphazard one. Thus, there would still be abundant scope and employment for the most capable journalists of the nation.

What may be termed the floating journalism of the country would also be absorbed by the simultaneous newspaper. The "free lance," instead of scattering his "copy" broadcast, would, perforce, send it to the combination, through sheer lack of anywhere else to place it. Now, although this free lance work varies greatly in quality, there is always a sufficient proportion of good, and even brilliant, matter to make the asset a valuable one.

Probably, the development of the simultaneous newspaper, with its unlimited advertising powers, would soon result in a number of subsidiary weekly journals and magazines. A weekly edition, or a weekly supplement of miscellaneous matter—something after the fashion of the Sunday editions of the New York newspapers—would soon follow, and the establishment of a weekly illustrated journal of the highest class would be an obvious corollary.

A monopoly of the news-service would almost necessitate a series of weekly supplements, or associated publications, to deal with special subjects. Religion, science, education, finance, commerce, sport, law, medicine, and a host of other subjects of im-

portance to different sections of the community, would call for more adequate treatment than is possible in the columns of a daily newspaper. My subsidiary journals and magazines already exceed thirty in number, and include evening, weekly and monthly publications.

The simultaneous journal might with advantage be issued in three different forms daily in the more important cities. There would, of course, be the familiar morning and evening editions.

Such a national newspaper would have unrivalled powers of organization in all directions. It is no uncommon thing already for a great journal to equip a scientific expedition, to raise a war fund, or to carry through some great charitable enterprise. The admirable work done in this way by many of the leading American newspapers is too familiar to need further description here. Similar work has been done from time to time in Great Britain.

The simultaneous newspaper would possess powers of this kind which we can hardly estimate, and, under the direction of men whose inclinations turned that way, would very possibly become the centre of a vast network of societies, organizations and institutions.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to carry further this outline of the possible—and, as I think, the probable—development of newspaper enterprise in the twentieth century. As I have already stated, the principle of such a combination is no new one, and, in detail and at various times, nearly all that is here suggested has been successfully carried out.

It may, however, be objected at this point that the public as a whole is not enamored of Trusts, and would not view such a newspaper combination with any large degree of approval. This may be true enough. I am not recommending Trusts. I am quite alive to the darker side of their history. But I hardly see how the public could prevent the development of a newspaper monopoly. The initial stages would be accomplished without any great publicity, and when once an exclusive news-service had been secured, the rest would follow as a necessary consequence. People would not consign themselves to a condition of total ignorance of all news simply because they objected to a monopoly. To refer to an illustration already used, as long as the oil in the lamp gives a good light and costs a moderate figure, people do not

greatly trouble themselves about the Standard Oil Company and its methods.

At this point, it may be well to say something about the advantages and disadvantages which would follow upon the establishment of a simultaneously published national newspaper, holding a monopoly of the Press. To quote Mr. Charles A. Dana again:

> "The modern newspaper literally has its fingers reaching out toward every quarter of the globe, and every finger is sensitive, and every nerve brings back the treasures of intellectual wealth that are stored up there, and a photograph of the occurrences of life that are there taking place."

This finely worded description is not at all exaggerated, but it will be still more true of the simultaneous newspaper of the future, with its unique news-service and its unrivalled opportunities for publicity.

In other words, we shall see—or our children will see—journalism brought to a standard of excellence hitherto unattained. I suppose that perfection will still lie ahead even then, but it is hard to see how the situation could be improved upon. The simultaneous newspaper combination will possess the ablest directors, the most skillful editors, the most brilliant writers, and a monopoly of the news-service. Being its own manufacturer, it will work with the best materials, and, possessing vast resources, it will be able to accept a narrow margin of profit, and thus give the public greater value for their money. By the method of simultaneous publication the provincial purchaser will be placed on an equal footing with the dweller in the capital. As things are, he must either be content with an inferior local production, or wait till late in the day, when the great newspaper arrives by the mail or comes on the cars. Under the new régime he will find the national journal on his breakfast table.

In my opinion, the newspaper that I am describing will be able to maintain a higher tone and literary standard than is usually possible now. It will be able to ignore what may be called "non-news." I refer to the trivial and unimportant items and to the unedifying matter which every editor heartily longs to omit. Critics unacquainted with the Press often ask why all this unnecessary matter is not cast into the waste-paper basket. The answer lies in the existing rivalry and competition between

newspapers. If an editor omits all mention of some sensational but unelevating police case, for example, he knows full well that his rival will insert it, and will subsequently boast about his superior news-service! No editor can afford to let even the most superficial critic imagine that he has been caught napping. On the other hand, a newspaper possessing a monopoly could absolutely boycott all such items. I lay strong emphasis upon this, as it affords a solution to a problem that has long troubled all journalists who seek the best interests of the public.

Such a newspaper could maintain a high literary tone, and thus become an educative institution of the greatest value. This is true already of the best journals in most lands, but there is another side to the question. The existence of a gutter Press cannot altogether be ignored. Neither can we afford to neglect the fact that a considerable section of the public patronizes it. The new régime of journalism will promptly put an end to it, and will thus confer an additional benefit on the nation. The simultaneous newspaper will dominate the thought of the country, not so much by its editorials—if editorials continue to be written—as by its general style and tone. In the words of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner:

> "Editorial influence is not dogmatic and direct. The editor does not expect to form public opinion so much by arguments and appeals as by the news he presents and his manner of presenting it, by the iteration of an idea until it becomes familiar, by the reading matter selected, and by the quotation of opinions as news, and not professedly to influence the reader. And this influence is all the more potent because it is indirect, and not perceived by the reader."

Mr. Pulitzer's wonderful stroke of journalistic genius in connection with the Bond issue, Mr. Hearst's successful appeal to the people on the war issue between the United States and Spain, and the work of British newspapers in connection with the South African campaign, go to show what can be done in the direction of influencing public opinion even under existing circumstances. Imagine, then, the influence which would be exerted if an overwhelming majority of the newspapers in the United States spoke with the same voice, supported the same principles, and enunciated the same policy! Such a state of things would be a terror to evil-doers and to the supporters of anything inimical to the commonwealth. Napoleon once remarked: "Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets." But a

hostile Press, issued simultaneously throughout the land, would be simply irresistible.

It has been suggested to me that such an influence, if allowed to run counter to the general opinion of the nation, would result in an intolerable *impasse*. But I do not think such a thing would ever occur, for the simple reason that such a newspaper organization could only be carried out in the hands of thoroughly capable journalists. Mere capital, apart from journalistic ability, has never yet created a successful journal, and I am certain that it could never bring into being a simultaneous newspaper. Now, one of the prime essentials of a good newspaper leader is that he should be in intimate touch with his public. His finger must be on the pulse of the people, and his ear must be ever listening to their voice. He must be quick to note the smallest happenings which indicate the trend of public thought. A journal so demented as to purposely run counter to the honest feeling of the nation would soon have to file its petition and pass out into oblivion. The same would be true of a simultaneous newspaper.

But what side would this great newspaper Trust take in party politics? I do not think it would be called upon to assume a mere party attitude at all. The London *Times* is supposed to support the Government and the party in power at the time, on the ground that the party returned at the polls represents the will of the people. This principle is a sound one. It is not at all necessary that an influential journal should be a party organ. Some of the most successful in Great Britain at the present time are entirely independent of party, and simply aim at expressing the mind of the people. It may be added that nearly all the leading journals of Great Britain at the present day support the Unionist Government. The Radical Press, though highly respectable, is not very influential now.

I think that one of the good influences of a great newspaper monopoly would be seen in its tendency to minimize political differences and to bring about unity of thought and action. Much of the party feeling of the present day, on both sides of the Atlantic, is fed and fostered by certain inflammatory newspapers that depend upon political agitation for their circulation. This consideration would not affect the simultaneous journal, which would be free to advocate the best interests of the country, and

could do so with an influence far wider in its scope than has hitherto been possible.

As far back as 1863, the London *Times* enjoyed almost a monopoly of circulation and publicity. In that year Mr. Cobden drew Mr. Delane's attention to the fact that "four-fifths of the daily newspaper circulation issued from its press." I am not sure that it was at all a bad thing for the country. One strong paper of high tone can do more than a score of party publications daily engaged in quarreling with one another. The influence of the simultaneous newspaper upon Congress and the various local authorities would be effectual just so long as the journal continued to express the mind of the nation. We thus arrive practically at Government by Newspapers, but so long as that is only another name for Government by the People, no one need be alarmed at the outlook.

Thus far, the prospect is a decidedly attractive one, both for the journalist and the public. It would be easy to proceed much further and to indicate wider and more startling developments that might await the simultaneous journal. But it is seldom wise to indulge in dreams, and I have thought it better to confine myself strictly to developments which experiment has proved to be thoroughly practicable.

It is fair to add that, as the most wholesome food may under some circumstances turn to poison, so a great newspaper monopoly might, in bad hands, become nothing less than a national disaster. All would depend very largely upon the man or men at the head of it. In the hands of a weak man—still more so in the hands of an unprincipled one—such an influence might work great mischief.

But I am a firm believer in the sound sense and practical power of the people. Public sentiment has often forced the hand of the politician and brought effectual pressure to bear even upon monopolists. It would not be less potent in the case of a corrupt and mischievous Press.

Doubtless, the idea of another Trust is not a popular one. Experience of monopolies has not made us love them. They generally tend to raise the price and to lower the quality of the article they control. I do not think, however, that this would necessarily be the case with a national newspaper combination. Practical journalism is a very different thing from a corner in

pork or a deal in oil. It so essentially lives upon the approval of the public that any attempt to abuse its position would only recoil upon itself. People are not obliged to buy newspapers, as they are in the case of food-stuffs and clothing.

It may also be objected that the establishment of a great newspaper combination, ultimately absorbing or destroying all its rivals, would be a fatal blow at the freedom of the Press. I do not see the force of this. The Press would be raised to so commanding a position that its freedom would be greater than ever. One must remember that the freedom of the Press does not mean a license to say what we please, or to do whatever we like; but a freedom from outside interference or censorship. In my opinion, the party journals of the present day possess far less freedom than the simultaneous newspapers of the twentieth century will enjoy.

Let me repeat, however, that I am not advocating newspaper monopolies. I am only pointing out that they are practicable, and will probably soon become important factors in journalistic life.

I am profoundly hopeful of the future. I am convinced that the Press has its best days to come. Already, it is in touch with the people to an extent never attained before. Already, its influence has spread into the secret council chamber, as well as into the laborer's cottage. Already, it is leaving behind what is effete and antiquated, and is keeping step with the march of a progressive age. Already, it is casting off the domination of party and the serfdom of tradition, and has set its face steadfastly toward the light. And to this advance—a happy forecast of even better things to come—the enterprising and enlightened Press of America has contributed in no mean measure.

Journalism, though but a thing of yesterday, now overshadows the earth. The old Norse fable of the tree Ygdrasil, on whose leaves were written the scenes of the life of man, has been said to find a kind of fulfilment in the rustle of the myriad leaves of the world's Press, unfolded afresh every morning.

For good or ill, I believe its trend to be in the direction I have indicated, though it is unlikely that the complete newspaper monopoly will arise in the earlier end of the new century.

ALFRED HARMSWORTH.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

"We're going to form a Government of Examination and Enquiry," were the words used by the statesman who was called in 1886 to face the demand of the Irish Nationalists for a separate national Parliament. For some time before, he had been considered by his friends as "leaning toward Home Rule." The word has become nauseous, not only on account of the long political battle which has raged ever since as to the result of the policy signified by the phrase, but also on account of the doubt of what the phrase itself meant. Whether it meant management of district gas and water, or political separation founded on fancied lines of racial division; whether it was only a strictly guarded devolution of central power, or a surrender to men who hated that Government, none knew. All was conjecture.

It is necessary to go back fifteen years, to know how and why it is that a Government formed not on a conjectural platform, but one of tried and substantial planks, is in office. It is a Government not only in office, but in power, and with such power as has not been given before to any in England. Never before has a majority of 150 in the House of Commons followed the Government Whips' requests for five years. Never before has that majority, on an appeal to the polls, been sent back with power and purpose undiminished.

This is the consequence of that dubious phrase of 1886, "We're going to form a Government of Examination and Enquiry." Examination and enquiry into what? Into that which all men who had given any study to politics knew already perfectly well. There had been no manner of doubt as to what the Irish separatists demanded. "The narrow sea forbids Legislative Union with England; the ocean forbids Separation," was the most

friendly utterance toward England repeated by any responsible Irish Nationalist. But the majority declared they would have nothing but an Ireland ruled only by its own Parliament. It had been an ill-used nation in the past. It would be an ill-used nation now, if not allowed to have the laws of property and finance and representation altered to the views of the leaders of the Irish Democracy. The eighty Nationalist or separatist votes at Westminster would always be used to enforce the claim. It was only a question of time when an English statesman would be at the head of affairs with a precarious majority, and then the eighty votes "cast solid" must tell, and he must capitulate.

In 1886, they thought they had already found the man who would surrender. True, he had spoken all his life against such capitulation. But he was known to be imperious enough to desire power at the cost of surrender. Conscious of an almost divine purpose in all he did, why should it not be possible to convert himself, and England, to attempt that which surpassed the wit of man, and unite by disintegration? It only required enough time and enough talk! Would a separate House of Commons at Dublin crystallize antagonism? "Well, they say not—they say not." And so the great conjecture became in his mind the great, the almost divine, experiment. His friends, indeed, doubted, although it was almost blasphemy to doubt where he drove. To them came the words, "Examine and enquire. We're going to form a Government of Examination and Enquiry. We need not approach the Irish question for another year. A twelvemonth hence—next January!" And many followed into the darkness, groping and clinging to words, and believed in the twelve months' respite from embracing that which they and their chief had denounced through long years of patriotic verbiage. Oh, vanity of human, and even of Parliamentary, experts' "judgment"! Twelve months! No—in three months they had to swallow their principles, and produce their proposals to meet the demands of sedition!

That is what has ruled the situation ever since. It rules it now, although the immediate future is again shrouded in examination and enquiry. But the quest is now more for a new Leader, with an equal amount of indecision and an equal amount of captivating phrase. Several try the game of satisfaction of the eye or ear. Loud, sonorous music is played, and dexterous dancing

over the naked swords of difficulty is indulged in; and, like the dancer over the blades, great care is taken that not a little toe shall come into contact with realities. When rhetoric has done its work, in forming a party of enthusiastic generalizers, it will be time to "examine and enquire" into any policy which may be taken up. Some politicians are only happy, if, like the sea, they take any color that storm or sun may give to the sky above.

Men say that political memory is short; but it was impossible even for the most casual and careless to forget that these men had only been "Liberal" in the direction of constituting Ireland a separate nationality, at the end of lifetimes devoted to combating the Nationalist Irish claim. It was seen at once that the act was done for continued power, though cloaked in every fine phrase that could be drawn from the resources of casuistry and passion. It made England think that the party which could so surrender their convictions could not govern.

And it is to this idea, false or well-founded, that the strength of the Conservatives is due. Britain is at a time when men are required who can govern and know their own mind. The progress made in the expansion of the Empire through increase of trade, and the pushing of our people into new regions, has made it apparent that there must be no divided counsels allowed at home in speaking with those without the gate. The most intense jealousy and dislike have been nourished in foreign lands against us by the very fact of our successes. When their merchants have desired to push the protected trade of foreign countries, they have constantly found that the Union Jack had been carried to the places of vantage they desired to possess, and the free trade triple cross had found more favor than the tricolor bars. The best ports, the most coveted coaling stations, were already under the Union Jack. Somehow, also, though trade was subsidized by enormous grants from the foreign treasuries, and foreign capital and foreign flags were carried far, yet there was no flesh and blood behind these symbols. The men did not care to become colonists. If they went to countries beyond seas, it was not to carry with them their own laws and institutions and language, but to become Americans or Britishers, to speak English, and gradually to become citizens of Anglo-Saxon states or colonies. This fact alone is sufficient to account for much of the exasperation against England which one hears so often rising from the foreign press.

In private life, the poor do not care for millionaires who only use their riches to become yet richer. This was the rôle ascribed to Britain. The emigrants from the Continent go to her colonies, become rich in the commercial life of the Anglo-Saxon communities, and in a generation or two forget that they are Germans, or Dutch, or Swedes, or Norsemen, and, becoming naturalized, are lost to the lands of their fathers. Canadian Frenchmen have a sentimental feeling for old France, but their laws and institutions which they cherish, and which are secured to them in the Province of Quebec, are not the laws and institutions of modern France. Their richer citizens may revisit the places in Brittany and Normandy from which their fathers came, and may be attracted to Paris, but the language alone is like that they know as their own. The habits of the people, the genius of the centralized France which has absorbed the old Home Rule provinces of the north, or of Provence, or of Burgundy, or La Vendée, is quite different. Except in the Provinces separate of old, little of the religion they love is respected in the France of to-day. Canada is Catholic, loyalist, and peculiar. Modern France lives mostly apart from the Church, is all stamped with the Paris stamp, and responds to the feelings of a capital which has thrown off all monarchical ideas, all reverence for the past, and most of the fertilizing affection for laws that has made Canada prosperous, populous and reverent. It is not England who has known how to colonize, for her Government by its folly lost her greatest colonies in the United States. But it is the blended race inhabiting the British Isles which has known how to colonize, because, at home strong in freedom and populous with strength, it has spread wherever sail or steam could carry its sons, bearing with them the old love for the old laws, which were wrested from kings, and also from the Commonwealth of Cromwell.

This is the secret of the seeming miracle which has "painted the world red," and it is natural that envy and covetousness and the rivalry of governments should combine to dislike it, and to pour forth treasure in the attempt to do the like. It is not treasure, however, but the freedom of laws, that makes successful colonies, destined in time to be nations strong as the mother land.

Now, in this again, the men who became indifferent to Union under Legislature at home were found wanting in appreciation of the significance of their own extended Empire. Even Disraeli,

as a young man, caught the infection of indifference; but only for a moment. The burden of Empire, the cost of responsibility for those who seemed sometimes ungrateful for the protection accorded to them, the taxation involved in the maintenance of fleets bound to defend hundreds of thousands of miles of coast, far from England, weighed on these British politicians. How well I remember one of the most eminent of them asking, with some scorn, when a request involving some outlay was preferred, "Why, what is Canada—not 2,000,000 of people?" Yet this statesman had served at the head of the Colonial Office. He seemed not to have taken the trouble to look at Canadian progress since the time of his service, and remembered only the number of the population of that date, while it had grown from his recollection of two million to close upon five million.

The feeling among these politicians of the first half of the Queen's reign was practically this: "Let us, as soon as we may, get these expensive colonies to 'cut the painter' and shift for themselves. Why should our Budgets be weighted by their necessities?" It was the hand-to-mouth policy, the policy of the good of the moment only, which many believe to be the feature of democratic government. And yet, now that the Government of Great Britain is becoming hourly and daily more democratic, there is less of this sentiment observable than of old, when old Whigs and old Tories alike were becoming impatient of the expense of our children. To be sure, strength breeds respect, and a desire for friendship. But, when the young communities could give back little, it was natural that the parent land should sometimes grumble. Yet, in the main, the old land held by the younger. Some may think this came because the democracy was not able fully to assert the short-sighted interest of the day over the more abiding interests of the future. It may be difficult to persuade the "toiling masses" that any insurance for the future of the nation should come out of their pockets. Where men have little to spend, they wish their taxes to purchase immediate benefit. It is difficult for most governments to make the constituencies realize that distant lands have much in common with themselves, and that what seems a resultless expense to-day may prove to be money well laid out in a future unknown and conjectural. But the safety England has experienced against this danger of exclusion, selfishness and folly came from her own people. They

knew, in every hamlet and city, of the lives of their sons and brothers who had gone to the lands which now, as British Colonies, demanded sympathy, protection and union. Voltaire was a learned man who had seen men and cities. Yet he contemptuously spoke of the French American possessions as "a few acres of snow." What use was that to France? he asked. If he had been an Englishman with a family, some of whom had become pioneers in America, he would have known better. The English did know better. Where there was British blood, there was the ever-enduring British bond. And so, over the learning of the wise and the misgivings of clever politicians, prevailed the wider knowledge, born of the Imperial instincts of the people. They knew that their children's states were to them so much money at credit to be called in "against a rainy day." They even had forbearance with a British weakness shown by the younger peoples, a weakness strangely enough born of their own strength. This was the tendency to be unprepared for war. It was the fault of placing too great a confidence in themselves, and believing that when they exerted themselves it would be sufficient to place untrained British levies against the more highly trained forces of other countries. That is a most dangerous fault, which England has not now outgrown, and which is painfully apparent among her sons over sea. They may, one and all, have to pay most dearly for it. It has been illustrated very recently both in the United States and in England. One of the vast benefits of recent wars is that they have largely tended to dissipate this fault and folly.

It is a curious accident, but it has its significance, that the last "Liberal" Government owed its fall to the unpreparedness of the War Office in the matter of warlike stores. The supplies have been ridiculously inadequate, owing to the parsimony of the Treasury. Each War Minister in turn, no matter of what party, could have got the House of Commons to vote the money for whatever he declared to be necessary. But the "false shame" of shrinking from embarrassing colleagues by asking too much of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or of demanding what at all events might seem too much, has influenced successive ministers at the head of the Military, and, to a lesser degree, also, at the head of the Naval Department. The constant changes in ordnance, owing to the rapidity with which invention succeeded invention, has hin-

dered ministers at the head of these departments for national defense from recommending the use of vast sums on weapons which another year might render obsolete. There has not been in England the perpetual likelihood of imminent war which has kept Continental nations up to date in these matters. Take, for instance, the case of the so-called Creusot guns, lately used by the Boers. Those guns were made by Manchester machinery, offered to the British Government, declined by them, and then sold to the Schneider-Canet Company of Creusot, and resold by them to the Boers. The Boers knew how to use them by paying for Dutch, German and French artillerymen; and they have given the British a most valuable lesson in the mobility of guns which are classed by artillerymen of the English army as "guns of position." But the British artillery was good, having been brought "up to date," and was able to hold its own with guns of its own class. It was in the stores of ammunition for all guns and in the lack of movable guns of position that the British weakness lay. Now, for this the tone of the party which believes that it can get on without any warfare, except that which it may wage at home against the wealthier classes, is to blame in the first degree. Their opponents are also to blame, in a less degree, because it is not from their own ranks that opposition to war votes and money votes usually arises. "Whenever the Tory party are in for a few years," say the Liberals, "taxes increase, because wars come." It is the standing gibe of their platforms. To meet this, the Conservatives have not always been able to harden their hearts against a false economy. The Navy, in this last war, was supplied with the proper amount of ammunition, and with good guns. The Army had good guns, but only of one class, and very little ammunition. We may confess this now that the danger is past, and the thanks of Britain are due to Mr. Krüger and Co. for giving us so useful an object lesson. Never in our generation, and probably for a much longer time, will England have to go begging every firm of founders to work night and day to supply projectiles and ammunition of all sorts.

Whether the war will make any change in administrative rules, in regard to allowing the nation to know the wants of the Navy or Army by other channels than those of the civil representatives of the services in the Cabinet, is another matter. The press, and the professional soldiers and sailors, are always anxious to have

the supply of all arms sufficient. But the official mouthpieces of Fleet and Army are the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War—civilians both of them—who have struggled through a political campaign with the First Lord of the Treasury, and have a fellow feeling with him in his difficulties in calling on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide sums which will be objected to by the Opposition in the House of Commons. It is not easy to justify increased armaments, unless there be a war or a war scare. The Military and Naval people who are in office are not in power. They must remain dumb, and be represented or misrepresented by the politicians. They have only one resource, and that is to resign, which requires far more courage than what is to them a trifle, namely the facing of the fire of an enemy. A Naval Lord or Commander-in-Chief must be a very convinced person before he makes up his mind to become by resignation a very impecunious one. Besides, if he did make a martyr of himself, would he do any good? Would the public understand him, and follow him? Would he not be only sacrificing himself and amusing the public and his opponents? If the politician placed in office above him says there is enough preparation against an enemy, and he says there is not, would not the politician have most weight, and his sacrifice be rendered vain? The professional sailors at the Admiralty have more chance than have the professional soldiers at the War Office, because the sailors form a board of experts, who have to be consulted, if not obeyed, and their resignation *en masse* would produce an impression on the public. But at the War Office there is no Consultative Board of soldiers, and each military expert is carefully locked up in his own pigeon-hole, whence he is expected only to coo as the Secretary of State desires. It is a question, in regard to such paramount national interests as those of defense, whether it should not be permissible for a unanimous expression of the opinion of the professional men in both Admiralty and War Office to be made public through some channel other than the mouth of the Parliamentary representative of the Department. If the politician disagreed, he could still say so, and advance reasons besides the mere question of cost, against the spending of the money advised by the professional representatives at the Offices as necessary for national exigencies. In the United States, there is the President to decide between politicians and the service men. In Germany,

there is the Emperor. In Russia, there is the Czar. In Britain, there is nothing, not even a scandal!

The British public cannot know if it be in danger or not, except—and this is a large exception—except for the opinions of men of mark recorded in the press. This is a good but slowly acting medicine, and the effect of press censure may come too late. Official reticence may prevent the press from knowing the truth. Editors cannot always be investigating ammunition boxes.

The mighty wave of warlike enthusiasm which swept over the Empire when it was seen that foreign intrigue, reactionary ignorance and oligarchical exclusiveness had challenged British institutions in South Africa, has filled the ranks, so that 250,000 men have been put under arms at the Cape, and all the barracks in Great Britain are bursting with red coats, anxious to change their scarlet for khaki for service at the front. All the important colonies have contributed to this array in Africa. The Government boast that such a thing has never been done before, that this sending of over 200,000 men seven thousand miles from Scotland to Lydenberg is a feat unequalled in the history of warfare. So it is. But rather accidentally. We have had the advantage of a free sea, an unopposed landing, excellent harbors, and a time of peace and successful commerce, when any "tramp" ship was certain to arrive at her destination, and there was less difficulty in shipping eight or ten Army Corps to the Cape than there was at the time of the Peninsular War in sending a thousand men to Lisbon. This immunity from annoyance in shipping troops cannot always be depended on. What may be depended on is the constant help of the colonies, so long as the war that excites their desire to aid the mother country is a war like this war, a struggle to put down antagonism to the free institutions on which they are determined to have the Empire founded, if there is to be an Empire at all. Cunning and contempt of their neighbors may have been exhibited in connection with ignorance and dogged bravery before these qualities were shown by the Boers. But these qualities must, it is felt by all free English communities, be licked into another shape, if they are to be of service to the world at large. There is a considerable section of the British Liberal party audible at all elections who hate all war, and this war in particular; and yet you find that the very men who go out and away from England with these ideas, and voyage to South Africa,

come back or write back recanting all their former opinions. Judging on the spot, they see that there was no other course but to resist the Boer invasion of the British Colonies, and that there is no other means of insuring peace and diffusion of education and freedom to whites and blacks, but the ending of the cause of the outbreak—that is, the ending of the separate, backward nationalities sought to be made strong by the discovery of the gold mines, and to be fostered in antagonism to English and American institutions. But the party hostile to the war, and who are unable to see its necessity, will remain wringing their hands at their own people, and extending the same hands to take those of the enemy, in spite of all demonstration of the falsity of the sentiment they cherish. The same men will always protest against "bloated armaments" at home, and they will resist, as far as they can, any taxation of the people for the maintenance of a good army capable of holding its own against an enemy landed in England. Their opposition is not to be despised, for we all believe in the fleet, which is supposed to be not only invincible but omniscient. It is probable that they would not be pleased if the Colonies took in future the same view, and regarded their contribution to the Navy as quite sufficient, in case of any threatened maritime combination against England. Britain, if she keeps up a fleet equal to any two of her rivals, cannot keep up a fleet equal to three or four other fleets combined. We have had combinations against us as strong. We have new combinations of Science, as well as of multitudes, to consider, as forces to be possibly arrayed against us. We must only work so that if such combinations are made, we may also combine with our Anglo-Saxon kinsfolk, to keep alive our power and our prolific gospel of the expansion of free laws and popular government.

Whether such cohesion and common appearance in arms will be effectual in securing sufficient numbers to enforce these principles of freedom, when challenged by really powerful enemies, is a very difficult question to determine. We have no reason to doubt that the Anglo-Saxon peoples can enforce these views, if they are determined to do so. Each year strengthens them in population and in resource. The weakness Britain and other Anglo-Saxon peoples equally show in the want of the trained men without whom an army is a mob, is being slowly remedied "at home." New batteries of artillery are being formed. Heavier armaments

are being placed in forts. The cavalry is by no means adequate. Transport and commissariat for all but a handful of regulars are sadly wanting. We can look only on the Navy among our forces as being really "fit." But if it can do anything, it cannot go everywhere. It is probable that we must tax those who desire a life of ease, and who, although physically fit, will not give any time to training in any of the armed forces of the country. Each party meanwhile shuns proposing anything which may be called, however remotely, by the name of conscription. We still want a really good scare to enable us to possess an effective army in the modern meaning of the word. *"Non Angli, sed Angeli,"* may be said of any Government which shall do this without the help of a scare. But here again, as on so many points vital to national existence, it is not the party now discarded by the constituencies who are the likeliest ever to be regarded as Britain's guardian angels.

British relations toward Continental Powers are less threatened by any Government that leaves the peculiarities of these Powers alone and "takes them as they come," than by one which fusses because they are not like ourselves, as was often the case under less prudent administrations, which characterized one people as "unspeakable," and another by language which had to be withdrawn and apologized for.

The Eloquence of Denunciation is a danger. Indeed, too great eloquence in any responsible statesman is a perilous luxury. It delights the audience, thrills for a moment the public, and then, like even the best whiskey, is apt to be succeeded by a chill which is the penance for the passing exhilaration. The greatest orators are usually the worst political guides. Judgment is necessary for affairs. A man who has enough imagination to be supremely eloquent is not in a condition to have his judgment firmly seated. His own phrases, struck from burning indignation or its imitation, have too extended a reach. If taken seriously, the praise or dispraise exalts or abases in a degree which becomes in practice outrageous. The majesty of perspective is lost in the intoxication of phrase and passion. The speaker who sways a crowd with the melody of his sentences is too apt to have none of his sweet notes for the equal scales of Justice. His burning words may be good to incite to war, or during a contest, but are not of the essence of that economy in all things which is desired

by good Liberals. Luckily, we have now scarcely any rhetoricians. We have many business men on both sides, especially if lawyers may be considered men of business. Our orators are laudably dull. Our good talkers are in the ascendant.

Will the great majorities last—or for how long? Who can tell? The side represented by the vast majority of to-day is the same side that was represented by the vast majority of the last five years. It means union. It means no Separatist nonsense, and yet it has not interfered with the machinery of separation. It has not proposed to cut down the representation of the Irish secessionists by one vote, although they now have a ridiculous disproportion to the population represented respectively by English and Irish members. A Nationalist obstructs all proceedings of the House in the name of five hundred illiterates. An Englishman may represent 50,000 intelligent people, and is of no more weight than the Nationalist. Can such disproportion continue? The Union Government has not interfered with it. When the legislature of Ireland was merged with that of England, the representation was arranged on the basis of respective population in each country. This has all changed, and Irish Nationalists boast that, whereas at the time of the Legislative Union no British constituency could be influenced by Irish votes, now over thirty can be turned any way by the Separatist leaders. The conditions have totally changed, and yet the Nationalists are allowed to be "cock of the dunghill" at home, and to rule thirty British dunghills as well. What patience on the part of the Unionists!

Again, in the matter of social legislation, taxes on succession to property have been raised, so that men who paid £5,000 have now to pay from £40,000 to £45,000, and country gentlemen cannot live in their houses or give the same employment as before; and yet nothing of all this has been repealed by the Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the contrary, social legislation is all against capital, all in favor of labor, whether that means a withdrawal of that capital on which labor must exist, or not. Only at general pensions to all men and women at sixty-five does the Union Government hesitate. Trade flourishes. Revenue and Empire grow. But there are not enough trained white men to defend them on land, or to man the ships built to guard them by sea.

ARGYLL.

THE NEW POWER IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

BY HUGH H. LUSK.

THE establishment of the United States of Australia, under the novel title of "The Australian Commonwealth," is one of those events of history the importance of which is apt to be overlooked by most persons at the time they occur. It is natural that many should fancy that a political change occurring among a people occupying a distant country, directly connected with no other country, and not themselves what is known as an independent nation, can be of little moment to the rest of the world. In the case of Australia, such an idea is a mistaken one. The past history of the colonies now federated as one people; the relation which they occupy, and must continue to occupy, to the rest of the British Empire; the nature, position, and wealth of the great island continent which they have all to themselves; all tend to show that, in the advent of a United Australia, both England and the rest of the world have to do with a new power in the Pacific, whose influence must be increasingly felt within a very few years.

The nation of four million inhabitants just established in the continent of the South Pacific is, with the single exception of New Zealand, the youngest of the nations. Eighty years ago, it did not exist at all. Seventy years ago, it existed only as a handful of adventurers, set down beside a penal settlement, where something like twenty thousand banished criminals were expiating their offenses against society. Fifty years ago, it was a pastoral community, whose flocks were scattered widely over the fringe of an unexplored country, supposed by most people to be a vast desert, and looked upon, even by its own little band of pioneers, as only fit for growing sheep and cattle, free to roam over its wide plains. To-day, it is a people, small in numbers,

even now, when compared with the size of its territory, but energetic, enterprising, ambitious, and already wealthy beyond the experience of other countries or the dreams of most other nations. They have occupied the belt of land that encircles their continental island over a coast line of eight thousand miles; they have penetrated and explored the great interior plains of the country, till they have everywhere ascertained its general character; they have established agriculture suited to its varied climates; they have discovered and developed mineral treasures hardly surpassed in richness elsewhere in the world; they have opened harbors large enough to contain the navies of the world; they have built cities that rival most of those to be found in the oldest countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the achievements of the people of Australia in the last seventy years are unsurpassed by those of almost any other nation.

That they have owed much to their position goes almost without saying. Had it not been for the fostering care of the parent country—truly, a Mother Country to the younger members of her family—such steady and unchecked progress as theirs would have been impossible. Had it not been for her judicious control of their affairs in the earliest stages of their development, and for her equally judicious withdrawal from all interference with the management of their internal concerns, when they became ready and willing to manage them on their own account, they could never have adapted themselves to their conditions or developed their resources as they have done. But for the fact of their isolation in a continent that was all their own, too far from all other countries to be acted on by other peoples, too remote to be in any danger from their interference, it is hardly possible that they could have prospered as they have done, and quite impossible that they could have developed, as a people, the traits of national character likely at no distant period to render them important in the comity of nations. What her insular position has been to England, in assisting her expansion and determining her character, that, if not something more than that, it will probably be found hereafter, her continental isolation has been to Australia.

It must be remembered that there is nothing, except the single feature of isolation, in common between Great Britain and Australia. Indeed, it would be hard to find, on the face of the globe, two habitable countries that had less in common between

them either in climate or conditions of life. Whether the men who went there took up pastoral pursuits, as nearly everybody did in the earlier stages of colonization; or turned to gold mining and the many other employments that followed in its train, as everybody did in the second period; they found nothing to remind them of the country or the life they had left behind them in the little islands of the northern seas. They had brought with them the doggedly determined spirit which had been trained in the long centuries of England's slow growth, the adventurous temper which had taken her sons into every corner of the globe and made them the world's great pioneers of settlement, the heritage of equal laws and the instinct of self-government, which has enabled them everywhere to adapt themselves to circumstances or to compel circumstances to obey them. It was with these endowments that a mere handful of men undertook, something like seventy years ago, to exploit a continent and to build up a nation. It must be admitted that they have proved equal to the task. The story of Australian exploration has been written mainly by the hands of those who were the most active in the work, and no more remarkable record of human endurance can be found in the annals of any country.

At the moment of their consolidation into a united commonwealth, the people of Australia find themselves, man for man, the wealthiest of any nation in the world. They are in the unquestioned possession of a continental island, rich in land fit for settlement and industry, of every kind practiced in almost any part of the world by men of the race from which nearly all of them have sprung. They have already laid the foundations of a national prosperity dependent on no single product or industry, but embracing pastoral, agricultural and mining industries in almost equal degree; to which are rapidly being added manufactures of the kinds most suited to the circumstances of the country. Last year, the total value of the products of the colonies now forming the Commonwealth amounted to fully $550,000,000, of which their pastoral industries represented fully $150,000,000, their agriculture $140,000,000, their mineral products fully $100,000,000, and their manufacturing and other industries the remainder. This production was the fruit of the industry of a people numbering less than four million souls, and it therefore represents a sum of one hundred and thirty-seven dollars for

every inhabitant of the country: a sum which is probably twice as great as that representing the average earnings in any European nation, and at least half as great again as that in even this country.

And, in each of the departments of Australia's industry, there seems to be room for an expansion which is, practically, almost boundless. The hundred and twenty millions of sheep, whose wool alone was last year worth nearly $100,000,000 in the markets of the world, occupy but a small proportion of the country known to be suitable for their support; and that country can, it is said, be enormously extended by the boring of artesian wells, tapping the vast underground reservoir of water which runs inland from the rainy districts of the coast, and underlies the central plains of the continent. The whole of the coastal districts, extending about eight thousand miles, by a width of at least one hundred and fifty miles, are suitable for agriculture—some of it the agriculture of temperate climates, the wheat, and corn, vines and fruit trees we know so well; some the rice and sugar, the tobacco and cotton, of the tropical zone. The land is generally rich, the rainfall in the coastal belt is abundant, and, strange to say, even the most tropical districts are not affected by malaria nor unhealthy for people of European race. The mineral resources of Australia are not even guessed as yet. In the last forty-eight years, the country has produced gold to the value of about $1,800,000,000; in the last twenty, silver to the value of $150,000,000. Iron, copper, tin, lead, antimony, have been found in rich deposits in many parts of the continent, and are being worked in a few, with results out of all proportion to expectation elsewhere; and coal, of every known kind, extends in vast beds through districts spreading over thousands of square miles both on the eastern and western coasts, while millions of tons are being exported, year by year in greater quantities, to India and Southern China on the one hand, and to North and South America on the other. And yet, as we have already said, the mineral wealth of Australia is but vaguely guessed at. The richest discoveries of gold and iron and coal yet made in West Australia have been made on the extreme fringe of the great unknown land, as yet untrodden by the feet of white men; the great coal fields lately found in Queensland stretch back, apparently unbroken, into the unexplored districts, known in the ex-

pressive language of the country as "The Never-Never Lands." Diamonds are found in one district, rubies in another; there is at least one emerald mine in New South Wales; and opals, equal to any in the world, are found in Queensland, while the pearl fisheries of the northwestern coast produce a considerable proportion of the most valued pearls of commerce.

We have thus glanced very cursorily at the history of the development of Australia; we have said something of its present wealth, and hinted at its vast reserve of wealth, which necessarily remains as yet rather guessed at than definitely ascertained. It remains that we should say something of the present position of the Commonwealth in relation to Great Britain, before we can form any reasonably certain forecast of the results that are likely to follow upon the establishment of the new Federation.

At the present time, the colonies forming the Commonwealth are the most valuable to England of any part of her great possessions. It is not merely that she has invested vast sums of money in Australia, in the shape of loans, both public and private, from which she derives a great annual return as interest, although the principal thus invested amounts to rather more than $1,500,000,000, and the annual interest to fully $72,000,000. In addition to this—and even more important than this—is the fact that England finds in Australia at present her best customer for the goods she produces, and, with the single exception of India, among all her possessions, quite her largest supplier with the raw material which she manufactures. Last year England exported to Australia manufactured goods to the value of about $118,000,000, and received from the colonies now forming the Commonwealth the raw material for her manufactures of various kinds worth very nearly $150,000,000. India, which is still of all her possessions the largest customer for her goods, imported goods from England to the value of fully $156,000,000; but she only sent goods to Great Britain—and those to a large extent manufactured goods, and therefore less profitable—to the value of $136,000,000. Thus the total trade during 1899 between England and India was about $295,000,000, and that between England and Australia about $270,000,000. The total export of India to all foreign countries in 1898 was valued at about a billion of dollars, while that of Australia was valued at only $630,000,000; but the trade of India with Britain only represented three-tenths

of her whole trade, while that of Australia did not fall very far short of one-half of hers.

And if the new Commonwealth is compared with any other British possession, the contrast in her favor becomes much more remarkable. The case which suggests itself most naturally for comparison is, of course, that of the Dominion of Canada, both on account of its being, like Australia, an aggregation of colonies, and because it more nearly resembles the southern Federation in size, population, and circumstances, than any section of the empire. In the Dominion of Canada, England has a dependency with a population which probably exceeds that of united Australia, at the opening of the new century, by something like 1,400,000 persons. The total area of the Dominion is one-fifth greater than that of Australia. The colonies of which it is formed have—so far as all but one or two are concerned—been founded for a period more than twice as long as the colonial existence of Australia. In spite of all these facts, it is easy to show that even now the Dominion is of far less value to Great Britain commercially, and holds out a vastly less extensive promise of expansion to England's trade in any direction, than the Pacific Commonwealth. The total trade of Canada, to begin with, falls immensely short of that of Australia; for, while in 1897 all the foreign trade of the Dominion amounted in value only to a trifle more than $275,000,000, of which England secured less than one-third, the foreign trade of Australia in the same year was valued at more than $560,000,000, nearly one-half of which went to England.

The case of South Africa indicates the same results even in a more marked degree; as, even before the political events arose which have, no doubt, arrested the development of trade most seriously for the time, the trade of South Africa was insignificant when compared with that of Australia. It is also practically certain that it will continue to be so, even should a period of prosperity follow the war. The possession of gold and diamonds in rich deposits is, indeed, the only thing which can obscure the fact that a united South Africa can never compare, either as a field for settlement or a producer of wealth, with a country like Australia. And, even in this respect, it is too soon to assert that South Africa will long take precedence of Australia. The gold production of Australia, if less sensational than that of the Rand

mines during the last year or two, is, and has for half a century been, a great and, generally, a steady one. Her gold-fields already known to exist are spread over nearly every part of the continent, while they have only been fairly tested in a few districts, and exhausted in none. Her precious stones are far more varied than those of South Africa, and even of diamonds, more than 170,000 carats in weight have been exported from New South Wales within the last twelve years. What the future may have in store, either for South Africa or Australia, in the way of new discoveries of gold or gems, it is, of course, impossible to foresee; but, as far as present indications go, there is no reason to suppose that, even in those exceptional productions, the new Commonwealth is destined to be left permanently behind, while in every other she must, in the future as in the past, assert an easy superiority.

From a consideration of these facts, attested as they are by the irresistible logic of the statistics of years, it becomes evident not only that, at the moment of her entry on a political career as a united Commonwealth, Australia is by far the most wealthy and progressive of all the groups of British colonies in any part of the world, but also that, more than any other, she shares that wealth through the channels of trade with England. Already the trade of her four millions of inhabitants with Great Britain is nearly as great as that of India's hundreds of millions, and more than twice as large as that of the five and a half millions of Canada. The prospect, also, of its expansion during the first ten years of the new century are far better than in either of the other cases. Good government may, indeed, increase India's production; but there are a thousand risks from without and from within that may interfere with, or wholly prevent, any expansion of her trade with England. Prosperity in an increasing degree may, indeed, attend Canada; but it is natural, and indeed inevitable, that the United States, rather than England, will reap the principal advantage. Peace and development may come to South Africa; but there is every evidence that, at the very best, she has not the material advantages necessary to any successful competition with Australia, either as a field for Anglo-Saxon settlement, or as a rapidly improving market for English commerce.

There is, besides this, a still stronger reason why the influence of United Australia should in the future greatly exceed that of

any other part of the British Empire in its influence on England's policy, and thereby on the future of the world's development and progress. The people of Great Britain and Australia are all one people. It is true that their circumstances and conditions are very different, and eventually differences of character will follow; but so far, at any rate, the peoples are one. They are united by the same language, laws, religion, customs and traditions; and, if there is any difference, it will be found in this—that the Australian people are more enthusiastic Britons than the people who have never left the ancestral home of the race. Nothing could have proved this more clearly than the events of the last fifteen months in connection with South Africa. Strangers, especially Continental strangers, were astonished and impressed by the spectacle of peoples who were not involved in the quarrel between England and the Republics of South Africa, and had not been consulted as to the policy pursued, coming voluntarily forward to offer their sons and their money as a contribution to England's success in the war. In this, indeed, Australia, even with the addition of New Zealand, did not stand alone. The government of Canada and a part, at any rate, of her people joined in the movement, and sent men and gave money to the cause. But there was a difference, which is perhaps hardly appreciated in this or any other country except England herself, between the assistance given by Australasia and that given by either Canada or South Africa to her cause. In the case of the Dominion, help was offered and given to the cause of the Empire, but it was not given without a jarring note of opposition and hesitation; and there was no general enthusiasm for the cause. In the case of Cape Colony and Natal, help was given by one part, and that the smaller part, of the people, to a cause which they felt involved their own freedom and future existence—and it was offset by still larger, and equally enthusiastic, support given to the opposite side. In Australia, alone of the three, there was undivided enthusiasm for the cause. Money and men were freely offered by each one of the colonies, and the offer was as freely repeated when more help seemed to be wanted. Each reverse was met by a stern exhibition of determination to do their part to bring success out of failure, and each victory was hailed with a popular enthusiasm not exceeded in England itself. Australia lent more than twice as many of her sons to the cause as Canada did, and three times as many in

proportion to her population; and she was always ready to give more, had they been needed. To-day she has troops in China, and one, at least, of her naval coast-defense ships is in Chinese waters, as a contribution to the defense of British interests.

We have thus seen something of the position of the new Commonwealth of Australia at the moment of its entry on a united career. We have seen that it possesses a continent, less in area than any other, but second to none in wealth, or in the prospects of wealth; we have seen, also, that its people are already rich beyond other peoples, and that they share, to a far greater extent than any other part even of her own Empire, their trade and commerce with the mother country. It is evident, also, that, beyond any other of her great possessions, Australia can be relied on by England to sympathize with her in any difficulty, and to support her to the utmost with men and money. These things are understood by the mother country, and their importance is fully appreciated, as was made evident when the British Parliament passed with enthusiasm an Act to give the force of law to a Constitution framed entirely by the Australian people themselves, and securing to them a degree of independence never before given to any part of the British, or indeed of any other, Empire. The question which naturally arises is, What may be looked for as the result of the new departure in the political framework of the Empire?

Two results, at least, would seem to be somewhat more than probable, within a comparatively short period. The Australian people are, as has been said already, an energetic and an ambitious people. The moving force which brought about federation was not so much any internal need, or any fear of possible interference from the outside which might demand a united defense, as a desire to have a greater voice in the councils of the Empire—if not directly and avowedly, at any rate really and potentially. Her people's imperial enthusiasm is partly one of natural sympathy, but it is also, in part, caused by the feeling that she has a greater place and career before her as an influential part of a great Empire than she could have as an independent nation. Those who know Australia best will have the least doubt that she will find means, ere long, to use that influence for purposes beneficial to herself. Her people were far from pleased with what was done in the case of Samoa; and it is safe to say that no such

policy of concession will ever command the assent of United Australia. The sphere of her first interests will, for the present, be confined mainly to the Pacific and Indian Oceans to the south of the equator. She will be interested in the Loyalty group, where France is established, and in the New Hebrides, where she is very anxious to establish herself. She will be solicitous about the Solomon islands, part of which are at present recognized as German territory; and she will take a very deep interest in the future of New Guinea, part of which belongs to Germany, and the rest, beyond the British section, is understood to form part of Holland's great but little used estate in the eastern Archipelago. These will undoubtedly be Australia's first cares, but she will not be content with these for very long. Siam, French and Southern China, and Borneo, are natural marts for her trade, which in the next ten years will be a rapidly increasing one; and, in relation to all these, she will expect to exercise large influence.

Upon such activities as these only one of two things can follow: United Australia must take part in—must almost certainly become the moving spirit in—the formation of a system of imperial federation which shall give her, and all other sections of the self-governing Empire, a formal and recognized voice in imperial policy, linked with a definite and recognized share in the cost of empire; or she must retire from the Empire altogether. England would sacrifice much to prevent such a contingency as the latter; and there can hardly be a doubt that Australia will be very easily persuaded to select such a destiny as the first would seem to hold out. The wish for the inauguration of some such federation is strong in the minds of British statesmen already; but they are wise in their decision to leave it to the other parts of the Empire to propose it. So far, it has commanded no very great attention, and no enthusiasm at all, in Australia; but the events of the last fifteen months have done much to advance the cause. It will need but a little experience of the ambition of United Australia to convince England that it is pressingly required; and it will demand but a very few years of Australia's wider political horizon to convince her people that she must regard the federation of her colonies as only the first step to the larger union of the Empire, in which she will undoubtedly prove a very important factor.

HUGH H. LUSK.

SUBSTITUTES FOR SHIP SUBSIDIES.

BY LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

PREVIOUS to the Civil War, we occupied for some time a prominent place amongst maritime nations; American vessels carried more than one-third of the world's commerce. Our boys loved the sea as ducklings love their pond, and were proud of their predilection; to become a master of a ship was their great ambition. We knew then how to build and to sail the most graceful and the swiftest clippers encountered on the high seas. Alas, they have well nigh disappeared from the ocean! Gradually they have been superseded by steamers, which do not depend as much on wind and weather. Their speed, if not greater, is more uniform and the term of their voyage can better be depended upon. Unfortunately, we were not as well prepared for their construction as England was, especially when iron came to be used instead of oak. About fifteen years ago, American bunting was rarely seen outside our own country. Now there are indications that we are gradually coming to the front again. The following table shows the efficiency of the merchant marines of the seafaring nations in 1890-91, as compared with 1898-99:

COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY OF MERCHANT MARINES OF THE PRINCIPAL MARITIME NATIONS, STATED IN THOUSANDS OF REGISTERED TONS.*

	1890-91.	1898-99.	Increase in per cent. in 1898-99 against 1890-91.	Per cent. of world's tonnage in 1898-99.
England	18,883	23,059	+22.1	53.3
United States	2,410	3,884	+61.2	9
Germany	2,554	3,536	+38.4	8.2
Norway	1,772	2,189	+23.5	5.1
France	1,731	1,668	— 3.6	3.9
Italy	996	1,230	+23.4	2.8
Spain	930	1,135	+22	2.6
Russia	589	865	+46.9	2
Sweden	675	848	+25.6	2
Japan	297	867	+192.3	2
Holland	603	814	+35	1.9
Denmark	418	678	+62.2	1.6
Austria	379	614	+62	1.4
Belgium	220	291	+32.3	0.7
World's marine	34,060	43,269	+27.4	100

*Some 160,000 tons belonging to minor States, and representing 3.5 per cent. of the world's tonnage, are omitted.

We still are far behind England, which controls almost six times as much of the world's tonnage as we do. But it will be seen that, without considering the unique growth of Japan, we have, with Denmark and Austria, made considerable progress; we have, like them, during these nine years, increased our tonnage more than sixty per cent. We even are forging ahead of Germany, who threw down the gauntlet to all maritime nations when she boasted that the ocean is to be her empire: *"Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem Meere."*

Steel has in turn superseded iron, and materials for building steel ships are cheaper here than they are anywhere else. Machinery is not yet as low as it is on the Clyde, simply because we have not had the opportunity to make as much of it. That it must become cheaper is evident from the fact that great quantities of similar machines, for which there is a larger demand, are already exported by us. Labor remains dearer here, and it is claimed by some that it still costs fifteen per cent. more to build a fast ocean carrier in America than it does in Great Britain. The claim of others that our shipbuilders, if so inclined, could already compete successfully with European builders, is sustained by the fact that one of our leading yards came near securing an order recently for an ocean liner from abroad, its bid being less than ten per cent. above that of a German competitor. Old builders have more orders than, for some years to come, they will be able to fill. Until additional shipyards furnish more vessels capable of satisfying a larger proportion of the enormous demand of our export trade, the cost of American steamers will not be lowered. The following figures demonstrate the expansion of this export trade, which has resulted in an average increase of rates of fifty per cent. for outward freight. Of the exports of domestic merchandise for the first nine months of the years 1898, 1899 and 1900, respectively, $29,595,262, $48,599,280 and $50,408,689 were carried in American steamers, and $707,451,899, $713,123,868, $819,736,677 in foreign steamers.

All measures which will foster the important industry of building ships deserve serious consideration. The title of the bill (H. R. 64) which is now before Congress claims that "it will promote the commerce and increase the foreign trade of the United States," and that "it will provide for the national defense." For years to come it proposes to subsidize owners of cer-

tain ships to the extent of $9,000,000 each year. In detail it provides that, for twenty years, a subsidy shall be paid to owners of United States vessels, sail or steam, engaged in foreign trade, on each voyage (there being not above sixteen entries in twelve months) to or from foreign ports over 150 miles distant from a United States port, per gross ton of capacity, at the rate of one and one-half cents for each 100 miles up to 1,500 miles, and one cent for each 100 miles of remaining distance. And it provides, *in addition,* for *steamers* of 1,500 or more tons capacity, per gross ton of capacity for each 100 miles of the whole voyage, for the payment of subsidy as follows:

(1.) On vessels over 1,500 tons, of 14 to 15 knots, 1 cent; of 15 to 16 knots, 1 1-10 cents; of 16 or more knots, 1 2-10 cents.

(2.) On vessels over 3,000 tons, of 17 to 18 knots, 1 4-10 cents; of 18 to 19 knots, 1 6-10 cents; of 19 or more knots, 1 8-10 cents.

(3.) On vessels over 8,000 tons, of 20 to 21 knots, 2 cents; of 21 or more knots, 2 3-10 cents; making the subsidy range from 1 cent to 3.8 cents per ton per 100 miles.

And it further provides for the payment of subsidy at one-half of the foregoing rates to the following foreign built vessels: (*a*) Those now in the United States foreign trade and partially owned by American citizens, who shall promptly acquire full ownership; and (*b*) Those that may be contracted for under such ownership.

Under these conditions, the proposed law requires, as to foreign built ships, that, within ten years, an amount of new shipping equal to the subsidized shipping shall be built in the United States, the subsidy to be meanwhile retained, and, as to United States built ships, that, within ten years, one-fourth of the amount of the subsidized shipping shall be built in the United States, the subsidy to be meanwhile paid.

As to all United States built ships, it is provided that one-fourth of the crew shall be American citizens, except in cases where the United States consul or port officer judges that such proportion cannot "reasonably be obtained," and, as to subsidized vessels, that, if the Secretary of the Navy or of the Treasury require, each vessel shall carry "one American boy" for each thousand tons, as apprentice, a reasonable sum to be paid for his services; that subsidized vessels shall carry United States mails

free of charge; and that they may be taken by the United States "as cruisers or transports," the United States paying the "fair value" of the same.

I heartily approve of the avowed objects of this bill; but I claim that, in its present shape, it will fail to accomplish them. The subsidies for which it provides would chiefly accrue, for some time to come, to American lines which cross the Atlantic and Pacific for the purpose of carrying passengers and expensive freight. What the country really needs is carriage at reasonable rates for the immense yield of our agriculture, and for the bulky products of our mines; if that were readily obtainable, exports could further be increased.* Take, for instance, our coal, which is being exported to supply demands from almost every quarter of the globe.

The annual exports of coal and coke from Great Britain aggregate nearly fifty million tons. Our exports, probably, will reach eight million tons for 1900, against five million for 1899. We exported in the first nine months of 1900, to Europe alone, some 500,000 tons of coal, against 19,316 tons during the same period in 1899. In 1900, the cost of our coal was about $2.50, and the freight to the Mediterranean ports, where we have begun to compete with England, amounts to $5—in some cases to $5.75—per ton. These freights have been especially high, because the demand for steamers to carry coal has been greater than the supply. If a sufficient number of vessels could be found gradually to reduce the freight to normal rates, not only could we, in all probability, satisfy the urgent demand which prevails now, but the export of coal, which we can mine for less money than English operators, might permanently be extended to countries which heretofore have been supplied by England, and which England now finds it difficult to supply, since the demand for English coal by English manufacturers has increased. The price for English coal has gradually advanced in consequence.

If a bounty of twenty-five cents per ton were to be paid by the government on American coal exported in American bottoms to foreign countries where it does not conflict with commercial treaties (except to Canada and Mexico), it would stimulate the exportation of this article, foster the building of colliers suitable

*Absence of direct steam communication with portions of our southern continent is another serious disadvantage. Our mail to Buenos Ayres continues to be forwarded via England.

for the trade by our shipyards, and bring about a reduction in rates of freight which might enable us to sell coal in England. It would take some time before such a bounty could involve the country in any considerable outlay. Long before the export could increase to one-half of the present British exports, the trade would become independent of assistance. Similar bounties have often been paid by older countries for similar objects. Whenever, during the eighteenth century, cereals went below cost of production, England assisted her farmers by an export bounty on wheat. The premiums which the northern countries of Continental Europe have, since 1892, paid on exports of sugar, have resulted in a remarkable extension of beet-root cultivation. Although the United States, once their best customers, impose upon their sugar an additional duty equal to that bounty, the production has continued to increase. Now it is proposed to abolish these export bounties, since over-supply has begun to cause stagnation.

If we were to stimulate the production and cheapen the supply of coal, we would confer a greater and more lasting benefit upon our country than Germany has reaped from her ephemeral sugar bounty. The cheaper fuel is, the greater is the industrial power of the nation which produces it. Between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans lie unexplored coal fields, the supplies of which are inexhaustible. If some of these, and other hidden resources of our vast territory, were made available by small bounties, larger advantages would result to a greater number of people, at lesser cost, than can be expected from the mail steamers it is proposed to subsidize.

But bounties are dangerous stimulants, which must be cautiously administered and carefully watched. They should be paid for services only as long as services are rendered, ceasing when their objects have been accomplished.

When subsidies which are not earned are paid for the carriage of mail, they lead to extravagance and defeat the objects for which ostensibly they were granted. Shortly after 1852, when the subsidy to the old Collins Line of steamers was increased from $385,000 to $850,000 annually, the line met with one disaster after another, the service became inefficient, and when the subsidy was withdrawn in 1858 the company failed. The experience of our Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which from

1865 to 1876 received an annual subsidy of $500,000, was similar. The line lost in nine years nine steamers; its managers became careless, so that they could find no means to build the additional steamers necessary to obtain a further subsidy of $500,000 which was offered, in 1872, for additional service. Shares in that company, which paid large dividends before 1865, became almost worthless.

It was shown by Congressional inquiry that the money which should have been used for building steamers was wrongfully spent to influence legislation. If the directors had attended to their legitimate business, instead of lobbying in Washington and of speculating in Wall Street, they might have left a better reputation behind them. The few German and English lines which receive subsidies for carrying mails depend for their success, not on these comparatively small contributions, but on economical and prudent management. Their tonnage forms but a small portion, less than five per cent., of the aggregate tonnage which, without assistance, carries on the foreign commerce of these nations. The Hamburg Line furnished an example of self-help when, three years ago, it celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its existence. Without ever having received a penny for subsidies, it had increased its fleet since 1847 from a few sailing ships to 390,000 tons—thus becoming the largest steamship company in the world. On the other hand, a French line of steamers which received last year more than one million dollars, is not in a flourishing condition. France is almost the only nation which pays large direct subsidies, similar to those contemplated by this bill, to its merchant marine; and France is the only country whose merchant marine has declined in the last ten years, as shown in the foregoing table.

The Subsidy Bill also claims to provide auxiliary cruisers and transports, when necessary to the government. It is true that the need of such vessels became apparent when we began war with Spain, and that a large portion of those which were available proved to be inadequate; the fact is well known that, for alterations of purchased ships, our government paid more than they cost. Such ships are still under charter to transport troops, freight and animals from the Pacific coast to the Philippine Islands. That this service could be better performed by vessels for which this bill seeks subsidies is not made clear; but there

can be no doubt that a great many ships entirely suitable for army transports and as naval cruisers could be built for less money than it is proposed to spend on these subsidies. These ships would be the property of the government, not of an entirely independent merchant marine, which, though subsidized, could dictate its own terms of sale or charter. Government vessels could, in cases of emergency similar to one which arose recently in Galveston, always be made available.

More seamen of greater usefulness than the crews of subsidized steamers could be obtained, if we were to create a Naval Reserve similar to the English. The annual expense would be some $250,000, instead of $50,000, which the government now contributes to the support of the existing naval militia. The utility of these hybrid organizations has often been questioned; they are controlled simultaneously by federal and State authorities, which do not always harmonize. During the war with Spain, they furnished some excellent officers, most of whom had been educated at the Naval Academy of Annapolis. But they are not so constituted as to provide, in sufficient numbers, trained, able-bodied seamen, who are essential to the successful navigation of a vessel. To the English Naval Reserve no boys or men are admitted who have not had practical experience in seamanship; to belong to it is a valuable privilege and an honor. Members can always command good positions with fair wages. British ships, which are, to the extent of five per cent., officered and manned by Naval Reserve men, have the privilege of flying a blue ensign instead of the white flag of the regular British Navy. The British Naval Reserve ranks next to the Navy; in case of war it can always be depended upon for assistance.

We might try the experiment of allowing our merchants to buy ships where they can get them on the most favorable terms, and offer them American registers on condition that they engage in transportation of our foreign commerce, when conducted by officers trained in a United States Naval Reserve. There would be no lack of applications for such service, because it would sooner lead to adequate pay and promotion than enlistment in the regular Navy. The privilege of sailing foreign built ships commanded by American officers under our flag, would lead toward a modification of our antiquated, whilom British, navigation laws. These statutes, by which British shipping had been protected since

Cromwell's time, were practically abandoned by England in 1849, while we were her formidable rival. British merchants were then permitted to buy our ships and sail them under their own flag, when engaged in their foreign commerce. All other maritime nations have followed this example except the United States, and the merchant marine of all other nations has increased, while our own has during that time diminished. One of the consequences has been that American merchants, who have found it to be for their interest to buy English steamers, actually sail them under the British flag—thus adding to the power and prestige of that country instead of their own. Germany, since Bismarck's time the most ardent advocate of protection, has no reason to regret that she upholds free trade in ships. The steam tonnage of her merchant marine has increased one thousand per cent. in twenty-nine years, and Stettin has begun to rival Glasgow in furnishing ships for the world's trade. Amongst leading protectionists, James G. Blaine declared in favor of this policy, because it would lead to an expansion of our trade.

The extraordinary development of our interstate commerce and home industries has absorbed our attention to such a degree that we have allowed the carrying trade on the ocean to slip away from us. We ought to make every effort to regain the prestige we enjoyed fifty years ago, when we practically shared with England the dominion of the sea, which for centuries past the British had exclusively controlled. Our ocean craft should be as free of taxation as United States bonds are. Port and dock charges—which in New York are exorbitant—must be reduced to a minimum. Friends and members of the Chamber of Commerce of New York now undertake the difficult task of clearing that city of vice. If they were to ascertain who profit by the extravagant terminal charges which drive the ocean trade away, and if they were to induce the assessors to tax these mischievous profits until charges were reduced to reasonable proportions, they would accomplish an object more worthy of their endeavor, with less trouble.* Seafaring men should be protected against impo-

*The expenses of transferring goods from the termini of railroads to the ships are technically called "terminal charges." Indignation has often been expressed in the New York Chamber of Commerce and Produce Exchange at the atrocity of these charges at that port without leading to any abatement. It appears to me that the city would be justified in reclaiming by taxes some of these profits, as the city loses in consequence of them, by diversion of the ocean carrying trade.

sitions by public authority and private charity.* To the longest seacoast in the Temperate, we have added some of the richest islands in the Torrid Zone. We own commodious harbors which offer safe outlets to a larger quantity of commodities than is yielded by any other country in the world. Let us devise means to send them across the sea in American ships. Covering two-thirds of the terrestrial globe, oceans form common highways for international commerce, on which the strength of each nation is apt to be gauged by the tonnage which her flag protects.

*Seamen while ashore are better protected by law and Boards of Trade in Great Britain than they are in this country. The Seaman's Branch of the Legal Aid Society of New York, to which the writer belongs, gratuitously assisted last October 435 seamen, and recovered $1,380.74, which had been wrongfully withheld or extorted from them.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

SOME INTERPRETERS OF WAGNER.

BY AMHERST WEBBER.

It is related that a would-be amateur of Wagner was advised, for his first hearing of "Tristan," to take a seat from which the stage could not be seen, and to follow the action in the book of words in order to prepare his understanding. He arrived late; and, judging from the terrific noise in the orchestra that there was, at least, a charge of cavalry on the stage, he asked his neighbor to find the place for him in the text-book. There he read the stage direction: *"Isolde stufzt"* (Isolde sighs.) The moral of this story is that in the modern orchestra lies the true stumbling-block of the singer of Wagner's opera. Those who have taken part in theatricals know how enormously the difficulty of expressing a shade of sentiment by inflection of voice is increased when the voice has to be raised above its natural pitch; it sweeps away all spontaneity, and compels the actor to find an artificial equivalent for the inflections that had occurred to him as he read through his part. Infinitely greater is the difficulty when a singer is required to suggest subtle shades of sentiment across the raging tempest of a Wagnerian orchestra. Every singer not gifted with a voice of phenomenal volume has to invent for himself a trick of voice production which will penetrate the orchestra without tiring him, and it is seldom that this is attained without the sacrifice of expression and color of voice. Hence, the well-worn cries, "How nice it would be without the shouting!" etc.

Things are vastly changed since the days of Italian opera of the old school. The Italian singer before Mario's time was an inferior stamp of person, without much education or intelligence. All that was expected of him was that he should have a sympathetic voice, know how to produce it, and how to phrase a cantilena; if, in addition, he had any personal charm, he became the

idol of the public. He had not a high respect for his faithful adorers in the Covent Garden stalls, for anecdotes are still fresh among Italians of the awful things they used to interpolate in the Italian text, to amuse one another at the expense of their innocent audience. Mario took the world by storm, not because his voice was in any way phenomenal, but because he was a gentleman (the first of the species in that profession), and knew how to wear costumes, and to make all the rôles he played seem possible. He had a very sympathetic *mezza-voce,* which he used throughout the length of an opera—as well he might, considering the lightness of the orchestra that accompanied him. Besides removing all danger of fatigue, this gave him a facility of expression impossible under the present condition of opera. For, to sing Wagner, one must have a voice of great volume and resistance, one must be a good musician, one must have intelligence, dramatic instinct, temperament and magnetism, in addition to being a good singer from the Italian standpoint. The man who possesses all these, it is true, is too near the ideal to be easily come at; but in these days the public refuses to listen to a singer who falls far short in any one of them.

Bayreuth is the last place to go to for the ideal artist; and yet, though the Bayreuth performances are far from perfect, those given elsewhere are always something of a compromise in comparison. For, in the Bayreuth theatre, the singer's chief difficulty was solved by Wagner himself. By sinking the orchestra in a pit, he made it possible for a singer to whisper if he wants to (and that is not too often), and yet be heard above the orchestra. The effect of this device is astounding; the orchestration of "Tristan," which elsewhere may seem an unwieldy mass of sound that forces the singer to shout or stand impotently agape, is at Bayreuth a fine lace-work accompaniment, full of wonderful detail, and capable of the minutest shades. It seems to be the most difficult of a conductor's many difficult duties to obtain a real *piano* from a full Wagnerian orchestra; for it is not until every member of the band has got his part thoroughly into his head, and on his fingers or lips, as the case may be, that anything approaching a *piano* is to be hoped for. In "Tristan," which is very fully scored, there are passages in which it is well nigh impossible not to cover the voice. How seldom, outside Bayreuth, does Isolde succeed in making herself heard all through the Liebestod! It was

only at the hands of Seidl, who had a wonderful knack of getting great accents out of his orchestra, and subduing it again immediately so as not to overpower her, that the singer could emerge from the ocean of sound that must otherwise have drowned her altogether. Seidl's sudden death was a terrible blow to all the artists who had worked with him, as well as to the great New York public. I know of no one who was so helpful in rehearsals. He was conductor, stage-manager and carpenter rolled into one. He would show the dragon how to fight, Siegfried how to forge his sword, the Rhine-daughters how to dive. A Wagner conductor is bound to have some skill in stage-management, since the music is so intimately connected with every detail on the stage. Seidl's training in this branch of his art had been exceptional; for, while still a boy, he had stood at Wagner's right hand, and was actually living at Wahnfried while the Nibelungen Ring was being composed. He delighted to talk of those days, and of the Meister, for whom he seems to have had a genuine affection, as well as an unbounded admiration. He told how Wagner used to get up at four or five in the morning and work steadily until late in the afternoon, with an interval for luncheon, nobody being allowed to go near him; how he was almost ludicrously susceptible to his surroundings, and must have his study draped with different colors, according to the work he was engaged upon, in order to bring himself into the right frame of mind. For instance, for "Tristan," the hangings were yellow and black; for the "Walküre," blue; for "Siegfried," of course, green; and for the "Götterdämmerung," a gloomy brown. When he set to work in the morning, he might have been heard hammering away at a single chord on the piano for a long time, to recreate the frame of mind in which he had left off the day before. What seems incredible is that he made but one rough sketch, and then wrote out the whole portentous score, with all the minute instructions, in that wonderfully neat hand of his, almost without a correction. Seidl remembered him coming in to luncheon in despair, because he had not sufficient instruments in his orchestra to do all that he wanted; this was when he was working at the finale of the "Götterdämmerung." One evening, when the whole family was assembled, he left the room and returned carrying a roll of manuscript under his arm; and, mimicking the manner of a professional pianist, he announced that he was going to play them a piece on the piano. At the best, he

was a very poor pianist, and it was impossible to make head or tail of what he was playing; but, nevertheless, when he had finished, eyes were moist. He had given them the first performance of the Funeral March in "Götterdämmerung."

When "Tristan" was first rehearsed at Munich, its performance was pronounced to be humanly impossible; and Wagner had already resigned himself to the idea of making changes in the score that would bring it within the range of mortal singers, when he was told that it could, after all, be given as it stood. It would certainly have been interesting to have the simplified edition. The great secret in learning one of the long Wagnerian rôles is to take plenty of time over it: a part learned quickly—by forced marches, as it were—is sure to be badly learnt; and, unless the words and music have impregnated the artist's blood long before rehearsals begin, many unsuspected faults will mar the performance. Hence foreign singers are generally more correct in words and music than Germans, because they have had to spend more time in learning their parts in the first instance. Jean de Reszke worked for three years at "Tristan," and for over two at "Siegfried," although no artist approaches him in facility. He studies most of his new parts at Skrzydlow (pronounced Skshidloof), his home in Poland, where he spends three months or so every year; and his work is none the worse for being diversified with shooting, riding, racing, lawn-tennis, and all that goes to make country life pleasant. Before he begins a new rôle, Madame de Reszke, who is an excellent linguist, writes out the German text and stage directions in a note-book, with a literal French translation of each word underneath. The learning is divided into three stages: the first, the words and music; the second, the words alone (Mme. de Reszke's note-book); and the third, the whole work from memory. M. Jean de Reszke read through the whole of the first act of "Siegfried" at the first sitting, and he knew both "Tristan" and "Siegfred" thoroughly fully twelve months before he sang them in public. He leaves as little as possible to the regular rehearsals on the stage; because, when the opera season has once opened, and he is singing twice or even three times a week, he cannot, consistently with his rule of avoiding rehearsals on the day before a performance, have as many rehearsals as he would like. The first time he was to sing Tristan to Madame Lilli Lehmann's Isolde in New York, he had been suffering from a bad cold, and

had been told by the doctor that his only chance of being able to sing lay in keeping his room till the night of the performance. On the day before the performance, Lilli Lehmann went to see him at his hotel. Refusing all assistance, she proceeded to push the sofas and chairs about until they represented to her satisfaction her state-room in King Mark's yacht. While she was thus employed, Marie Brema, who was to sing Brangaene, appeared on the scene. She had that moment arrived from London, and, hearing at the landing stage that there was to be a *Verstandigungs-Probe* in Jean de Reszke's room, she had, like a real Bayreuthian, left her luggage to its fate rather than miss anything in the nature of a rehearsal. Scarcely had she been announced when Van Rooy, the Kurwenal, who had also scented a rehearsal, burst into the room; King Mark was already on the spot in the person of M. Edouard de Reszke, and there followed an impromptu rehearsal which must have surprised the visitors in the neighboring rooms. For Lilli Lehmann, Marie Brema and Van Rooy, ignoring the smallness of the room, sang with all their lungs, and were as punctilious about their smallest gesture as if the eyes of the United States were upon them; while Jean de Reszke and his brother, who was singing that evening, just indicated their parts with the utmost economy of voice, from time to time vainly imploring the rest of the cast to save a little voice for the performance. At last, Isolde, to the huge delight of the audience that had collected on the landing outside, having insisted upon singing to the end of the Liebestod, fell dead upon the carpet, and was helped to her feet in a state which may be left to the imagination of those who know the temperature of American hotels. Her performance the next evening showed no sign of diminished energy. On arriving on the stage, she pointed with disgust to a skin lying at the foot of her couch, which certainly did look as if it might harbor malignant microbes, besides being a trap for unwary feet, and ordered it to be removed, and, the stage-manager vainly protesting, replaced it by an imitation Aubusson carpet which had been doing duty in "La Traviata" the night before. Taking her seat upon her couch, Isolde now sent for the conductor, and gave him minute instructions regarding the passages which were to be kept down; and the unfortunate prompter was then haled before her to be soundly rated for want of attention at her last performance. By the time the curtain rose, she had reduced every person in authority to a state of cringing obedi-

ence, and everything went just as Isolde wished it to go. It was a magnificent performance; and, at the end, Isolde, according to her custom, threw a hood over her head, and walked from the overheated theatre through the frosty air to catch the tram-car which was to take her to her hotel. With such a constitution, a singer must be strangely content with his calling.

A New York newspaper reporter once put a delicate question to M. Jean de Reszke. "Tell me candidly, do you not think that you are paid absurdly high for what you do?" The answer was this: "On nights when I am in good health, voice, and spirits, it does seem that I am highly paid for doing what I love best to do; but when I am out of health, voice, and spirits, and yet have to make a superhuman effort not to disappoint my manager and the public, no sum in the world is too great to compensate me for what I have to go through."

The controversy about "cuts" is still burning. No human being can sit with undivided attention through any of Wagner's later works uncut, except with intervals of an hour or so between the acts, and that entails giving up the whole day to the performance, and at once puts the opera beyond the range of those for whom it was written. Unquestionably, outside Bayreuth, there must be cuts. Madame Wagner has advocated them on principle, and so did the Meister himself with the view of making his works popular. But herein lies the difficulty: Wagner having left no instructions as to how his work should be curtailed, no two singers or conductors agree on the point. For instance, Seidl recommends a cut as having been made at a performance attended by Wagner, who, when asked afterward if he objected to it, replied that he had not noticed it; yet other conductors condemn that cut as sacrilege, and in their turn suggest omissions that would have made Seidl's hair stand on end. I remember sitting near Madame Wagner at Covent Garden during a performance of "Die Meistersinger" in Italian. She was delighted with certain features of the performance; naturally, she had never heard the Preislied sung as Jean de Reszke sang it, and she was in ecstasies; she kept exclaiming that she caught new beauties of melody that no German singer had ever suggested, and she thought that Germans might find much to learn even in diction from this cosmopolitan cast. But she winced visibly, as if in bodily pain, whenever we came to a cut, and said that, with so much chopping, there could be no "*stimmung*" in

the performance. "It should be called 'Scenes from the 'Meistersinger,'" she said at last; "as such, it is an admirable performance!" Yet these "Scenes from the 'Meistersinger'" had lasted from eight o'clock in the evening till after midnight.

The ideal way of hearing a work of these dimensions would be to take no more than one act on each of three consecutive days. I shall never forget the effect of attending a rehearsal of the third act only of "Tristan" one morning. Those who have only heard it performed after the other two, and at the end of a day's work, cannot realize the stupendous effect that it has upon one who hears it with all the faculties rested.

Madame Wagner's appreciation of the Covent Garden rendering of *"I Maestri Cantori"* goes to prove that *bel canto* is as essential in Wagner's music as in any other; but, whereas in Italian Opera it was the end, in Wagner's it is only one of many means to an end. Wagner tried to find expression for the whole range of human emotions, and naturally he availed himself of all the means at his disposal. He pressed into his service the sister arts of poetry, music and mime, using them now singly, now in combination, with an unerring judgment as to which the dramatic exigencies required. At one time he finds his dramatic expression in words alone, and there the music takes a subordinate place, and everything should be sacrificed to a correct and clear declamation of the text, as in the dialogue between Tristan and Brangaene in the first act. At another, when he would express *Stimmungen* for which words alone would be inadequate, words in their turn become subsidiary to music, the essential medium. Again, there are situations where music suffices unassisted, as in the opening scene of the third act of "Tristan," or assisted only by gesture, as in the silent scene between Siegmund, Sieglinde and Hunding in the first act of the "Walküre." As a general rule, the German interpreter falls into the mistake of declaiming his whole rôle, as if it all fell into the first category, because he understands declaiming better than singing, and because he loves to spit his consonants in the face of his audience, and to do anything that will excuse him from singing a single phrase purely and smoothly; while the typical opera-singer—the Italian variety seems to be almost extinct—will fall into the opposite error, and fight shy of all strongly accented declamation which may interfere with the pose of his voice, trying to prune all into the shape of the pure, smooth singing that

he has spent his life in acquiring. Small wonder that Madame Wagner, while missing certain strong accents, found new melodies in *"I Maestri Cantori"* at Covent Garden, and that Jean de Reszke took all Wagner-lovers by storm when they first heard him in "Tristan." They had become resigned to looking upon that marvelous third act of "Tristan" as an almost purely orchestral work, in which the singer's part was limited to a mere dramatic declamation of the text without much variety of tone-color or exaggerated accuracy of intonation. It gave the listener the impression that it was extremely difficult for the singer. Before Jean de Reszke sang it, he had become sufficiently familiar with the methods of German singers to know the secret of their love of declamation, and he knew exactly when to sing and when to declaim, with the result that one seemed to find heart-rending melodies that one had never heard before, and that intervals which had till then appeared merely exceedingly difficult were transformed into the most melodious, natural, and even inevitable means of expression.

The work that a débutant has to undergo at Bayreuth before the performances is very severe. He has to arrive at the town many weeks before the first performance, knowing his part thoroughly. He then goes through a course of training with Herr Kniese, Madame Wagner's *alter ego,* who, besides possessing unerring taste in diction, is very clever at teaching correct declamation and in curing singers of bad habits contracted in study elsewhere. His duties at Bayreuth are arduous and varied. I once caught him between the acts of "Götterdämmerung" engaged in unharnessing a droschka horse. Grane had suddenly been taken ill, and this animal was on its way to its first rehearsal as his understudy. The next course of study is a truly alarming ordeal, for it consists in long mornings with Madame Wagner herself at Wahnfried. The pupil is first required to relate, in his own words, the story and meaning of the work of which he is to be the interpreter—no school-boy's task; and then to give a full-blown performance of it on the hearthrug, Madame Wagner herself filling all the other parts that are necessary. And, since the mistress is inexhaustible, the pupil must sing with full voice, and be proof against any fatigue, vocal or physical. Madame Wagner has been overheard to remonstrate with a Brunhild, who throughout a tropical morning had been working with her whole mind and body and voice, and to declare that without "energy" nothing could be

accomplished, although, Heaven knows, want of energy is the last reproach that can be levelled against this particular Brunhild. Yet, with very few exceptions, all who have undergone this course of training, however they may have differed from Madame Wagner on certain points, admit that they have profited by it incalculably. There are, besides, countless long rehearsals on the stage, first without, and afterward with, the orchestra. It is through these that the Bayreuth performances acquire a spirit that cannot be attained elsewhere; but one wonders why they are not even more perfect than they are, for although the *ensemble* is generally excellent, the performance of the individual artist is often on quite a different level. But this is the fault of the material rather than the workmanship. Madame Wagner has to choose between raw recruits with good voices, who are only too anxious to put themselves under her guidance in everything, but who have not been through the mill of vocal study, and artists already formed, who have thought out their parts and object to be under the artistic dictatorship of any one. Moreover, singers who have made their name, and have to go through long seasons in London and New York, cannot be expected to sacrifice the only months in which they can recuperate at health-giving waters or mountain air to hard labor in Bayreuth during July and August.

There seems to be an extraordinary wealth of magnificent voices among German women, who fall into fewer errors in voice-production than the men; but how rarely we meet a German *prima donna* who has any feminine grace or personal magnetism! Generally, excessive energy of voice and gesture are made to serve for real temperament, and an unconvincing substitute they make. Temperament is not the same as violence: it cannot fail to reveal itself as strongly in a simple phrase, simply spoken, as in the most overpowering loosing of the flood-gates of passion, and an audience may be moved more by what a real artist keeps back than by what he gives out. He who allows himself to be run away with on the stage by what is called temperament, carries no more conviction to his audience than a man in a rage does to a crowd in the street. He merely gives an impression of unseemly impotence, and loses altogether that concentration of expression which is what really moves his hearers. In recalling the rôles that have most appealed to us in the work of any great dramatic artist, how seldom it is the violent outbursts of emotion that leave a lasting impression!

Is it not oftener a look, or a subtle inflection of the voice, which is achieved not by temperament alone, but by temperament restrained by art? It is only art and hard study that can give to temperament the equilibrium and beauty that it requires for its perfect expression. A celebrated Wagnerian *prima donna,* speaking of a colleague, said that what she admired most in him was the wonderful way in which he abandoned himself, even though, his voice not being very strong, he was worn out before the end of the evening. It showed a spirit of heroic self-sacrifice; but, in the language of the gallery, one would like to ask, "Where do the audience and the music come in?" There is something admirable and pathetic in the German genius for self-sacrifice to their art. Friedrichs, the greatest of Beckmessers, worked so hard that he was laid up with brain-fever after his first season at Bayreuth. He took the part of Alberich there two years ago, and declaimed the whole of the scene in which he appears to Hagen in a vision (in the second act of "Götterdämmerung") in a mysterious hoarse whisper which was exceedingly telling, but which one felt must be tearing his poor vocal chords to shreds. When I met him some months afterward at St. Petersburg, he told me that he was only just out of the hands of the doctors, who had warned him never to abuse his voice again in that fashion. Schnorr, the tenor, who created Tristan, died very soon after its production.

The ideal Wagner singer must have self-restraint, but first among his qualifications must be a constitution of iron and nerves of steel.

AMHERST WEBBER.

ZOROASTRIANISM AND THE PARSIS.

BY D. MENANT.

AMONG the numerous divisions and subdivisions of Indian castes, there is a foreign ethnical group, which, in spite of its alien environments and utter isolation, has been able for centuries to preserve the purity of its race and faith and most of its traditional customs. We mean the adepts of the prophet of Iran, Zoroaster, successively called by the European travellers who have met them on the Indian coast, "Parseos," "Parses," "Parsees," "Parsis"; they are the descendants of the fugitives who fled from Persia after the Mohammedan Conquest, and settled at Sanjan in the eighth century of the Christian era. What was their exact number? Probably a very small one. Was this exodus from Persia the only one? It appears that several others took place, traces of which can be found in Upper India; but the colony of Guzarat alone resisted the influence of their surroundings, and did not merge into the native populations. Nevertheless, they were—they are still—a mere drop in the vast ocean of Indian communities, and at first they would seem to be a negligible quantity, except for the scholars who see in them the last representatives of one of the oldest creeds of the world and the depositaries of the sacred books of the Avesta and Persian lore. They are, in fact, the most active agents of progress and reform in British India, and have to be considered from a double standpoint, both religious and social. They occupy such a conspicuous position that an excellent critic affirms that "it is scarcely possible to conceive of the public life of Western India without them." This judgment will meet with no contradiction from any quarter. However, we would not have the conclusion drawn from this that the Parsis are the only workers in the vast field of civic usefulness. There are among the other communities deserving men,

bent on promoting the welfare of India; but, beyond any doubt, at the dawn of the twentieth century, the Parsis are enjoying a well deserved reputation for enlightened patriotism.

"By their natural ability and position in the country, they were well fitted thus to be the mediators between the rulers and the ruled, and they are now playing this part to a considerable extent. In political and literary matters, the Parsis have led the Hindus and the Mohammedans. At the head of most political associations, at any rate in Bombay, and in the vanguard of those who fight, rightly or wrongly, for the political advancement of educated Indians, are to be found men of this race. It is a Parsi for whom has been reserved the unique position of being the first Oriental to take a seat in the British House of Commons. . . . . In social matters, they easily take the lead of their Hindu countrymen, as they are singularly free from those narrow views of caste which hamper the latter. . . . . It is a Parsi who has taken up the cause of Social Reform among the Hindu population, and tried to better the lot of millions of women, mute victims of unequal laws and customs manufactured during the dark ages of Indian history."*

Through their association with Europeans, the Parsis have undergone a complete change and have taken their place in our modern society. It has even been suggested that they are so thoroughly Anglicized that they are lacking in interest. Quite the reverse is the case. It is their very readiness to accept the improvements of life and to assimilate our methods, their unprejudiced and broad-minded intellect, combined with a passionate attachment to their ancestral creed, which make them so sympathetic. We hope that in this short sketch we shall be able to show that Western civilization will not destroy Zoroastrianism, and that the future of the small Parsi community is not to be looked to either with concern or apprehension on the sole pretense that they are gradually discarding purely Hindu customs. What has garb to do with inner life and faith? A Parsi can tread the whole earth, wear any sort of dress, embrace any career, provided he keep pure in his heart the tenets of his religion, and make them sensible to his fellow men by putting into practice his immortal precepts of *good thoughts, good words, good deeds.* Such is our own opinion, and it is likely to be shared by any one who will study the transformation of the social status of the Parsis.

I.

In 716 A. D., after a succession of hardships, a small troop of Persians, warriors and priests, fled from their own native land

*"Karkaria, Forty Years of Progress and Reform," p. 50.

and disembarked at Sanjan, which is situated twenty-five miles south of Damaun (Guzarat), in quest of a permanent abode where they could freely practice their religious rites. At that time, Sanjan was a flourishing emporium, and a favorable welcome was given to the exiles. The Hindu prince, the wise Tadi Rana, greeted the *Dasturs* (or Priests), and asked them several questions about their creeds and habits. The answers of the learned priests were so satisfactory that a sort of compact was passed between the immigrants and the Rana, who gave them permission to settle in his territory, and granted them the privilege of building a temple of the Sacred Fire. In their turn, the Persians submitted to certain obligations, as, for example, to wear no arms, to dress according to the Hindu fashion, to adopt some of the local customs; and they so strictly adhered to the clauses that, up to the present time, some of them are still observed. It is most important to note the starting point of the friendly intercourse of the Parsis with the native populations.

For years and years, the Parsis lived in perfect peace and harmony; they increased in number and dispersed in small knots over the whole of Guzarat. The Mohammedan Conquest at first did them harm. They had sided with the Rana against the Sultan of Ahmedabad; after the storming of Sanjan, they had much to suffer from their new rulers, and the Sacred Fire was removed from place to place. However, by degrees, the Parsis grew accustomed to the Mohammedans and had no persecution to suffer.

It seems that, during that time, the community was wholly engaged in agricultural pursuits and absorbed in the practice of their religion. The European travellers, Friar Jordanus, to begin with, mention them in their narratives and relate some of their customs—for instance, fire worship and funeral rites. At the close of the fifteenth century, occurred a most solemn hour in the history of the refugees, viz.: the renewal of the intercourse with the persecuted Zoroastrians, or *Ghebers,* who had persisted in dwelling in Persia. A wealthy and influential Parsi, a resident of Nausari, named Changa Asa, at his own expense, deputed a talented *beh-din* (layman), Nariman Floshang, to Yezd and Kirman, in order to obtain answers to a certain number of questions relating to religion. The Ghebers were overjoyed to see their co-religionist; they did not know that any of their brethren had settled in India. From that time, the relations between the Indian and Persian communities were never interrupted.

Under the Mogul rule, the Parsis continued to prosper. After having been tillers, toddy-drawers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, they became wealthy land owners, ship builders and, in general, extensive traders. Their principal headquarters were Nausari, the priestly town; Surat, the great market of the East; Bombay, the dowry of the Portuguese bride of Charles II. Caste system had proved extremely beneficial in preserving their religious independence, but had left them totally unprejudiced, and had put no barrier between them and the foreigners. Hence, the great advantage to them in mixing freely with the Europeans who were beginning to traffic with India; so that, far from keeping aloof from the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, they made their services acceptable and acted as middlemen between the newcomers and the natives. By degrees they supplanted the supple *Banyan*;* they became brokers of the factories, *Dubashes, Shroffs.*† Their influence prevailed, and their pent-up energies at last found a vast field for developing themselves. Thanks to unexpected opportunities, an enterprising spirit, and no objection to sea voyages, they opened an extensive trade with the Far East, especially with China, Burma and the Straits. In the meantime, they were doing good and loyal service to the United East India Company. Such is the origin of their attachment to British rule, and of the particular regard and esteem of the British Government for them.

Europe also had early attracted them. In the seventeenth century, a Parsi had already come over to England, and in the following century Maniar was Burke's guest at Beaconsfield.

Wealth rewarded the commercial skill and extreme honesty of the Parsi traders; it made them powerful and influential. Their liberality was universally known; such men as Sorabji Mancherji Readymoney, Ardeshir Dady fed thousands of people during the famines. Towers of Silence, Fire Temples, *Dharmsálas,** charitable institutions, hospitals, colleges were in turn erected by the munificent gifts of their merchant princes. Above all, they were remarkable for their spirit of catholicity, which recognized no difference of race, caste and religion. Ovington, as early as 1689, had noticed this tendency. In 1842, Jamshedji Jijibhai, the Bombay merchant so well known in the whole of India for his

*Banyan, a Hindu trader, and especially of the province of Guzarat. (See P. della Valle, I. 486-7, and Lord. Preface.)
†Shroff, a money-lender, a banker. (Ar. sarrâf, also sairaf.)
*Dharmsála (pious edifice), a resting house for wayfarers.

charities, was honored with Knighthood, and in 1857 was created Baronet, the first native to whom this coveted distinction was granted.

Such was the situation of the community in the early fifties of the nineteenth century. At that time (1852), Briggs could write with accuracy that "the bent of the Parsi community was purely commercial." He was perfectly right, and the evolution, which has turned an exclusively mercantile caste into the one priding itself most on its education and its intellectual pursuits, was only beginning to develop. It is nearly achieved, at least in the main lines. Nowadays, the Parsi is no more the broker or *dubash* of the European; he sits next to him on the benches of the Corporations, in the High Courts, at the Legislative and Vice-Regal Council—nay, even in Parliament. No wonder that such a contact has modified his customs and habits. What has become of the Banyan's co-worker, once in dress and occupation so much like his rival that sometimes the European travellers have confused the two? The Parsi has abandoned his white garments, his curved shoes; in India his brown *pagri* alone distinguishes him. On the Continent, he is an English gentleman.

This transformation that we are now witnessing is entirely due to Western education, and its influence on a race whose plasticity is undeniable, and whose powers of assimilation are of the rarest order. This will be seen presently.

II.

The Parsis were the first natives to take advantage of Western education in the Bombay Presidency; as soon as the Mission Schools set to work and the Elphinstone Institution afforded a chance for intelligent youths, the Parsis flocked to them, in order to benefit by the modern training and equip themselves for a new mode of life. This eagerness to learn had already incited their best men of the former generation to attend the schools of the Eurasians and retired soldiers for the purpose of mastering English. However, it was only in 1849 that the enlightenment of the bulk of the community was seriously undertaken by Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai, who established the Parsi Benevolent Institution for indigent Parsis. The schools soon imparted the blessings of education, free of charge, to thousands of pupils in Bombay and the Mofussil. Sir Jamshedji's example was followed by wealthy co-

religionists, and instruction rapidly spread among the lower classes.

Nearly at the same time, a spirit of reform had inflamed some generous, enterprising men, Furdunji Naorozji, Behramji Ghaudi, Manakji Kharshedji, Dadabhai Naorozji, who were later on joined by S. S. Bengali, K. N. Kabraji, and others. The reformers were bent on erasing from their family life and inner organization the old Hindu varnish, and they set diligently to work. Their task was not an easy one. In 1861, Mr. Dadabhai Naorozji, in a lecture delivered at the Liverpool Philo-Asiatic Society, explained the peculiar condition of his own community. He said:

"Under ordinary circumstances it may not be difficult to give a general account of the existing manners and customs of a people; but, in the case of the Parsis, in the present transitional state of their social and intellectual condition, it is difficult to say what the whole community observe and believe."

He then established a distinction between the old class and the young one, the orthodox and the reformers, and gave a rapid description of the habits of both, one steeped in an obstinate Hindu conservatism, the other full of Western aspirations. The priestly influence had been appealed to by the two parties. And any one who desires to follow the phases of the struggle can peruse the old Guzarati reports of the Associations started in order to support or refute each other's views. Female education formed, also, a serious part of the programme of the reformers. Parsi ladies were allowed to move about freely, to emancipate themselves from the secluded life which the Hindu fashion had compelled them to adopt. The Parsi's house was gradually becoming a happy home, instead of a gloomy Zenana; the Parsi's wife was made his companion, his children his friends! "Just as the influence of English education had operated on their mental condition, the example of the English modes of life and domestic habits had worked a revolution in their social condition."

Journalism and politics first attracted the most educated; the community soon produced a group of able and qualified professors, barristers, architects, publicists, doctors and scientists. The admission of natives to the different branches of the public service also increased their eagerness to win degrees and diplomas. "The schoolmaster is abroad," Dadabhai had said in his Liverpool lecture; and this far-away schoolmaster, whose influence was so

keenly felt, was in fact the most important personage at that stage of the Parsis' social evolution.

The ladies were not long in soliciting complete equality with their lords. Vernacular, Anglo-vernacular, and English institutions afforded them the best opportunities. Some of them matriculated; others followed the whole university training, and were among the very first Indian ladies to obtain degrees (B. A.). In medicine, especially, they are at their best; Parsi lady-doctors are numerous and talented. In 1900, Miss P. B—— has become M. A., the only Indian lady who has gained that degree.

Now, in order to acquaint our readers with the men of whom the Parsis have just reason to be proud, we shall introduce to them the two great personalities alluded to in the first pages of this article: Mr. Dadabhai Naorozji and Mr. Behramji Malabari. Both are the best representatives of the aspirations of the forward party in politics and social reform.

Mr. Dadabhai Naorozji sums up in his long life the whole evolution of his own community. Born in 1825 among the priestly class, he was forced to submit to the Hindu custom of infant marriage, which had also made havoc among the Parsis. Under the excellent tuition of an intelligent mother, he was most successful in his college career, and was among the first batch of Elphinstonians, won prizes and medals, and was the first native appointed to the Chair of Mathematics and Natural History at the Elphinstone Institution (1852-54). He soon resigned his professorship, and went to England as a partner in Mr. K. R. Cama's firm, the first established in London through the agency of natives. In 1874, we see him at the Court of the Gaekwar of Baroda, exercising the functions of *Diwan* (Prime Minister); then, in 1885, he was appointed by Lord Reay a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. After having failed in 1856, he succeeded in being elected, in 1892, as a Liberal member of the House of Commons by a London constituency (Central Finsbury Division).

That a native can be returned to Parliament will excite the wonder of foreigners. Let them remember that a native is a British subject. Let them also reflect upon the number of difficulties which a candidature of that kind is certain to encounter! At the fall of Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Dadabhai retired.

Such are the main lines of this useful career. Mr. Dadabhai's activity has been unparalleled, his zeal for the welfare of India

indefatigable. In his youth, he was already at work with the Bombay reformers; in England, he endeavored to bring India nearer to the metropolis, to promote among the natives the advantages of a system of education which would enable them to take an active share in the administration of their country. He also presided over the National Congress, and started with Mr. B. Malabari the *Voice of India,* at the instigation of Sir W. Wedderburn. There he pursued the same object which he always kept in view, namely, to connect India with England and to place the two countries in direct relationship with one another, without the intervention of the Anglo-Indians. His chief occupation for years has been the study of financial questions of the highest order. He has striven—he still strives—to denounce the causes of the increasing poverty of India, the very causes of the two last disastrous famines which were pointed out by Mr. B. Malabari in his remarkable memoir of "India in 1897," and recently by Mr. Digby, so well known as the originator and Honorary Secretary of the Indian Famine Relief Fund in 1877.

Next to Mr. Dadabhai, ranks the great reformer, Mr. Behramji M. Malabari. "He is not a noisy politician," says his Hindu biographer, Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, "but he has had no small share in moulding the political history of the last ten years. He has been the right hand of Dadabhai Naorozji, and by his moderation as editor of a leading native paper, and by his influence with the native press, did yeoman's service in times of trouble." Indeed, he has succeeded in making the *Indian Spectator* the people of India's own paper. "Being a man of the people himself," says the *Bombay Review,* "he could understand the great majority of the nation, and was particularly fitted for being a trustworthy interpreter between rulers and ruled." An excellent Guzarati poet, wielding a powerful English pen, he had at an early age acquired a great reputation.

His life is not without a romance. The autobiography of his childhood is *"inoubliable,"* to quote the expression of the French critic Filon, and is worthy of a place beside Rousseau's "Confessions," Dickens' "David Copperfield" and Daudet's *"Petit Chose."* Mr. Malabari was left a penniless orphan at the early age of twelve years. He bravely fought the hard battle of life, teaching the whole day boys older than himself, and during sleepless nights warbling beautiful Guzarati tunes, the whole time sustained in his

hard struggle by the invisible presence of his departed saint, his beloved mother. "Firdausi sings of Rustam having carried the dead bones of his son Sorab round his neck in a string to remind him of his irreparable loss. I carry my mother about in the spirit. She is always present to me. In every good woman I see my mother. I pity every bad or ill-used woman for my mother's sake."

At thirty, he was a successful man, and wealth and honors were within his reach, when suddenly a change came over him. He began to speculate about the evils that mar the Hindu civilization in the higher classes, infant-marriage and enforced-widowhood, and took an intense interest in the inner movement of social reform, which was silently at work among some thoughtful Hindus. He resolved to join them, to take the lead, if no other would do it, and for ten long years he was engrossed in his task. Lectures, pamphlets, tracts—all over India—voyages to London, he used any resource at hand; until at last he succeeded in obtaining from the Government the promulgation of the "Age of Consent Act," which actually puts a stop to infant-marriages and diminishes the chances of early widowhood (1891). Heaven alone knows the persecutions that the noble soul had to bear from the orthodox party; the Brahmanic cliquism is so well able to abuse and revile adversaries! Hindus, generally speaking, are so touchy! They do not like to be lectured by outsiders. The result was that he, Mr. Malabari, who had been the most popular among his contemporaries, when he took social reform in hand, immediately lost his popularity; but he did not care. He had made up his mind, and he accepted the consequences of his generous resolution. He sacrificed excellent opportunities in order to be independent, and set a sublime example of disinterestedness; he refused honors, such as the Shrievalty of Bombay and Knighthood (1887). In return, he gained the admiration of the enlightened few who remained loyal to him. "The country that produces a man of that stamp," said Max Müller, "is not a decadent country, but may look forward to a bright, sunny future, as it can look back with satisfaction, and even pride, on four thousand years of a not inglorious history."

In literature, Mr. Malabari's name is the most familiar to English readers from his well known work, "The Indian Eye on English Life," and his "Guzarat and the Guzaratis." Some peo-

ple see in him "the best among the men whom India is producing, in the course of her new development" under British rule. We admit that there is some force in that description, but we shall here repeat what we have stated elsewhere. There are others of Mr. Malabari's contemporaries who can with equal justice be described as the best products of English education. To him we shall assign a different rôle. "If in the annals of his community Mr. Malabari is the first independent thinker, and, in those of India, the greatest reformer, still in his thought, wholly emancipated, he belongs to the civilization of the world, and, by his work, to the history of Humanity. In fact, Mr. Malabari shines brightest when least indebted to outside influence; in essence, he is a Parsi and an Indian."

Now, though young, he lives almost the life of a recluse, visits Plague Hospitals and Famine Camps. When in Europe, either in Paris or London, he studies social questions and keeps aloof from society. Some day he will again appear with a new ideal, a new aim connected with the welfare of India.

III.

Max Müller long ago pointed out that the extreme simplicity of Parsi-ism is the cause of the great attachment of its devotees, the cause, also, of the rare facility with which the Parsi accepts outward changes without incurring the risk of impeaching his faith. We cannot attempt to sum up the whole history of Zoroastrianism in a few lines. Every one keeps in his memory the glorious career of the Persian Empire. After the Mohammedan Conquest, it disappeared from the view of the world, and for centuries was faithfully preserved in the two small communities of Persia and India. The European scholars were left to their own speculations, and possessed only such information as could be derived from the classics.

When Anquetil Duperron brought Avesta to Europe, it created a great sensation. He gave a new impetus to science, and people know the glorious work done later by Burnouf and his followers. The Parsis, at first, were totally ignorant of the European studies bearing upon their sacred books. In fact, the attacks of a missionary, Dr. J. Wilson, on the question of conversion, obliged the Dasturs to come forward and explain the tenets of their religion. They did it in full earnestness and fairness, preserving their pure

traditional doctrine. It was only when Dr. Haug was appointed "Superintendent of Sanscrit Studies in the Poona College," and was brought into contact with the priests, that the distrust subsided. Dr. Haug even collaborated with one of the Dasturs, Hoshanji Jamaspji. Another decisive step was taken by a clever *beh-din,* Mr. K. R. Cama; on his return from Europe, where he had been acquainted with savants of high repute—Spiegel, for instance—he undertook to teach Zend and Phelvi on the modern philological principles, and introduced them among his co-religionists. Now, there is a complete parallelism between the methods of the two schools of Europe and India. The latter produces original works and valuable translations, which do the greatest honor to the community.

Moreover, the Dasturs, who for so long had carefully concealed the tenets of their religion, grew even more and more willing to give information about them. Sometimes, they do not quite agree with the views of our Western scholars. No wonder; science and faith cannot use the same criterion.

Zoroastrianism, or Parsi-ism, is a monotheistic form of religion, not a polytheistic one, as some people would have it. There is but one God under different names, *Mazda, Ahura* and *Ahura Mazda.* He manifested himself to a Bactrian or Median philosopher or reformer, Zoroaster, who is considered to have constituted a religious doctrine, set forth in the sacred books of Avesta. According to Herodotus, the Persians had no images of the Gods, no temples, no altars, and they considered the use of them a sign of folly. The modern Parsis are of the same opinion as their forefathers, and repudiate any representation of the deity.

Zoroaster's speculative philosophy teaches us that the world is the work of two hostile principles, Spenta-Maynu, the good principle, and Angra-Maynu, the evil principle, both serving under one God—the first being the author of whatever is bright and shining, good and useful; the second of what is dark and noxious. The conflict will end in the triumph of the good principle.

The confusion of the philosophical and theological system has given rise to the belief in Dualism, and led to the identification of the principle of good with Ahura-Mazda himself. Let us here quote Dr. Haug, whose authority is so great in these matters. "The Parsis are strict monotheists, and, whatever may have been the views of former philosophical writings, their one Supreme

Divinity is Ahura-Mazda. Their view of Angra-Maynu seems to differ in no respect from what is supposed to be the orthodox Christian view of the Devil." In man himself we find the same struggle. Salvation depends entirely on his own efforts and deeds; so it becomes his peremptory duty to lead a holy life and to think, to speak and to act righteously. The Mazdazasnian religion enjoins a sublime code of ethics. Mgr. de Harlez has rightly said that the Mazdian religion is distinguished from all other ancient religions in this—that it has a "moral systematized and founded upon philosophic principles." The late lamented Dr. Haug also observes that the moral philosophy of Zoroaster is moving in the triad of thought, word and deed. These three words form the pivot upon which the moral structure of Zoroastrianism turns.

But in the company of holy souls will be the reward of the pure; the wicked will go to the house of impurity and utter darkness. But, at the end of the world (which is to be synchronous with the end of the present cycle), there will be a general purification and regeneration. All souls will be furnished with new bodies and commence a life of ineffable bliss. "Then he (the Saostryant*) shall restore the world, which will (thenceforth) never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, and master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at (God's) wish."†

Zoroastrian worship consists of oral recitations of portions of the Sacred Words, or such recitations combined and accompanied with the performance of ritual. The offerings are fruit, flowers, milk, incense, especially the juice of the Haoma plant. The offices are few; they are performed by priests, who constitute a distinct class apart from the rest; no layman can become a priest; no priest can even marry the daughter of a layman. In the priestly class, all the youths now do not pass through the Navar and Martab ceremonies which made them priests (*ervad*). The dignity of *Dastur* is the highest in the craft. Their duties are numerous; they have to attend to the service of the Temples and keep the fire constantly burning there. The ancient Iranians always regarded this element as the symbol of divinity and, as such, worthy of respect; but they never professed themselves to be the worshippers of the Fire. The modern Parsis consider Fire "as

*The Messiah of the Parsis. †Zamyad Yasht, 89.

an emblem of refulgence, glory and light, as the most perfect symbol of God and as the best and noblest representative of his divinity." Bishop Meurin has given his opinion about Fire reverence in such excellent and choice expressions that we cannot help quoting them. "I am, therefore, very far from supposing that the Parsi Fire Worship is idolatry. Whoever accuses the Parsis of that most heinous of all crimes, and is not able to prove that they believe Fire or Sun to be God himself, is certainly guilty of the most detestable sin of calumny."

The Zoroastrian is not forced to attend places of worship in order to say his prayers, nor to wait for a priest. The old Iranians, as is well known, deemed that nature in all its grandeur is their temple of worship. Often, at Bombay, numbers of Parsis go to the seashore and recite their prayers, with their faces turned to the rising or the setting sun.

The religious obligations of the Parsi are few. Between the age of seven and five, a Zoroastrian must be invested with the *Sudeah* (shirt) and *Kushti* (girdle), which are the visible symbols or emblems of the Mazdazasni religion. The ceremony is called *Naojot* (new or first worship). The candidate declares himself to be a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zoroaster, an opponent of *Daevas* (false Gods), and subject to the laws of Ahura. Marriage is blessed by a priest; the outward pomp is, or rather was, totally Hindu. As to death and funeral rites, the ceremonies are most antique; the mode of disposing of the dead on high walls or stone platforms (Towers of Silence) is purely avestic. Of course, it has long been and it still is an object of wonder to foreigners; but, after a consideration of the laws of hygiene and sanitation, the most averse to the custom grow reconciled to it.

A remarkable feature of modern Parsi-ism is the repugnance of the whole community either to proselytism or conversion. It is a fact that the Parsis have always been deaf to the allurements of the Brahmanic worship and to the earnest appeals of Christian missionaries. The coarse Hinduism of the present could not tempt the pure soul of the monotheistic Mazdayasni; as to the appeals of the missionaries, they have been also fruitless for other reasons. The remembrance of the few conversions made by Dr. Wilson (1839) is still very bitter. At that time, a Zoroastrian boastingly could say to the ardent apostle: "With regard to the conversion of a Parsi, you cannot even dream of the event, because

even a Parsi babe crying in the cradle is firmly confident in the venerable Zarthust." Since then conversions have been rare.

The best proof of the attachment of the enlightened Parsi to his religion is to be found in Dr. Wilson's *protégé*, Mr. Malabari, whose companion and class-fellow, S. D. B——, embraced Christianity. Mr. Malabari has stated that he resisted the influence of his old and respected friend, simply because he believed in salvation by faith and by word, but did not think the mediation of another absolutely necessary for salvation. However, he is not one of those who speak lightly of Christ. "I know not," he says, "if India will become Christian, and when. But this much I know, that the life and work of Christ must tell in the end. After all, He is no stranger to us Easterns. How much He brings back to us refined and modernized!" As to the missionaries, he fully acknowledges their good service to the cause of civilization.

"We are indebted to them for the first start in the race for intellectual emancipation. It is to them that we are beholden for some of our most cherished political and social acquisitions. . . . . Apart from its active usefulness, the Christian Mission serves as a buffer for the side of scepticism usually inseparable from intellectual emancipation. At a time when doubt and distrust are to take the place of reasoned inquiry among the younger generation of India, I feel bound to acknowledge in my own person the benefits I have derived from a contact with the spirit of Christianity. But for that holy contact, I could scarcely have grown into the staunch and sincere Zoroastrian that I am, with a keen appreciation of all that appeals readily to the intelligence, and a reverend curiosity for what appeals to the heart, knowing full well that much of what is mysterious to man is not beneath, but beyond, the comprehension of a finite being."

The Parsis are totally ignorant of propaganda; they are most tolerant and never attempt to change the creed of any one. Were they always so? Is their present reserve in keeping with the Zoroastrian precepts? It seems that in days of yore they were more zealous. Some ancient treatises are of an essentially propagandist character, and we cannot help alluding to the most severe persecutions that the Christians had to endure under the Sassanian princes. Nevertheless, the Parsis, in India, show the greatest reluctance to increase their number, not only by conversion, but also by any alliance with people of other religions. So that they have to multiply by marrying among themselves; fortunately, they belong to a prolific race, if we consider the small number of the first settlers and their present position.

IV.

According to the general census of 1891, the number of Parsis then in India was 89,904; 76,774 are quartered in the Bombay Presidency. The city of Bombay has a flourishing Parsi population of 47,498 souls; Surat, 12,757; then we can mention Broach, Thana, Karachi, etc. The priestly town of Nausari is, perhaps, the most important of the settlements outside British territory. The occupations in the lower classes are varied and numerous. It is remarkable that the Parsis have never taken to the more menial employments, such as those of day-laborers, scavengers, palki-bearers, barbers, washermen, grooms, etc. Before the terrible trials of plague and famine, among thousands of mendicants there were only five Parsis, four males and one female. As to the victims of immorality, a Parsi was proud to record that "not a single Parsi female returned herself as living on the wages of shame."*

The Parsis are not exclusively quartered in India. Some are to be found in China (Canton, Macao, Hongkong), Penang, Rio, Mauritius, Cape Town, Madagascar, Australia. We do not mention Europe, where they come frequently, either for study or pleasure, never for a permanent stay, except in London.

We must not forget the small group of the Zoroastrians living in the Persian provinces of Yezd and Kirman. Their condition was for years miserable to a degree. The number of the educated few is limited; the head of the Yezd community is Mr. Ardashir Mihraban, with whom the writer became acquainted through Mr. E. G. Browne, the eminent lecturer on Persian at Cambridge, his guest in Persia. In spite of his endeavors, he has not yet succeeded in raising the intellectual level of his co-religionists. Their social status is very low, indeed; and it is even difficult—this we know from experience—to lighten their burdens, as they are still too ignorant to understand the benefits of certain improvements.

Their condition has been greatly ameliorated by Nasr-Eddin, who, by a Firman, restored them to a footing of equality with his Mohammedan subjects (1882). Their number did not exceed 9,269 in 1891. They are remarkable for their honesty and chastity. Their Indian brethren have started a Fund on their behalf.

* Karaka, "History of the Parsis."

V.

What is the future of the Parsis? The question is momentous, and it is difficult for an outsider to decide. Socially, they are growing more and more important; the number of their distinguished men is daily increasing, and they have acquired a widespread influence. Now, as to religion, they are certainly more enlightened than their forefathers; but are they the same staunch believers as their predecessors? European rationalism does not spare their sacred books, and the spirit of free inquiry seems to have inflamed some of their young men. It has rightly preoccupied thoughtful philosophers. Mr. Malabari calls his co-religionists "a flock without a shepherd," and he is right. The community lacks unity; that is evidently the weak point. For years and years, the Parsis were led by their own *Panchayet*,* which ceased to exist after the promulgation of the laws of marriage and inheritance. The courts took the place of the *anjuman*.† On the other hand, the authority of the *Dastur Dasturan*,‡ being purely nominal, had ceased also to be effective. So that the two supports, religious and civil, happened to fail at almost the same time.

The Parsis have thus reached a turning point in their national career, a period as important as that when they began to mingle with Mohammedans and Europeans. The revival which followed has not yet ended, and they seem launched on the path of progress; but there are symptoms of such a rapid change in customs and ideals that one feels almost afraid of such rapidity.

Fortunately—if we can say so—all the classes are not yet won over. The contest between the old class and the young one is by no means settled. There are still Parsis in the Mofussil who are steeped in a pure conservatism. These are the very men who will serve as a dam to restrain the violence of the flood. Gradually, they will be gained to the cause of modern education, and they will allow the forward party to try experiments which will guard the new generation against exaggerated theories. They will also learn that they lack cohesion, and that they have to make their own religion and philosophy the guides that they need. Both have aided them in their social development; both will continue to support them in their new modernized life in India and abroad; and both will enable them to wait for the final triumph of the Good Principle.

D. MENANT.

* The National Assembly of the Parsis.
† An assembly.
‡ Lit. Priest of the Priests. High Priest.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICAN VERSE.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

One need not quite be at the pains of fancying an amiable privity to Mr. Stedman's plans in the century now rounded to its close, and already rolling away into the past, in order to feel the artistic aptness of its departure at the moment when this could give his work the most definite projection, the most striking relief. But it is certainly pleasanter to indulge such a vagary than to realize that ill-health and an increasing sense of the burden of his task have delayed the appearance of his Anthology till this psychological moment. If it were not for his own frank confession in his very interesting and important Introduction, the fancy might have as great authority as the fact with the reader who turns the pages of his book and perceives how much the Nineteenth Century in America, so far as it was literary, and, more specifically, so far as it was poetical, owes to his patient industry, his judicial discrimination and his instinctive and instructed taste for its due representation to the future. I have another quarrel with the Introduction, however, and perhaps a more serious quarrel than could lie against it for invalidating any fancy of mine, and that is for leaving me, as a critic, so little to say of the quality and character of the verse exhibited. Mr. Stedman has seized the advantage of his prior opportunity to discuss it so comprehensively that one is reduced to the extremity of skirting the edges of the subject, or of repeating him, in terms more or less diaphanous and superfluous, if one enters further upon it.

I.

The really significant question as to the literature of any people is whether it is good; but short of this point one may usefully

* "An American Anthology, 1787-1899. Selections illustrating the Editor's Critical Review of American Poetry in the Nineteenth Century." Edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

inquire how much it is their own. I should not venture to say that Mr. Stedman had made an intentional showing of American motives in the American poetry of the last hundred years; but I think he has made a very good showing. What occurs to one almost first in looking his collection over is the very prevalently native character of our verse under conditions and in circumstances where it could not be indigenous. We had not only taken our language from the English, but we had got our whole literary culture and technique from them, down to the smallest convention. There could not be an American metre, say, expressive of some spiritual rhythm peculiar to us. We came into the world when nations were long past inventing such things. For good or for ill, we had come into a civilized world and were joint heirs with the English in a learning as old as the Christianity of the mother isles. But we did not continue altogether in their tradition, though it would not have been surprising if we had. As soon as we felt our national life we began to pipe up in a note at least partly our own; to use an imagery proper to our skies and woods, and to enrich our song from the voices of the environing nature; to color it from our conditions and to kindle it from our aspirations. The American poetry of one hundred years ago no more reflected the English poetry of that day than the American poetry of the present reflects the English poetry of our own time.

This is the fact to which Mr. Stedman's Anthology testifies, rather unexpectedly, I confess, but very convincingly. Our poor beginnings, (and except in one sort they seem to me poor indeed, compared with our present affluence,) might have been richer endings if they had been more docile; but not the less I think the revolt in them divine, just as now I think we are somewhat nobler to be ourselves than to be like the English, without in the least accusing the English of inferiority: I might not be able to make that case out. It seems to me that our earliest poets, as I find them represented by Mr. Stedman's choice, obeyed an instinct articulate in all the terms of our young being when they uttered the American spirit in phrases a little vaunting, perhaps, but undoubtedly exalted. They had not a new language, not a new form, but they had a new hope and a new faith, and the patriotic hymns which they sang to a somewhat sparsely peopled air have an undying echo in our hearts. It may or it may not be a pity that they have now no echo in our verse. They may have said

America once for all, or America may have since changed so much that she needs re-wording, and we are waiting to invent a vocabulary; but it is certain that they did say her, those children of her first youth, with a fervor of affection which her latest brood has not emulated. To be sure, the mighty mother was then just taking her high place morally above the other nations at the end of a war waged for the ideal of self-government, and it might be justly urged that she was a more inspiring theme in that bright hour than in this, when she is sunk to the level of the powers that fight to conquer and to colonize. At any rate, they sang her—Hopkinson, Key, Drake and the rest—in strains that still make the wrinkled cheek thrill and glow. Perhaps it is not the finest poetry; perhaps it is only a sort of rhythmical eloquence which the critical reader, wanting the associations of a generous nonage with it, may regard with an amused and tolerant curiosity rather than any stronger emotion. But such as it is, it was not equalled till the second War of Liberation, when we fought free of the slavery we inflicted, as in the first we threw off the subjection we suffered. Both were nobler moments than this, apparently, unless the lyric cry of the Philippine Purchase is merely sticking in the throat of some patient poet till we shall have succeeded in forcing our freedom upon a people who want their own.

Pierpont, Whittier, Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell, Bryant, Channing, Higginson, Brownell, Mrs. Howe and many more all in their several notes united to swell the chorus of the national renaissance, and to recall the music brave and clear, though of so much slenderer volume, which had preluded theirs in the hour of the national nativity. But between the earlier and the later Wars of Liberation there was a long period of suspense and expectation (which, no doubt, seemed to itself a time of settled agreement between the two opposing forces in our civilization, and not a mere *modus vivendi,*) when the American offshoot of English poetry was rooting itself in alien soil and naturalizing itself in alien air. For it must not be forgotten in the heat of our proudest self-assertion, that whatever we are in ourselves, we are that by virtue of having been English, and that if we are now Americans it is because we once wished to be more truly English than the Englishmen.

Politically we became Americans in spite of our first inten-

tion, and poetically we became Americans, though knit to English letters by a closer and stronger allegiance than we bore to English laws. The divergence showed itself as decidedly while we were still colonists in whatever was Philip Freneau's peculiar quality, if not so widely as it has since shown itself; and though the quantity of this quality has been fondly exaggerated in his case by retrospective criticism, it has been rather minified than magnified in the case of our earliest national poets generally.

The difference between Bryant and Wordsworth, not to seek any other instance, is as marked as the difference between Longfellow and Tennyson, again not to amplify proofs. If we come to such American names as Poe, and Whittier, and Emerson, and Lowell, there are no English analogues with which they can be yoked by any feat of critical gymnastics. One might as well try to identify the English imagination from which Hawthorne sprang; but the fact is not so much for the pleasure of our vanity as for the instruction of our ignorance. In this matter the venerable law of demand and supply has worked backwards, as usual, and the demand for an American spirit in literature has followed the supply from the beginning. This supply is now so great, this spirit is so intense and pervasive, that if there is to be hereafter any approach to a common ideal, it must be by the English coming to us, and not by our going to them. But probably a reunion like that will not take place, and perhaps it would not be well that it should. Such life as the two peoples have in common, through their inseparable origin and language, is the richer and fuller because of the æsthetic variance which began almost as soon as the Puritans could set up a printing-press on the three hills by Massachusetts Bay.

II.

Not that the printing-press by Massachusetts Bay was ever prescient of an æsthetic destiny, or concerned itself with the tastes of men when they had souls that so much needed saving, or disciplining at the least. Oddly enough, to our modern notion, the æsthetic impulse which so strongly developed itself in New England at last was first felt in the South, where it eventuated in a lyric form of beauty unknown to the North. Freneau, indeed, was native to this Boeotian air of New York, but such poets of fine strain as followed him—Key and Pinkney and Wilde —were Southerners. They wrote songs tender, and gay, and

gallant; and it was not till Bryant began to commune with the austere and solitary spirit of Nature in the North, and sparely to touch it to human sympathy, that the primacy of New England in American poetry was fixed. He was nominally of New York, but the material of his verse was the granite of his native Massachusetts hills. It was the truly American thing, and not the less national because it was almost peculiar to him; yet Bryant had not a tenth of the imitators who perished with their master when Poe died. This is the more notable because Bryant's verse was in every schoolbook, and Poe's was only the solace of the morbid youth of post-schooldays. It may be accounted for upon the theory that simplicity is difficult at second hand as well as at first hand, and because of two poets almost equally great in a sense of what may be called the impersonal, the mortal, the psychical—I grope for the right word in vain—the one had a most obvious manner, easy to be aped, and the other had no more manner than the serious and lonely nature he loved to invoke.

What Bryant did was to make American nature habitable to American imagination, and in this way he doubtless pioneered what may be called, for want of a better word, the bucolic school of the West, whose spirit is most, though it was not earliest, recognizable in the work of J. J. Piatt, and which has found in the tender humanity of James Whitcomb Riley and the sensuous susceptibility of Madison Cawein diverse ultimations alike oblivious of their source.

What Poe did was to enlarge our earth and sky by giving us, through the rifts he made in either, glimpses of the preternatural which have a perennial glamour; but the influence of his art, which once so thrilled and fascinated, is no longer felt in our literature. Yet if one comes to naming of names, his must be almost the first, as one perceives with a certain sense of hardship, suspecting as one does something essentially voluntary, not to say mechanical, in his witchery.

There are traces of Bryant before Bryant, as there are after him, in our poetry, but none of Poe. The nature-worship runs all through it; but the supernature-worship begins and ends with a sole hierophant. Was he then our great original; and was he this by virtue of something derived from his environment here, derivable by no other American, or was he ours rather by the acci-

dent of his birth in our quarter of a world where he had nowhere his like or fellow?

III.

The great New Englanders would none of him. Emerson called him "the jingle-man;" Lowell thought him "three-fourths sheer fudge;" Longfellow's generous voice was silenced by Poe's atrocious misbehavior to him, and we can only infer his slight esteem for his work; in a later generation Mr. James speaks of Poe's "very valueless verses." Yet is it perversely possible that his name will lead all the rest when our immortals are duly marshalled for the long descent of time. He belongs, like the poets mentioned, to the golden age of our still youthful rhyme, which Whittier, Holmes, Taylor, Stoddard and Walt Whitman belonged to, and which Mr. Stedman classifies as our second lyrical period. Bryant, who in greatness belongs there with them, is chronologically assigned to the first lyrical period, where he has no compeer, as none of those named quite have, in the third lyrical period, or the fourth, which Mr. Stedman generalizes as "The Close of the Century."

But here, I think, the scrupulous critic would wish to refine upon his assertion, to hedge from his position. Save for their chronology, Taylor and Mr. Stoddard would be classed with Messrs. Stedman and Aldrich and Piatt, who easily distinguish themselves from their companions of the third lyrical period. In their art the New England impulse persists in ways which it is easier to affirm than to define, but which I think their lovers will allow. Neither in them nor in the poets of our more continental development is there so much a decline as a diffusion of the primal and more American impulse. Not the less, but the more, because Emerson, and Longfellow, and Bryant, and Whittier, and Holmes, and Lowell were great, should we feel the fine qualities of Messrs. Harte, and Riley, and Cawein, and Hay, and Sill, and Gilder, and Maurice Thompson, and Lloyd Mifflin, and George Lathrop, and the woman poets of their epoch. If it is not a duty, it is still a pleasure to recognize the unity of all these in a tradition of beauty, which expresses itself differently but not so very unequally in each. I am willing, rather than unwilling, in coming down to the close of the century, to find in Emily Dickinson, in Richard Hovey, in Stephen Crane, in Paul Dunbar, and in Edward Markham assurance of continued vitality in our poets, who, if they no longer roll the psalm to wintry skies,

or put our national consciousness into verse, or have not, like the great New Englander, the pathos of escape from the imminent deadly moral into the keeping of a somewhat timorous and self-doubting Beautiful, are still poets of as sure calling and election as most of those remembered from the former centuries.

In considering their work it is well also to consider the much greater ease with which immortality used to be achieved. To be quite honest with one's self (at the risk of one's life, rather), it must be owned that the English classics are largely of a quality which leaves even the minor poets of our American anthology little to envy them. They are, in truth, powerfully dull company, as any one must own who has passed much time with them. They do not really exist, but continually perish in a deplorable perpetuity of print; and though it may seem bold to say that our minor poets, as Mr. Stedman has remembered them in his Anthology, are no deader than most of the minor poets in the complete editions of the British poets, still this praise shall be hazarded.

IV.

In some ways, plain to the most cursory glance, they seem not to have sinned so much as their English elders if not betters. It may be that Mr. Stedman has a distaste for satire, or it may be that the mood of the whole world has changed, and no one now likes to write it, but satire is apparently one of the ways in which our poets have not greatly sinned.

The satire of Lowell, who inclined more to it than any other American, from as high a conscience as ever went to it, is represented by a brief passage from "The Fable for Critics," and by one of the less biting of the "Bigelow Papers"—of course, papers can only bite figuratively. Elsewhere there is little trace of a kind of poetry, if it is truly poetry, which so long flourished in the mother-verse of England. With us satire has been political rather than literary, and in one or two eminent instances it has been social, as in Mr. Butler's "Nothing to Wear," and some dashing forays of Mr. Stedman's own; much later than these it has been socialistic in the brilliant work of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson. But it has at no time been very characteristic of our poetry, and the editor of the American Anthology, whether he meant to intimate its subordinate importance or not, has reduced its representation quite to the ratio of its constituents.

Another sort has been more characteristic of us than the satire which it is remotely akin to. The humorous verse, which amuses rather than moralizes the reader, or is intended to amuse him, has always abounded with us, and survives the decay of satire in perennial flower. Fit selections from Dr. Holmes stand for that direct, that almost didactic, phase of it which we associate with him, and we see it more in profile, in character, in drama, in the pieces chosen from Messrs. Hay, and Harte, and Riley. Of the set, or purposed, comic, such as we find somewhat superabundantly in English verse, there has been comparatively little in our poetry; there has been even less than there has been of satire; and the fact may be Mr. Stedman's justification in altogether omitting that kindly old forgotten droller, John G. Saxe, who once had a place of a certain prominence in our more provincial republic of letters. I think it is rather a pity to have left him out, though I could not precisely say why; but I have a feeling that he was a sort of link between the humorous and satirical, of at least an historical significance.

The narrative poem, or the story in verse, which was once as frequent with us as the humorous character piece is now, is apparently almost as obsolescent as the satire. But at one time nearly every poet, of much or little mark, thought he must do something in the way of it, and in this species Longfellow widely extended his popularity. Whittier less expansively obeyed a kindred impulse, and certain important fragments attest the same intention in Lowell. In those who stand next to these poets the purpose was also rife, and Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Stoddard, as well as Taylor, have written tales in verse, partly or wholly imaginative. The impulse seems to have spent itself before reaching the Pacific Slope, and Mr. Bret Harte satisfied any conscience he had in that way by versifying such of the Californian legends as did not insist upon length. The work of Mr. Joaquin Miller is an instance to the contrary, but even with him the narrative poem is of shorter breath than with the elder poets. Of late Mr. Riley has attempted a tale in rhyme, but rather in the way of bringing together a variety of dispersed impressions and portraits, as Whittier did in "Snow-Bound." The younger poets of the Middle West seem none of them to have tried their prentice-hands in it, and it is not only a very obvious but a very safe thing to note the apparent decline of the species.

The turn of the narrative poem may come again; for some reasons I hope it may; it might do some such office for our common life as the short story has done in prose. In fact, if the absence of the narrative poem is partly an effect of the difficulty which Mr. Stedman would have found in representing it within necessary limits, it may be still with us in much greater force than appears from his Anthology.

I am afraid he is going to be held by posterity to undue responsibility, and I think it the duty of a contemporary to make the reader observe that in the nature of things an anthology is not quite a representation of the editor's preferences. Mr. Stedman hints at this himself, but he could not urge the fact as I should like to do. It was his business to include all phases of our poetry rather than those he liked best, but in the exercise of a judgment at least provisionally sovereign he must expose himself to much resentment and no little revolt. He has made one absolute break, to my thinking, in leaving out a poet of Mr. Edgar Fawcett's fine and rare make; but I fancy this to have been an accident, by no means characteristic of his most faithful and almost exhaustive study of the field. It is possible, of course, that Mr. Fawcett is that American poet, resident in Europe, who wished to be left out; but I am not going to let such a conjecture weaken the ground of the few reproaches I have to make on Mr. Stedman's work. I can understand how in some moods another critic might turn the leaves of the Anthology and not dishonestly accuse him of having left out the most representative things of some poets whom he does represent. But I think this will not be the last mind of any fair-minded critic. In the wonderful affluence of things I find in the book, I have become more and more reconciled to what appears to me rather a virtuous poverty in the things I have not been able to find. I believe we shall become ultimately reconciled to defects which are more suggestive of the physical than the æsthetic limitations of a work so truly monumental, and be willing to accept it as something final in its kind.

It is not likely to be done again in a hurry, and if it were it would not be so well done again. No living man was so well born and so well trained for the task which Mr. Stedman has made our literature his debtor in performing; the spirit of plain simplicity, and the frankness of the personal note in his direct

appeals to the reader, have not only a great charm, but add greatly to the value of the purely editorial work. This has related to the distribution of the selections into the several periods already named, to the due provision of a table of contents and the several indices of first lines, and titles, and poets' names, and to the equipment of the volume with a budget of biographical notes, as well as the scholarly Introduction. The last is, of course, wholly Mr. Stedman's work, and the biographical notes, in nearly all of which his quality is felt, are largely his. Where they are not, they still seem to me a satisfactory performance in a sort of work presenting peculiar difficulties; it would have been far easier to do them worse than to do them better, and this I conceive is their sufficient praise.

V.

I should like to return again to the Introduction, before leaving the book, if for nothing but to emphasize my sense of its value by urging the reader not to fail making it his avenue to the pleasaunces beyond. It is so very good, so wise, so just, so kind, that if it did not lead to these, I should still commend its counsel as the best he could have concerning the literature it treats of. But in his idlest and fitfullest saunterings through the volume he will be glad of its companionship, and will see everything more clearly for the light it casts about him. I will not say the way is not quite safe without it, but it will spare the saunterer much disappointment and some needless suffering if he understands from the Introduction that he is not expected to enjoy every step of the way, but is free to feel tired, at times, and even bored. I do not believe, however, that he will feel bored very often, unless he is himself something of that worst kind of bore who is always exacting supreme and final beauty in art. There is much beauty on the way to this ultimate sort which affords the right-minded a distinct pleasure, and the reader will find abundance of the intermediate sort in a course of the American Anthology. Poets are in nothing more delightfully human than in the trick they have of falling below their best; and probably we could not have had Homer at all if we had not allowed him to nod. Certainly we could not otherwise have had many poets in this collection who are of the Homeric habit of nodding. But the reader himself nods at moments, and if he will only nod in unison with the poet, he will have a better time perhaps than he would if he kept always on the alert.

The sort of reasonable reader here imagined will be rather surprised than otherwise, in going through the Anthology, at the great number of familiar poems and lines of poems which he will find. I have been at the trouble, or at the pleasure, of testing it by looking for some favorite piece which is not a general favorite, like Ralph Hoyt's gentle monody, "Old," which always greatly took my fancy; and in turn it has tested me by offering to my knowledge as American certain pieces which to my ignorance had been English. There must be others in the Anthology which my readers will find there with even more surprise, though I shall not expect them to be so candid in confessing it. No doubt we shall meet more frankly on the ground where we are reminded, rather than on that where we are instructed, by the Anthology; and shall more gladly share a common delight in the old familiar things, even if they are not always the old favorite things. For me at least a whole extinct epoch rises again in the ghosts of Willis's poems walking this Anthology, which are mainly so good that it is astounding they should be mainly so dead. When you read them they are very alive, and so are Fitz-Greene Halleck's, even in that old-fashioned fraternal feeling with a people struggling for freedom expressed in his "Marco Bozzaris," which a sense of our own blood-guiltiness has forbidden any actual poet of ours to express in behalf of the two republics lately murdered in South Africa. It is by the sharpest and boldest zigzag that one arrives from this at the two songs chosen to represent the minstrelsy of Stephen Collins Foster, but one cannot help rejoicing that Mr. Stedman found him worthy remembrance. He can hardly be said to live more than many of his betters, but his songs, such as they were, will intimate to the future the pathos of an historical situation that now seems impossible. "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Old Folks at Home," say the simpler sorrows of an oppressed race better than anything else that survives from that dreadful past. Their presence in his Anthology testifies to the catholic spirit in which Mr. Stedman has done his work as impressively as anything I could allege in proof. A certain dignity had to be guarded, which if lost would have left the collection of less unquestionable value, and I think Mr. Stedman has looked to this while using a most generous discretion. Possibly there are other instances of poets with a right to representation there, who have not been invited into his pages, but I have not been

able to note more than two, and among such as I have found there I should not be able to note any that had not some claim upon the hospitality which distinctly stops short of charity. Neither the scholarship, nor the sympathy quite as essential in his task, has been wanting to it. No one's standing is established by his presence in these pages, which sometimes certify of an almost or quite forgotten existence; but one may be sure that in every case Mr. Stedman's choice, though never chary, was never unreasoned.

VI.

Apart, however, from all question of the wisdom or unwisdom of Mr. Stedman's choice, what would be the summary of one's impression of a hundred years of our poetry, as derived from his Anthology? One would wish to be honest with one's self if not with one's reader in such a matter, and it would be worse to affect discouragement than encouragement as to the future from things done in the past. It does not very much matter that during the hundred years of our national life we have given no poet to the world like those whose cumulative fame in the long past is not the truest measure of their greatness, but it does very much matter that in each stage of our advance from coloniality we have had adequate expression in our poetry. In our overweening sense of size, we have always been more aware of our length and breadth than our thickness, but if the alien critic feels a comparative thinness in our poetry, he will probably infer that our life has been somewhat wanting in density. Our life is still sparse, and, like our territorial area, it has been cultivated here and there only. It has not been wanting in high moments; it has flowered in heroic events, and fruited in as rich results as any national life known to the history of the race. But it is one of the most grotesque and unfounded of the superstitions that such facts have ever been mainly the stuff of poetry. Which of the national epics treats of the national epochs? We have only to ask ourselves such a question in order to realize how absurd a kindred expectation of achievement from our own poets must be. The national epics, the Iliad, the Cid, the Nibelungen Lied, and the like, have their roots in the fabulous aforetimes which antedated national history and even national consciousness, and were heroical merely and personal. So far as an alien race like ours could provide its habitat with a national epic in this sort, we have furnished it in

Longfellow's "Hiawatha." But if we insist upon a civic sense as the measure of value in our poets' work, they will be found as equal to the test as the poets of other peoples. It is very doubtful indeed if the stirring of a national conscience concerning a national wrong ending in a national tragedy has ever been more fully witnessed in a national poetry than the long struggle against slavery was witnessed in ours. The period of that immense psychological experience was the period of our highest achievement in poetry; our noblest poets belonged to that time; and though comparatively little of their work directly related to it, it is to their enduring honor and ours that not one of these was silent or indifferent in the presence of our ordeal. After the ordeal there was inevitable lapse from the high mood in which the highest things were done, but what has been done since is at least worthy of what we have ourselves been since. In fact, we have never since, in our fat prosperity, lived up to the ideal beauty of our poetry. I do not mean by any or all of this that the mood of a time directly embodies the fact of a time; but I am quite sure that if it is high, it characterizes all the arts with a certain exaltation. In a way, therefore, it depends upon our behavior as a people whether we shall again have a poetry of the type in which we once surpassed all other peoples: the type in which humanity responds more truly than nationality can to the divinity that shapes our ends.

W. D. HOWELLS.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXXI.

FEBRUARY, 1901.

TO THE PERSON SITTING IN DARKNESS.

BY MARK TWAIN.

"Christmas will dawn in the United States over a people full of hope and aspiration and good cheer. Such a condition means contentment and happiness. The carping grumbler who may here and there go forth will find few to listen to him. The majority will wonder what is the matter with him and pass on."—*New York Tribune*, on Christmas Eve.

From *The Sun*, of New York:

"The purpose of this article is not to describe the terrible offences against humanity committed in the name of Politics in some of the most notorious East Side districts. *They could not be described, even verbally.* But it is the intention to let the great mass of more or less careless citizens of this beautiful metropolis of the New World get some conception of the havoc and ruin wrought to man, woman and child in the most densely populated and least known section of the city. Name, date and place can be supplied to those of little faith—or to any man who feels himself aggrieved. It is a plain statement of record and observation, written without license and without garnish.

"Imagine, if you can, a section of the city territory completely dominated by one man, without whose permission neither legitimate nor illegitimate business can be conducted; *where illegitimate business is encouraged and legitimate business discouraged;* where the respectable residents have to fasten their doors and windows summer nights and sit in their rooms with asphyxiating air and 100-degree temperature,

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rather than try to catch the faint whiff of breeze in their natural breathing places, the stoops of their homes; *where naked women dance by night in the streets, and unsexed men prowl like vultures through the darkness on 'business'* not only permitted but encouraged by the police; *where the education of infants begins with the knowledge of prostitution* and the training of little girls is training in the arts of Phryne; where *American* girls brought up with the refinements of *American* homes are imported from small towns up-State, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey, and kept as virtually prisoners as if they were locked up behind jail bars until they have lost all semblance of womanhood; *where small boys are taught to solicit for the women of disorderly houses;* where there is an organized society of young men *whose sole business in life is to corrupt young girls and turn them over to bawdy houses;* where men walking with their wives along the street are openly insulted; *where children that have adult diseases are the chief patrons of the hospitals and dispensaries;* where it is the rule, rather than the exception, that *murder, rape, robbery and theft go unpunished*—in short where the Premium of the most awful forms of Vice is the Profit of the politicians."

The following news from China appeared in *The Sun,* of New York, on Christmas Eve. The italics are mine:

"The Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, has returned from a trip which he made for the purpose of collecting indemnities for damages done by Boxers. *Everywhere he went he compelled the Chinese to pay.* He says that all his native Christians are now provided for. He had 700 of them under his charge, and 300 were killed. He has *collected* 300 *taels for each* of these murders, and has *compelled full payment for all the property belonging to Christians* that was destroyed. He also assessed *fines* amounting to THIRTEEN TIMES the amount of the indemnity. *This money will be used for the propagation of the Gospel.*

"Mr. Ament declares that the compensation he has collected is *moderate,* when compared with the amount secured by the Catholics, who demand, in addition to money, *head for head.* They collect 500 taels for each murder of a Catholic. In the Wenchiu country, 680 Catholics were killed, and for this the European Catholics here demand 750,000 strings of cash and 680 *heads.*

"In the course of a conversation, Mr. Ament referred to the attitude of the missionaries toward the Chinese. He said:

" 'I deny emphatically that the missionaries are *vindictive,* that they *generally* looted, or that they have done anything *since* the siege that *the circumstances did not demand.* I criticise the Americans. *The soft hand of the Americans is not as good as the mailed fist of the Germans.* If you deal with the Chinese with a soft hand they will take advantage of it.'

"The statement that the French Government will return the loot taken by the French soldiers, is the source of the greatest amusement here. The French soldiers were more systematic looters than the Germans, and it is a fact that to-day *Catholic Christians,* carrying French flags and armed with modern guns, *are looting villages* in the Province of Chili."

By happy luck, we get all these glad tidings on Christmas

Eve—just in time to enable us to celebrate the day with proper gaiety and enthusiasm. Our spirits soar, and we find we can even make jokes: Taels I win, Heads you lose.

Our Reverend Ament is the right man in the right place. What we want of our missionaries out there is, not that they shall merely represent in their acts and persons the grace and gentleness and charity and loving kindness of our religion, but that they shall also represent the American spirit. The oldest Americans are the Pawnees. Macallum's History says:

"When a white Boxer kills a Pawnee and destroys his property, the other Pawnees do not trouble to seek *him* out, they kill any white person that comes along; also, they make some white village pay deceased's heirs the full cash value of deceased, together with full cash value of the property destroyed; they also make the village pay, in addition, *thirteen times* the value of that property into a fund for the dissemination of the Pawnee religion, which they regard as the best of all religions for the softening and humanizing of the heart of man. It is their idea that it is only fair and right that the innocent should be made to suffer for the guilty, and that it is better that ninety and nine innocent should suffer than that one guilty person should escape."

Our Reverend Ament is justifiably jealous of those enterprising Catholics, who not only get big money for each lost convert, but get "head for head" besides. But he should soothe himself with the reflection that the entirety of their exactions are for their own pockets, whereas he, less selfishly, devotes only 300 taels per head to that service, and gives the whole vast thirteen repetitions of the property-indemnity to the service of propagating the Gospel. His magnanimity has won him the approval of his nation, and will get him a monument. Let him be content with these rewards. We all hold him dear for manfully defending his fellow missionaries from exaggerated charges which were beginning to distress us, but which his testimony has so considerably modified that we can now contemplate them without noticeable pain. For now we know that, even before the siege, the missionaries were not "generally" out looting, and that, "since the siege," they have acted quite handsomely, except when "circumstances" crowded them. I am arranging for the monument. Subscriptions for it can be sent to the American Board; designs for it can be sent to me. Designs must allegorically set forth the Thirteen Reduplications of the Indemnity, and the Object for which they were exacted; as Ornaments, the designs must exhibit 680 Heads, so disposed as to give a pleasing and pretty effect; for the

Catholics have done nicely, and are entitled to notice in the monument. Mottoes may be suggested, if any shall be discovered that will satisfactorily cover the ground.

Mr. Ament's financial feat of squeezing a thirteen-fold indemnity out of the pauper peasants to square other people's offenses, thus condemning them and their women and innocent little children to inevitable starvation and lingering death, in order that the blood-money so acquired might be *"used for the propagation of the Gospel,"* does not flutter my serenity; although the act and the words, taken together, concrete a blasphemy so hideous and so colossal that, without doubt, its mate is not findable in the history of this or of any other age. Yet, if a layman had done that thing and justified it with those words, I should have shuddered, I know. Or, if I had done the thing and said the words myself—however, the thought is unthinkable, irreverent as some imperfectly informed people think me. Sometimes an ordained minister sets out to be blasphemous. When this happens, the layman is out of the running; he stands no chance.

We have Mr. Ament's impassioned assurance that the missionaries are not "vindictive." Let us hope and pray that they will never become so, but will remain in the almost morbidly fair and just and gentle temper which is affording so much satisfaction to their brother and champion to-day.

The following is from the *New York Tribune* of Christmas Eve. It comes from that journal's Tokio correspondent. It has a strange and impudent sound, but the Japanese are but partially civilized as yet. When they become wholly civilized they will not talk so:

> "The missionary question, of course, occupies a foremost place in the discussion. It is now felt as essential that the Western Powers take cognizance of the sentiment here, that religious invasions of Oriental countries by powerful Western organizations are tantamount to filibustering expeditions, and should not only be discountenanced, but that stern measures should be adopted for their suppression. The feeling here is that the missionary organizations constitute a constant menace to peaceful international relations."

Shall we? That is, shall we go on conferring our Civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest? Shall we bang right ahead in our old-time, loud, pious way, and commit the new century to the game; or shall we sober up and sit down and think it over first? Would it not be

prudent to get our Civilization-tools together, and see how much stock is left on hand in the way of Glass Beads and Theology, and Maxim Guns and Hymn Books, and Trade-Gin and Torches of Progress and Enlightenment (patent adjustable ones, good to fire villages with, upon occasion), and balance the books, and arrive at the profit and loss, so that we may intelligently decide whether to continue the business or sell out the property and start a new Civilization Scheme on the proceeds?

Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked—but not enough, in my judgment, to make any considerable risk advisable. The People that Sit in Darkness are getting to be too scarce—too scarce and too shy. And such darkness as is now left is really of but an indifferent quality, and not dark enough for the game. The most of those People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a Daisy. There is more money in it, more territory, more sovereignty, and other kinds of emolument, than there is in any other game that is played. But Christendom has been playing it badly of late years, and must certainly suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that appeared on the green cloth, that the People who Sit in Darkness have noticed it—they have noticed it, and have begun to show alarm. They have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The Blessings of Civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light. In the right kind of a light, and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus, they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen who Sit in Darkness:

LOVE,
JUSTICE,
GENTLENESS,
CHRISTIANITY,
PROTECTION TO THE WEAK,
TEMPERANCE,
LAW AND ORDER,
LIBERTY,
EQUALITY,
HONORABLE DEALING,
MERCY,
EDUCATION,

—and so on.

There. Is it good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere. But not if we adulterate it. It is proper to be emphatic upon that point. This brand is strictly for Export—apparently. *Apparently.* Privately and confidentially, it is nothing of the kind. Privately and confidentially, it is merely an outside cover, gay and pretty and attractive, displaying the special patterns of our Civilization which we reserve for Home Consumption, while *inside* the bale is the Actual Thing that the Customer Sitting in Darkness buys with his blood and tears and land and liberty. That Actual Thing is, indeed, Civilization, but it is only for Export. Is there a difference between the two brands? In some of the details, yes.

We all know that the Business is being ruined. The reason is not far to seek. It is because our Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Chamberlain, and the Kaiser, and the Czar and the French have been exporting the Actual Thing *with the outside cover left off.* This is bad for the Game. It shows that these new players of it are not sufficiently acquainted with it.

It is a distress to look on and note the mismoves, they are so strange and so awkward. Mr. Chamberlain manufactures a war out of materials so inadequate and so fanciful that they make the boxes grieve and the gallery laugh, and he tries hard to persuade himself that it isn't purely a private raid for cash, but has a sort of dim, vague respectability about it somewhere, if he could only find the spot; and that, by and by, he can scour the flag clean again after he has finished dragging it through the mud, and make it shine and flash in the vault of heaven once more as it had shone and flashed there a thousand years in the world's respect until he laid his unfaithful hand upon it. It is bad play—bad. For it exposes the Actual Thing to Them that Sit in Darkness, and they say: "What! Christian against Christian? And only for money? Is *this* a case of magnanimity, forbearance, love, gentleness, mercy, protection of the weak—this strange and over-showy onslaught of an elephant upon a nest of field-mice, on the pretext that the mice had squeaked an insolence at him—conduct which 'no self-respecting government could allow to pass unavenged?' as Mr. Chamberlain said. Was that a good pretext in a small case, when it had not been a good pretext in a large one?—for only recently Russia had affronted the elephant three times and sur-

vived alive and unsmitten. Is this Civilization and Progress? Is it something better than we already possess? These harryings and burnings and desert-makings in the Transvaal—is this an improvement on our darkness? Is it, perhaps, possible that there are two kinds of Civilization—one for home consumption and one for the heathen market?"

Then They that Sit in Darkness are troubled, and shake their heads; and they read this extract from a letter of a British private, recounting his exploits in one of Methuen's victories, some days before the affair of Magersfontein, and they are troubled again:

"We tore up the hill and into the intrenchments, and the Boers saw we had them; so they dropped their guns and went down on their knees and put up their hands clasped, and begged for mercy. And we gave it them—*with the long spoon.*"

The long spoon is the bayonet. See *Lloyd's Weekly,* London, of those days. The same number—and the same column—contained some quite unconscious satire in the form of shocked and bitter upbraidings of the Boers for their brutalities and inhumanities!

Next, to our heavy damage, the Kaiser went to playing the game without first mastering it. He lost a couple of missionaries in a riot in Shantung, and in his account he made an overcharge for them. China had to pay a hundred thousand dollars apiece for them, in money; twelve miles of territory, containing several millions of inhabitants and worth twenty million dollars; and to build a monument, and also a Christian church; whereas the people of China could have been depended upon to remember the missionaries without the help of these expensive memorials. This was all bad play. Bad, because it would not, and could not, and will not now or ever, deceive the Person Sitting in Darkness. He knows that it was an overcharge. He knows that a missionary is like any other man: he is worth merely what you can supply his place for, and no more. He is useful, but so is a doctor, so is a sheriff, so is an editor; but a just Emperor does not charge war-prices for such. A diligent, intelligent, but obscure missionary, and a diligent, intelligent country editor are worth much, and we know it; but they are not worth the earth. We esteem such an editor, and we are sorry to see him go; but, when he goes, we should consider twelve miles of territory, and a church, and a fortune, over-compensation for his loss. I mean, if he was a Chi-

nese editor, and we had to settle for him. It is no proper figure for an editor or a missionary; one can get shop-worn kings for less. It was bad play on the Kaiser's part. It got this property, true; but it *produced the Chinese revolt,* the indignant uprising of China's traduced patriots, the Boxers. The results have been expensive to Germany, and to the other Disseminators of Progress and the Blessings of Civilization.

The Kaiser's claim was paid, yet it was bad play, for it could not fail to have an evil effect upon Persons Sitting in Darkness in China. They would muse upon the event, and be likely to say: "Civilization is gracious and beautiful, for such is its reputation; but can we afford it? There are rich Chinamen, perhaps they could afford it; but this tax is not laid upon them, it is laid upon the peasants of Shantung; it is they that must pay this mighty sum, and their wages are but four cents a day. Is this a better civilization than ours, and holier and higher and nobler? Is not this rapacity? Is not this extortion? Would Germany charge America two hundred thousand dollars for two missionaries, and shake the mailed fist in her face, and send warships, and send soldiers, and say: 'Seize twelve miles of territory, worth twenty millions of dollars, as additional pay for the missionaries; and make those peasants build a monument to the missionaries, and a costly Christian church to remember them by?' And later would Germany say to her soldiers: 'March through America and slay, *giving no quarter;* make the German face there, as has been our Hun-face here, a terror for a thousand years; march through the Great Republic and slay, slay, slay, carving a road for our offended religion through its heart and bowels?' Would Germany do like this to America, to England, to France, to Russia? Or only to China the helpless—imitating the elephant's assault upon the field-mice? Had we better invest in this Civilization—this Civilization which called Napoleon a buccaneer for carrying off Venice's bronze horses, but which steals our ancient astronomical instruments from our walls, and goes looting like common bandits—that is, all the alien soldiers except America's; and (Americans again excepted) storms frightened villages and cables the result to glad journals at home every day: 'Chinese losses, 450 killed; ours, *one officer and two men wounded.* Shall proceed against neighboring village to-morrow, where a *massacre* is reported.' Can we afford Civilization?"

And, next, Russia must go and play the game injudiciously. She affronts England once or twice—with the Person Sitting in Darkness observing and noting; by moral assistance of France and Germany, she robs Japan of her hard-earned spoil, all swimming in Chinese blood—Port Arthur—with the Person again observing and noting; then she seizes Manchuria, raids its villages, and chokes its great river with the swollen corpses of countless massacred peasants—that astonished Person still observing and noting. And perhaps he is saying to himself: "It is yet *another* Civilized Power, with its banner of the Prince of Peace in one hand and its loot-basket and its butcher-knife in the other. Is there no salvation for us but to adopt Civilization and lift ourselves down to its level?"

And by and by comes America, and our Master of the Game plays it badly—plays it as Mr. Chamberlain was playing it in South Africa. It was a mistake to do that; also, it was one which was quite unlooked for in a Master who was playing it so well in Cuba. In Cuba, he was playing the usual and regular *American* game, and it was winning, for there is no way to beat it. The Master, contemplating Cuba, said: "Here is an oppressed and friendless little nation which is willing to fight to be free; we go partners, and put up the strength of seventy million sympathizers and the resources of the United States: play!" Nothing but Europe combined could call that hand: and Europe cannot combine on anything. There, in Cuba, he was following our great traditions in a way which made us very proud of him, and proud of the deep dissatisfaction which his play was provoking in Continental Europe. Moved by a high inspiration, he threw out those stirring words which proclaimed that forcible annexation would be "criminal aggression;" and in that utterance fired another "shot heard round the world." The memory of that fine saying will be outlived by the remembrance of no act of his but one—that he forgot it within the twelvemonth, and its honorable gospel along with it.

For, presently, came the Philippine temptation. It was strong; it was too strong, and he made that bad mistake: he played the European game, the Chamberlain game. It was a pity; it was a great pity, that error; that one grievous error, that irrevocable error. For it was the very place and time to play the American game again. And at no cost. Rich winnings to be

gathered in, too; rich and permanent; indestructible; a fortune transmissible forever to the children of the flag. Not land, not money, not dominion—no, something worth many times more than that dross: our share, the spectacle of a nation of long harassed and persecuted slaves set free through our influence; our posterity's share, the golden memory of that fair deed. The game was in our hands. If it had been played according to the American rules, Dewey would have sailed away from Manila as soon as he had destroyed the Spanish fleet—after putting up a sign on shore guaranteeing foreign property and life against damage by the Filipinos, and warning the Powers that interference with the emancipated patriots would be regarded as an act unfriendly to the United States. The Powers cannot combine, in even a bad cause, and the sign would not have been molested.

Dewey could have gone about his affairs elsewhere, and left the competent Filipino army to starve out the little Spanish garrison and send it home, and the Filipino citizens to set up the form of government they might prefer, and deal with the friars and their doubtful acquisitions according to Filipino ideas of fairness and justice—ideas which have since been tested and found to be of as high an order as any that prevail in Europe or America.

But we played the Chamberlain game, and lost the chance to add another Cuba and another honorable deed to our good record.

The more we examine the mistake, the more clearly we perceive that it is going to be bad for the Business. The Person Sitting in Darkness is almost sure to say: "There is something curious about this—curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land."

The truth is, the Person Sitting in Darkness *is* saying things like that; and for the sake of the Business we must persuade him to look at the Philippine matter in another and healthier way. We must arrange his opinions for him. I believe it can be done; for Mr. Chamberlain has arranged England's opinion of the South African matter, and done it most cleverly and successfully. He presented the facts—some of the facts—and showed those confiding people what the facts meant. He did it statistically, which is a good way. He used the formula: "Twice 2 are 14, and 2

from 9 leaves 35." Figures are effective; figures will convince the elect.

Now, my plan is a still bolder one than Mr. Chamberlain's, though apparently a copy of it. Let us be franker than Mr. Chamberlain; let us audaciously present the whole of the facts, shirking none, then explain them according to Mr. Chamberlain's formula. This daring truthfulness will astonish and dazzle the Person Sitting in Darkness, and he will take the Explanation down before his mental vision has had time to get back into focus. Let us say to him:

"Our case is simple. On the 1st of May, Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet. This left the Archipelago in the hands of its proper and rightful owners, the Filipino nation. Their army numbered 30,000 men, and they were competent to whip out or starve out the little Spanish garrison; then the people could set up a government of their own devising. Our traditions required that Dewey should now set up his warning sign, and go away. But the Master of the Game happened to think of another plan—the European plan. He acted upon it. This was, to send out an army—ostensibly to help the native patriots put the finishing touch upon their long and plucky struggle for independence, but really to take their land away from them and keep it. That is, in the interest of Progress and Civilization. The plan developed, stage by stage, and quite satisfactorily. We entered into a military alliance with the trusting Filipinos, and they hemmed in Manila on the land side, and by their valuable help the place, with its garrison of 8,000 or 10,000 Spaniards, was captured—a thing which we could not have accomplished unaided at that time. We got their help by—by ingenuity. We knew they were fighting for their independence, and that they had been at it for two years. We knew they supposed that we also were fighting in their worthy cause—just as we had helped the Cubans fight for Cuban independence—and we allowed them to go on thinking so. *Until Manila was ours and we could get along without them.* Then we showed our hand. Of course, they were surprised—that was natural; surprised and disappointed; disappointed and grieved. To them it looked un-American; uncharacteristic; foreign to our established traditions. And this was natural, too; for we were only playing the American Game in public—in private it was the European. It was neatly done, very neatly, and it bewildered

them. They could not understand it; for we had been so friendly —so affectionate, even—with those simple-minded patriots! We, our own selves, had brought back out of exile their leader, their hero, their hope, their Washington—Aguinaldo; brought him in a warship, in high honor, under the sacred shelter and hospitality of the flag; brought him back and restored him to his people, and got their moving and eloquent gratitude for it. Yes, we had been so friendly to them, and had heartened them up in so many ways! We had lent them guns and ammunition; advised with them; exchanged pleasant courtesies with them; placed our sick and wounded in their kindly care; entrusted our Spanish prisoners to their humane and honest hands; fought shoulder to shoulder with them against "the common enemy" (our own phrase); praised their courage, praised their gallantry, praised their mercifulness, praised their fine and honorable conduct; borrowed their trenches, borrowed strong positions which they had previously captured from the Spaniard; petted them, lied to them—officially proclaiming that our land and naval forces came to give them their freedom and displace the bad Spanish Government—fooled them, used them until we needed them no longer; then derided the sucked orange and threw it away. We kept the positions which we had beguiled them of; by and by, we moved a force forward and overlapped patriot ground—a clever thought, for we needed trouble, and this would produce it. A Filipino soldier, crossing the ground, where no one had a right to forbid him, was shot by our sentry. The badgered patriots resented this with arms, without waiting to know whether Aguinaldo, who was absent, would approve or not. Aguinaldo did not approve; but that availed nothing. What we wanted, in the interest of Progress and Civilization, was the Archipelago, unencumbered by patriots struggling for independence; and War was what we needed. We clinched our opportunity. It is Mr. Chamberlain's case over again—at least in its motive and intention; and we played the game as adroitly as he played it himself."

At this point in our frank statement of fact to the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should throw in a little trade-taffy about the Blessings of Civilization—for a change, and for the refreshment of his spirit—then go on with our tale:

"We and the patriots having captured Manila, Spain's ownership of the Archipelago and her sovereignty over it were at an end

—obliterated—annihilated—not a rag or shred of either remaining behind. It was then that we conceived the divinely humorous idea of *buying* both of these spectres from Spain! [It is quite safe to confess this to the Person Sitting in Darkness, since neither he nor any other sane person will believe it.] In buying those ghosts for twenty millions, we also contracted to take care of the friars and their accumulations. I think we also agreed to propagate leprosy and smallpox, but as to this there is doubt. But it is not important; persons afflicted with the friars do not mind other diseases.

"With our Treaty ratified, Manila subdued, and our Ghosts secured, we had no further use for Aguinaldo and the owners of the Archipelago. We forced a war, and we have been hunting America's guest and ally through the woods and swamps ever since."

At this point in the tale, it will be well to boast a little of our war-work and our heroisms in the field, so as to make our performance look as fine as England's in South Africa; but I believe it will not be best to emphasize this too much. We must be cautious. Of course, we must read the war-telegrams to the Person, in order to keep up our frankness; but we can throw an air of humorousness over them, and that will modify their grim eloquence a little, and their rather indiscreet exhibitions of gory exultation. Before reading to him the following display heads of the dispatches of November 18, 1900, it will be well to practice on them in private first, so as to get the right tang of lightness and gaiety into them:

"ADMINISTRATION WEARY OF PROTRACTED HOSTILITIES!"

"REAL WAR AHEAD FOR FILIPINO REBELS!"*

"WILL SHOW NO MERCY!"

"KITCHENER'S PLAN ADOPTED!"

Kitchener knows how to handle disagreeable people who are fighting for their homes and their liberties, and we must let on that we are merely imitating Kitchener, and have no national interest in the matter, further than to get ourselves admired by the

*"Rebels!" Mumble that funny word—don't let the Person catch it distinctly.

Great Family of Nations, in which august company our Master of the Game has bought a place for us in the back row.

Of course, we must not venture to ignore our General MacArthur's reports—oh, why do they keep on printing those embarrassing things?—we must drop them trippingly from the tongue and take the chances:

"During the last ten months our losses have been 268 killed and 750 wounded; Filipino loss, *three thousand two hundred and twenty-seven killed,* and 694 wounded."

We must stand ready to grab the Person Sitting in Darkness, for he will swoon away at this confession, saying: "Good God, those 'niggers' spare their wounded, and the Americans massacre theirs!"

We must bring him to, and coax him and coddle him, and assure him that the ways of Providence are best, and that it would not become us to find fault with them; and then, to show him that we are only imitators, not originators, we must read the following passage from the letter of an American soldier-lad in the Philippines to his mother, published in *Public Opinion,* of Decorah, Iowa, describing the finish of a victorious battle:

"WE NEVER LEFT ONE ALIVE. IF ONE WAS WOUNDED, WE WOULD RUN OUR BAYONETS THROUGH HIM."

Having now laid all the historical facts before the Person Sitting in Darkness, we should bring him to again, and explain them to him. We should say to him:

"They look doubtful, but in reality they are not. There have been lies; yes, but they were told in a good cause. We have been treacherous; but that was only in order that real good might come out of apparent evil. True, we have crushed a deceived and confiding people; we have turned against the weak and the friendless who trusted us; we have stamped out a just and intelligent and well-ordered republic; we have stabbed an ally in the back and slapped the face of a guest; we have bought a Shadow from an enemy that hadn't it to sell; we have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited our clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world; but each detail was for the best. We know this. The Head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom and

ninety per cent. of every legislative body in Christendom, including our Congress and our fifty State Legislatures, are members not only of the church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-girdling accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice, cannot do an unright thing, an unfair thing, an ungenerous thing, an unclean thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness; it is all right."

Now then, that will convince the Person. You will see. It will restore the Business. Also, it will elect the Master of the Game to the vacant place in the Trinity of our national gods; and there on their high thrones the Three will sit, age after age, in the people's sight, each bearing the Emblem of his service: Washington, the Sword of the Liberator; Lincoln, the Slave's Broken Chains; the Master, the Chains Repaired.

It will give the Business a splendid new start. You will see.

Everything is prosperous, now; everything is just as we should wish it. We have got the Archipelago, and we shall never give it up. Also, we have every reason to hope that we shall have an opportunity before very long to slip out of our Congressional contract with Cuba and give her something better in the place of it. It is a rich country, and many of us are already beginning to see that the contract was a sentimental mistake. But now—right now—is the best time to do some profitable rehabilitating work—work that will set us up and make us comfortable, and discourage gossip. We cannot conceal from ourselves that, privately, we are a little troubled about our uniform. It is one of our prides; it is acquainted with honor; it is familiar with great deeds and noble; we love it, we revere it; and so this errand it is on makes us uneasy. And our flag—another pride of ours, our chiefest! We have worshipped it so; and when we have seen it in far lands—glimpsing it unexpectedly in that strange sky, waving its welcome and benediction to us—we have caught our breath, and uncovered our heads, and couldn't speak, for a moment, for the thought of what it was to us and the great ideals it stood for. Indeed, we *must* do something about these things; we must not have the flag out there, and the uniform. They are not needed there; we can manage in some other way. England manages, as regards the uniform, and so can we. We have to send soldiers—we can't get out of that—but we can disguise them. It is the way England does in South Africa. Even Mr. Chamberlain himself takes pride

in England's honorable uniform, and makes the army down there wear an ugly and odious and appropriate disguise, of yellow stuff such as quarantine flags are made of, and which are hoisted to warn the healthy away from unclean disease and repulsive death. This cloth is called khaki. We could adopt it. It is light, comfortable, grotesque, and deceives the enemy, for he cannot conceive of a soldier being concealed in it.

And as for a flag for the Philippine Province, it is easily managed. We can have a special one—our States do it: we can have just our usual flag, with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and cross-bones.

And we do not need that Civil Commission out there. Having no powers, it has to invent them, and that kind of work cannot be effectively done by just anybody; an expert is required. Mr. Croker can be spared. We do not want the United States represented there, but only the Game.

By help of these suggested amendments, Progress and Civilization in that country can have a boom, and it will take in the Persons who are Sitting in Darkness, and we can resume Business at the old stand.

MARK TWAIN.

MUSINGS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

BY BENJAMIN HARRISON, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is a rare pleasure to make a good end of a long and strenuous effort; to put wholly out of the mind a subject that has filled every chamber of it for two years. Minds are lodging-houses. The lodgers are of all sorts—casuals and regulars, modest attic-dwellers who have no call bells, and first-floor boarders who rent a large space and fill a larger one. Now and then some pretentious and exacting fellow crowds out every other lodger and takes the house. There is not wanting a sense of the dignity the house borrows from this august guest; but emancipation abides his going. When the last truckload of his baggage has departed, and the door is barred against the spirits that have a penchant for garnished houses, what a glad sense of freedom the overworked mistress feels! Every room vacant, but nothing "to let." This will not do for a permanent state, but as a short experience it is ecstatic. I have known what it is to have an imperial tenant of the whole mind, and have experienced the joys of an ouster. The case of Venezuela, in the Anglo-Venezuelan arbitration, demanded the unremitting labor of two years. What a sense of freedom came, when every book and paper connected with the case was put out of sight! I was again in fellowship with the undergraduates dancing over the grave of the calculus. The trouble with the calculus is that you must work out the problems, you must bring the answers. If you could stop when one problem gets hard and try another, as the squirrel does with his nuts, the undergraduate would regard the book differently. A *non sequitur* is a hateful thing. Answers must be right. But it is not, I hope, a sin against a sound mind to stop short of an

answer; you do not need to climb to the top of every hill you see. To raise questions, to speculate, to balance such *pros* and *cons* as come easy, and to stop short of conclusions, is admissible —in vacation.

The notes that follow are largely exercises of that sort, made chiefly during the winter days when there were no tenants, and the sign "to let" was not in the window.

The electric, self-binding newspaper drops its sheaves at our feet with bewildering rapidity. The stackers must keep up; but a vagrant may take a sheaf for a pillow and lie down in the shade.

THE ANTI-WAR PARTY.

There is an anti-war party in Great Britain and another in the United States. A war seems to imply an anti-war party. Indeed, the Gospels carry such an implication in a general sense. Both here and in Great Britain the anti-war party has been brought under fire of bitter invective. We, for the most part, decline to discuss with the anti-war man the justice of the war. That issue has been voted upon and carried, we say, and every one is bound, not only as to his actions, but as to his speech.

But is the morality of the motto, "My country, right or wrong," susceptible of defense? Is it not to say: "It is right to do wrong?"—for the sentiment implies action. But may it not be quite the right, and even the necessary, thing to say nothing "just now." If my father is engaged in a wanton assault upon another man, and blows are being exchanged, I must in my heart condemn my father; but am I called upon to trip him, or to encourage his adversary by telling him his adversary is in the right? That would clearly be the duty of a bystander not of the blood of either combatant. But do I very much offend, or become *particeps,* if I withhold for the moment an expression of my disapprobation of my father's conduct? Or, on the other hand, can it be demanded as a filial duty that I cheer him on, and when his weapon fails give him another? Is it unfilial to say, "Father, you are in the wrong—stop"? I cannot get him into a closet that I may say this in his ear. His antagonist will hear it. And, if I speak in the necessary hearing of both, can my father retort, "If I am killed, you are my murderer; you have encouraged my adversary"? But, if the battle goes too hardly against him, must

I not intervene and save his life? I can flagellate his spirit while I am binding his wounds. But if he is the victor, must I not bind the wounds of his adversary, and support his adversary's demand for compensation?

A country at war is very intolerant—the home guards more than the veterans, and the politicians most of all. When war is once flagrant, public sentiment—at least that part of it that finds expression—demands that every citizen shall be active in support of it. To speak against the war, to impugn its justice, is to encourage the enemy, is to be guilty of the death of such of your countrymen as afterward fall in action. The mob may not seek you, but you are a "suspect" to your neighbors. You will not be heard to offer such specious suggestions as that not you who opposed but those who brought on an unjust war are guilty of the blood of the brave fellows who are sent into action.

Indeed, you will not be heard at all, by this generation of your countrymen, unless disasters in war and money burdens open the way. Your magnanimity and sense of justice will be praised by the alien people in whose behalf your voice was raised. They may even build monuments in your honor, as we did to Pitt; but the home newspapers will, while you live, make you wish you had never been born; and, when you are dead, they will now and then exhume your skeleton to frighten those who live after you. You must give your soul to torments and expatriate your fame. A sea will roll between your monument and your bones. But a monument is a community rather than a personal necessity. The free spirit of a just man does not need a perch.

"The gentleman tells us America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

For more than a century, American school-boys declaimed these words of Pitt. Virginia voted him a statue and New York set one up at Wall and William streets.

"Congress passed," says Frothingham, "a warm and grateful vote of thanks to the noble advocates of civil and religious liberty, in and out of Parliament, who had generously defended the cause of America."

In his proposed address to the King, in 1777, Burke said

many like things, the nobility of which we have greatly applauded.

The utterances of these great Englishmen are very like in spirit to what Senator Hoar has recently said about the war in the Philippines. We do not agree that the cases are parallel. We are persuaded that the Filipino and the American are unlike, and that Aguinaldo and George Washington have no points of resemblance. We have the capacity of self-government; we deny that capacity to the Filipinos. Mr. Hoar has failed, apparently, to see that the principle that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed cannot be invoked by a people incapable of self-government. In the interests of humanity, all people must be governed; and if they are incapable of governing themselves, does it not follow that some other nation must govern them? But it was not our purpose to bring into question Senator Hoar's conclusions, but to consider the measure of his guilt in giving expression to them as his honest convictions.

Pitt and Burke had not only great praise with us, but their repute in Great Britain is now the greater by reason of these utterances. The Mother Country has "come around."

Does it depend upon the outcome? If the war fails, do such utterances become noble and wise, and do they remain ignoble if the alleged aggressor is victorious? Is there no way to stop any war but to fight it out; or must the stopping of it always be left to the war party? In the popular judgment, generally yes; but in law and morals, how is it? The Constitution of the United States very clearly saves the liberty of the citizen to say that a war is wrong. The statue at William and Wall streets had not been forgotten.

It is not treason to say that a war is unjust. But if not noticeable by the law, such things may still be contrary to duty. Was there a duty upon Senator Hoar to keep silence? His motives were unimpeachably pure. All agree that he was not seeking the applause of his countrymen of this generation. All agree that he has the old New England conscience and the old American fervor for liberty and human rights. Possibly, he lacks the mercantile spirit. He may not give sufficient consideration to the metals and coal and forests of the Philippines.

But the question we are pondering is not were his views right, but did he offend against his country by giving expression

to them? Now, it cannot be wrong to proclaim the truth when a matter is in debate. Are we not compelled, therefore, to prove his views to be wrong, before passing final sentence upon him? The popular condemnation sure to be meted out to the men who oppose when war is flagrant is a mighty, repressive force. But if some one, for conscience' sake, assails the war as cruel and unjustifiable, must we not justify it? Is it enough to say, "You are prolonging it; you are sacrificing the brave fellows whom we have sent to the front?" There is a semblance of unreason in charging the man who is trying to stop a fight with the bruises and wounds that ensue upon the failure of his efforts. To perfect the argument and fix his responsibility, must we not introduce this major premise: The war is just and cannot be stopped until the enemy has yielded.

Is there any other conclusion of the whole matter than this? A patriot may, if his conscience cannot otherwise be quieted, oppose a war upon which his country has entered; but if he does so, he puts his fame in the keeping of a distant generation of his countrymen, or possibly of an alien people. What some other people have said makes it proper to say here, that we must not forget that the soldier who fights the war does not declare it. He must not denounce it, nor must any patriot denounce him. The appeal, silent or spoken, that comes from him to his fellow-countrymen, not to make the war longer or harder, reaches the heart. He is our countryman; he carries and keeps the flag. We must be tender, and careful that we do not spoil his *esprit de corps* by ingratitude, or dash his courage by a failure to applaud it, or wound him by imputing designs against his country's liberties.

An armed rebellion against the state must usually justify itself by something more than a schedule of wrongs—a chance, at least, of righting the wrongs. And is it not possible that this principle sometimes applies to rebellious consciences, and requires them to take the balance of good and evil?

Of course, there must be a time for denouncing an unjust war; but does a troubled conscience have all seasons for its own, or only a time before the war begins and a time after it is over? The latter view is held by so many that it is not safe to assume that all who do not denounce a war approve it.

The almost unbroken record of disaster that has attended the

anti-war parties should have the wholesome effect of discouraging a factious party opposition. We can get along with consciences; indeed, we cannot get along without them, if the reign of the Prince of Peace is ever to be brought in. The emphasis should be put upon the facts that justify the war, rather than upon epithets.

A "WORLD POWER."

The newspapers gave another turn to the vagrant questionings in which I was indulging myself, by their frequent references to the assumed fact that the United States has become a "World Power." We have been a Power, as that term is used by the law writers and in conventions, for more than a century. We have been a Power in a military sense on the land for many years, and by spells a Naval Power of renown. In a moral sense, we have long been familiar with the idea that we were the greatest of World Powers. We have believed that we had found and illustrated a scheme of free, popular government that would in time stir the sympathy and emulation of all nations and bring in everywhere republican governments.

Mr. Webster said: "We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments." It is not in this familiar and sentimental sense, however, that we are now said to have become a World Power. Indeed, those who most affect the term seem to be quite shy of that sense.

What is it, how did it come about, and what advantages and responsibilities accompany the new status? Great Britain and the great Continental Powers, with more or less cordiality, have admitted the fact. Did it not indeed have an European announcement? Did our war with Spain make us a World Power, or reveal to us and to the world a pre-existing fact? As a revelation, it apparently came largely out of the naval fights at Manila and Santiago. It was not the charge at San Juan hill; for, in the way of land fighting, we had many times done greater things than that. Indeed, in the way of naval tactics and desperate courage, Paul Jones and Decatur and Perry and Farragut may be taken to have suggested long ago to observing naval critics that the United States had the capacity to be a Sea Power. Nothing has happened to make us forget these and other great naval captains. Their ships were chiefly wooden, and their guns

smooth-bore muzzle-loaders; but they came close, their holds were often flooded and their decks slippery with blood. Our ships went into a period of decay, but our navy personnel did not. We added some hasty scouting and cruising strength to our navy in the Spanish war, but only a little increased its fighting strength. It was not these additions to our naval strength that made us a World Power. The naval fights of the Spanish war did not originate a naval prestige, but revived it—caused other Powers to remember that, if we set about it, we could build unsurpassed warships and fight them unsurpassingly.

Relatively, we have been stronger as to war vessels than we are now—notably, at the close of the Civil War. But there was no talk then of being a World Power. We did not aspire to more than to be *the* American Power—a half World Power. So, after all, it could not have been our ships or our naval victories that made us a World Power. Something must be added, and it would seem that the addition must have relation to some new use of our military strength. The old use was wholly defensive, though the campaign might be what military men call "offensive-defensive." Paul Jones had entered the British channels. Our guns had been heard in the Mediterranean. The "Alabama" was sunk off Cherbourg. But all these visits were casual, and all had relation solely to American rights and liberty and the freedom of the seas. So, too, the Spanish war had its origin in an American question. We assumed a police duty in Cuba, because it is an American island—because the cry of "murder" was on our beat. Succor was an American not a world question. We did not assume a duty to police the world. We expressly disclaimed any hope of reward for our intervention. All this was quite out of the rôle of a World Power. Indeed, it seemed too sentimentally fantastic to obtain the credence of the World Powers. Some were incredulously sarcastic. Great Britain alone kindly made us think that she accepted our altruistic conceptions.

The World Powers have been those who allowed no geographical limitations—that is, none appertaining to terrestrial geography. The appropriation of the stars must, of course, await the air-ship. We only, among the strong nations, have lived under self-imposed limitations, of two sorts—one that had to do with geography and another that had to do with public morality. We have said: "We do not want, in any event, territorial possessions

that have no direct relation to the body of our national domain, and we do not want any territory anywhere that is acquired by criminal aggression." And as to the doctrine of "spheres of influence"—the modern euphemistic rendering of territorial pocket-picking—we have denied its application to this hemisphere and denied to ourselves the use of it anywhere. "We will not—and the European governments had, on the whole, better not—interfere with the autonomy and independence of any American state," is our rendering.

We claimed no commercial advantages, save such as fair reciprocal trade treaties might give to us. In all European cabinet entanglements, we were quiescent. The apportionment of Africa, and the "rectification" of Asiatic boundaries by the division of lands that belonged to neither disputant excited American notice of an unofficial sort only. Our touch with the other great Powers was at two points only: first, in the pleasant exchanges of good will, and, second, in the watchful care that neither our commerce nor our people were unjustly discriminated against. The great value of our markets and our great food surplus strongly supported our demands for equal trade advantages, and our increasing military strength emphasized the value of a friendship unaffected by inherited animosities and free from entangling alliances. Our position was, of all the nations, the safest and most hopeful. Does the supposed new status imply a change of position or policy?

If the World Powers have any recognized creed, it is that it is their duty as "trustees for humanity" to take over the territories of all the weak and decaying nations, having regard among themselves to the doctrine of "equivalents." Have we become a World Power by an initiation into this *bund?* The only reason for the continued independent existence of a weak nation, in the judgment of the World Powers, is found in the difficulty sometimes experienced in applying or disregarding, in its case, this doctrine of "equivalents." A World Power seems, therefore, to be a Power having the purpose to take over so much of the world as it can by any means possess, and having with this appetite for dominion military strength enough to compel other nations having the same appetite to allow or divide the spoils. A veiled expression of the same definition is found in the terms "colonizing nations." There has been an attempt to associate the United

States with this programme of civilization, upon the theory that the "Anglo-Saxon" has a divine concession that covers the earth. This appeal to a divine decree is itself a concession to the Anglo-Saxon common-law rule, that the plaintiff in ejectment must show title.

The argument runs thus: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." So much is of record. The next step is more difficult, for there is no prophet, no sealed transfer, no mention by name of the Anglo-Saxon. "The meek shall inherit the earth"—but the boldest advocate of expansion dare not suggest, as the minor premise, that John Bull and Uncle Sam are of that class. That Scripture seems to lead away from *them*. We must get away from all texts, I fear. Perhaps this is the best that can be done, certainly it is the best that has been done—Major premise: God's purpose is that men shall make a full and the best use of all His gifts. Minor premise: Dominion is one of His gifts, and the Anglo-Saxon makes a better use of dominion than the Latin, or the Boers, or the Chinese. Conclusion: The Anglo-Saxon, therefore, executes a divine purpose when he subdues these peoples and takes over their lands.

Is not this programme logically perfect and commercially profitable? The man who buries his talent must go into darkness. We are a little hampered in the proposed association with Great Britain in this programme of regeneration, by reason of the fact that our Declaration of Independence was writ too broad. The Briton has very carefully limited his charters of liberty to a declaration of his own rights, while we have unfortunately written into ours "all men." There is also a practical difficulty that must be thought of. We are late in getting into the business. The vacant lands—the lands occupied only by savages—have been taken up. The business seems now to promise responsibility and outlay rather than profits. The melon-patch has been spoliated, and the melon cut and divided. A new boy comes upon the company in the wooded hollow and is invited to take one of the ends of the melon. There is a very small show of red meat, and even that is very difficult of appropriation. If he is a wise boy, he will go his way—even though he has no scruples about robbing melon patches. The effusive cordiality of the invitation to make himself one of the party, will not make him forget the disproportion between the risks and the red meat.

If the United States now enters upon a scheme of colonization, it must plunge in—put away all scruples; there is no time to linger shivering on the brink. The frame of our government is excellent; there are some weak states that would be bettered by accepting our domination; and seeing that they are so ignorant as not to see the advantages of accepting it, is it not our duty to compel them? Can we innocently stand by and see nations distracted—property insecure, resources unused? Very many good people—some ministers of the Gospel of Peace—have been saying that they hoped Great Britain would succeed in taking over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, because "Christian civilization" would be advanced by "British paramountcy" in South Africa. Old fashioned moralists were in the habit of scouting the maxim, "The end justifies the means." The imputation of this maxim to a noted religious order, as a rule of action, had much to do with the general odium in which that order was once held.

The peace of the world has been thought heretofore to depend upon the allowance of the doctrine that men and civilized nations have, as to other men and nations, the right to do something less than the best with their possessions, and to judge in large part for themselves what is best.

This view does not, of course, exclude the right, in the last resort, of other nations to intervene for the saving of a population from destruction by the barbarous use of the civil authority. There are exceptional cases when remonstrance, and even armed force, may be justified; but, in such cases, the delivering nation must follow the rôle taken to the end.

Individual and national independence implies the exclusive right to determine some things. Persuasion and remonstrance, even, have their limits, passing which they become impertinence. "It is none of your business," may lack some of the elements of polite discourse, but there are times when it ought to be said. The "up-stream" wolf, as Mr. Hoar calls him, in the old fable, has suffered great obloquy because he felt compelled to put his intervention upon the untenable ground that he was injured by the soiling of the waters. He lived, unfortunately, in a day when men and beasts felt compelled to show that what they meddled in was proper concern of theirs. It was a narrow view. He should have said: "True, the muddy water does not come to my lips, but your habit of drinking it is bad; you are not neat; and besides

you hold yourself aloof, and refuse to admit my children to the sheepfold."

What has hitherto saved the United States in great measure from the land lust and made her respect the independence and territorial autonomy of her weak neighbors? Was it that we did not until now feel the need of more territory; or was it a conservative timidity; or is there an American conscience that reprobates aggression and rejects the new doctrine, that the right of weak states to govern themselves rests not upon the consent of their own people, but upon the consent of the nearest World Power?

The Monroe doctrine has been understood to disclaim for ourselves what it denies to the Powers of Europe. The declaration of Mr. Monroe was, Mr. Jefferson said, "our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another." It seems to have been always the way of this statesman to generalize. This accounts for the presence, in the Declaration of Independence, of philosophical maxims that now threaten embarrassment to our progress as a World Power. We must differentiate ourselves. We must proceed upon the theory that our standards are right, and our civil organization and social customs most promotive of the glory of God and the happiness of man. The "pursuit of happiness" may be an "unalienable" human right, but does it follow that another nation is free to be happy in its own way if we know a better way?

This propaganda of Anglo-Saxon supremacy does not seem to fall in with the programme of the Hague Peace Conference; and we can hardly hope to organize an international court that will allow the doctrine. On the whole, then, might it not be better to withdraw this programme of Anglo-Saxon paramountcy? The nation that goes out to slay and to possess in God's name must give some other attestation of its mission than the facts that it is the mightiest of the nations and has an adaptable language.

The men upon whom the tower in Siloam fell were not sinners above all men in Jerusalem; and the philosophy of the islanders among whom Paul fell—that serpents always bite the worst man in the company—was very quickly upset. Is it not possible that the philosophy of those who assign God's special approbation to the prosperous and the powerful may be quite as faulty?

His intervention is more apparent when weak things confound the mighty. It is not safe to conclude that righteousness and the heaviest battalions are necessarily disassociated, but the tendency is that way.

Now, it happens that all of the Central and South American States are weak states. There is not a harbor so defended as to bar the entrance of a squadron of modern battle ships. No one of them has a navy that could offer the briefest resistance on the sea to any one of the great European Powers.

Practically, if each stood alone, its subjection by any one of the great Powers would be quite within the possibilities of a great military effort. If the cabinets of the four great Powers of Europe were to combine in a propaganda of colonization in this hemisphere, as they did in Africa—using the new doctrine of "equivalents"—the Spanish American states, south of Mexico, would, unless the United States gave its powerful aid, inevitably pass under European control. The Central and South American States have retained their autonomy only because the United States would neither herself infringe that autonomy nor allow other nations to do so. But for this, British Honduras might ere this have embraced the whole isthmus, British Guiana have included the Orinoco and Mexico have been subjected to the rule of a foreign king.

What hinders that the small states of Europe are not taken over by one of the great Powers? Is it any sense of the inherent right of these lands to a separate national existence or of their princes to their crowns? Such sentimental considerations would offer no more serious obstacles than the glistening spider webs in the grass offer to the feet of their marching legions.

These small states stand, out of deference to the European equilibrium. They cannot be shifted on the lever as units without destroying the balance, and Great Britain is not so situated as to make use of Continental territorial fractions. Her "walls of oak" would not be available for their defense.

What a grim commentary all this is upon our boasted Christian civilization, upon that plaything of the diplomatists and the tribunals, international law, and upon Peace Conferences! The sheep have their security, not in the shepherd or in the fold, but in the watchful jealousy of the wolves.

The fundamental principle of international law is the parity

of nations. Arbitration is the special resource of the weak; but it was not available to the Dutch South African republics and was only available to Venezuela because of the intervention of the United States.

It is of the highest consequence to us, and to all of the Central and South American nations, that it should be known to them and to the world that the United States will continue faithfully and unswervingly to respect the autonomy of those states; that we will neither ourselves dismember them nor suffer them to be dismembered by any European Power. If the Spanish war, or this talk of ruling the tropics from the temperate zones, or of Anglo-Saxon alliance and paramountcy, has bred any distrust of our purposes toward them, it should be speedily dispelled. The supposed transformation, from an American Power to a World Power, in the sense I have described, is not to be imputed to us. Whatever may be in the minds of gaudy rhetoricians, we have not as a nation entered upon a programme of colonization, or of subjugation, or spoliation. We have not joined the wolves. We have still some of the care-taking instinct of the shepherd; still, at least, a latent capacity for sorrow when the word "free" is eliminated from the name of a state.

A merchant of my acquaintance said to a sentimental friend, who was troubled over the proposition that the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights sections of the Constitution had no relation to Porto Ricans, but applied only to those who dwelt upon the mainland: "The people care nothing about those things; it is money, commerce, that interests them." That is a low view of the popular thought.

We had in 1776 a generation of Americans that placed a higher value upon these sentimental things, and pledged to them their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor." The integrity of the Union was of more value to the men of 1861 than all lands and all lives.

If to be a World Power is to do as the World Powers do, then we must disclaim this new degree which the European College of Applied Force has conferred upon us. The taking over of the Philippines has been declared, by those who should know, to have been casual—of necessity—the acceptance of a divinely imposed duty. The question of the disposition of them, when their people shall have submitted to legal authority, is said to be still open.

All of which is to say that the acquisition of these distant islands does not commit the nation to a scheme of colonization. The United States seems thus far in China to have stood firmly against dismemberment; not because of the practical difficulties of allotting the parts, but out of regard to the rights of the Chinese to preserve their national autonomy. But we are hearing now a great deal of the riches and the strategical advantages which have come to us with the docile acceptance of the Divine will in the Philippines, and a great deal of irresponsible nonsense about our being a World Power. If we allow ourselves to drift into bad ways, it is quite the same as if we had sought them.

The barbarous conduct of some of the allied forces in China, the shameless looting of private houses and public institutions, and the contemptuous and cruel disregard of all the sensibilities and rights of alien races which characterize the World Powers, shock our sensibilities. We have almost more pride in General Chaffee's blunt letter of protest against looting and cruelty than in his splendid fighting. Let us not be a World Power, in any save the good old sense—that of a nation capable of protecting in all seas the just rights of its citizens, and incapable everywhere of a wanton infringement of the autonomy of other nations.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

JOHN MARSHALL, STATESMAN.

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

On the fourth day of February, 1801, John Marshall went quietly to the Supreme Court of the United States and was sworn in as Chief Justice. It does not appear that there was any ceremony connected with this incident, or that any particular attention was paid to it. A few unemotional lines in the record of the Court are all that we have to bear witness to what was done.

On the fourth day of February, 1901, this event, which occurred so quietly a hundred years ago, will be commemorated in all parts of the United States. Judges and lawyers, professors of law and public men will address large meetings assembled to do honor to the memory of the great Chief Justice. In courts and universities, and before legal associations, men will gather to listen to words which will express to the American people our conception of the abilities and services of John Marshall.

This contrast between the formal and little noted incident of a hundred years ago and the elaborate ceremonies of to-day is in a high degree suggestive. Many events happened in February, 1801, but it appears now that the most considerable of them all, the one men deem best worth remembrance, was this almost unnoticed action of the Supreme Court on the fourth day of that month. Importance has come to it in the lapse of a hundred years, and it has attained to meaning on account of the man who was concerned. Here then, obviously, was a very great man, one able so to affect his own time and so to influence the future that his coming to the Chief Justiceship seems far more important now than it did when he died with his work done, sixty-five years ago. It is true that a great and powerful profession looks up to him as their greatest exemplar; but there is much more here

than professional eminence or professional pride. Great lawyer and great judge are noble titles; but it is evident that Marshall rises beyond both, and that it is universally recognized that his career is too spacious for the annals of bench and bar, and is part of the history of the United States. It is quite clear that his fame and his work belong, not to the members of his own profession, but to the entire American people; and that, while he is held in peculiar veneration by lawyers and students of law, he has touched deeply the popular thought and imagination.

It is this side of Marshall which, it would seem, best deserves consideration at this time. To his professional achievements and abilities, justice is certain to be done by those whose training best fits them to do it; and appreciation of him as a lawyer and a judge by lawyers and judges is both sure and ample. To laymen, the most interesting inquiry is, in what way, through what qualities, and by what actual achievement, he has risen to be one of the greatest figures in our history as a people. Very clearly, he has occupied this large place by a broader title than can be derived from the determination of points of law, or the interpretation of a constitution. Other judges have attained to the greatest heights of professional eminence in that way; but Marshall has all the fame thus to be acquired, and a great deal more.

If we look for a moment carefully at just what he did, the secret of this larger fame and this more profound effect upon the history of his country will disclose itself. At the outset, it must be borne in mind that, when he came to the bench, government by means of a written constitution was a very new thing. France, within the preceding ten years, had made and unmade several constitutions, none of which really survived the perils of infancy. Her failures, red with blood, were not calculated to make the system of written constitutions seem either desirable or practicable. The Constitution of the United States, it is true, was planted in a most favorable soil; for the thirteen colonies had been founded, built up and governed under compacts, charters and written instruments, embodying the fundamental law in one way or another. On the other hand, the general tendency and experience of the English-speaking race had been against written constitutions. The only attempts in this direction in England had been made at the period of the Great Rebellion, and during the supremacy of Cromwell. They had failed then, and

they disappeared when the Puritan domination ended, leaving a profound distrust for all such schemes and a very well-founded belief that they were alien to the spirit of the race. England reverted to her traditional system of an unwritten constitution, slowly built up and patched together—legally, by the courts, and, politically, by the House of Commons. This constitution may have been illogical, clumsy and imperfect, but it worked well, and it developed sufficiently to meet new exigencies as they arose.

The question in the United States was whether, among a people accustomed in a measure to written instruments of government, but imbued with English traditions, wedded to the common law, and profoundly suspicious of patent political devices, a national constitution, covering the complicated interests of many States, could be made to succeed. Here came one of Marshall's great achievements. So far as the court could do it, he made the Constitution march. He showed that it could take on the flexibility of an unwritten constitution, that it could be developed and made to meet new conditions, while it retained the fixity of principle and certainty of operation the lack of which is the ever present danger of a constitution which exists only in traditions, habits, two or three great charters and the decisions of courts.

The second question with which Marshall dealt was closely connected with the first, and even more vital to the United States. It was not only necessary to make the Constitution work, as a system of organic law; but it was essential to defend it against the principles of separatism, to make it dominant over the States and the means of creating a nation, of stimulating the national sentiment and nourishing the national life. Such a task was primarily that of a statesman; but the political branches of our government passed, in 1801, into the hands of the party which favored separatism and were destined to remain there for many years to come. Thus this great work of protecting and advancing the national principle was thrown back upon Marshall. Within the narrow limitations of the court, the single upholder of the national principle of the Constitution was obliged to do the work of a statesman. He succeeded completely, and that simple statement is, in itself, the highest praise and the most ample evidence of his intellectual power and his force of character.

When we realize what he did, stated in this broad and general way, it becomes of profound interest to know what manner of man

he was, and how he accomplished so much. Unfortunately, outside the public records, the material for answering these questions is sadly lacking. Either Marshall kept no papers, or they were destroyed before or after his death. One or two meagre biographies, two or three brief memoirs by contemporaries, scattered allusions and fugitive descriptions, are really all that we have. Moreover, he not only left no papers apparently, but he wrote few letters himself. In all the voluminous collections of the correspondence of that period he is scarcely represented at all. He seems, in fact, to have had a curious indifference to his own fame, an indifference in harmony with the fine simplicity of his nature, and he was content to leave posterity to learn about him and his work from his public acts and speeches and from his judicial decisions. From these sources, we can indeed gain a perfect idea of his work and his influence, and of what he did toward the making of the United States; but all the details of his career escape us. This is a serious misfortune; for, apart from his long service as Chief Justice, his life was an interesting and varied one. He was born on the Virginian frontier, and lived there the vigorous out-of-door life of a new country, studying and reading with his father and with tutors. He was just turning to the study of the law when the Revolution came, and he went from his books to the camp, to fight in many battles, to endure many hard campaigns, and to serve through the war. From the army he went to the bar, and rose so rapidly to leadership among able men that no other proof is needed of his natural genius for the profession he had chosen. He served in the Assembly of Virginia, forced often against his will to accept an election. He carried a hostile district, and was elected to the Convention held to ratify the Constitution of the United States. Young as he was, he made there a profound impression, and in reasoning and argument he was not surpassed. He was one of the leaders in the hard-fought battle which resulted in a narrow victory for the Constitution. Unmoved by his success he returned to the bar and the Assembly, and he also refused offers of national positions; for he had come to be known throughout the country as the fearless and powerful champion of Federalism in the hostile atmosphere of Virginia. At last, came a duty which he could not decline. He was appointed on the mission with Pinckney and Gerry to go to France and endeavor to make peace with our former ally, now

changed to an overbearing and insolent enemy. The story of that mission is picturesque and interesting, disgraceful to France, and honorable to the American envoys who declined to bribe or barter. Marshall drew the statement of the American case, vindicated American honor, and returned. The results in the United States were the "X. Y. Z." letters, an outburst of patriotic wrath, and the election of a strongly Federalist Congress. For that Congress Marshall was urged to stand by Washington, and to it he was elected. There, as in the Convention, new though he was to the House, he went at once to the front and became a leader, as much respected for his abilities as he was liked for his even temper and kindly, genial ways. It was a short service, extending only to one session; for he was offered by President Adams the War Department, which he declined, and then the State Department, which he accepted. Here, too, he was a success, and it was while he held this great post that he was appointed Chief Justice.

His life up to that time contains more than has furnished forth many an elaborate and important biography. Yet the greatest part of what he was to do, his greatest work, lay all before him. Let us look at him a moment as he stands at the threshold of his great career. He is forty-five years old, and in the full maturity of his powers. He is very tall, very spare, rather loose-jointed and careless in his movements. A little ungainly, perhaps, one observer thinks, with the air of the mountains and the out-door life still about him. Evidently muscular and strong; temperate, too, with all the vigor of health and constitution which any work or responsibility might demand. He is not handsome of face, with his angular features and thick, unruly, black hair growing low on his forehead, over small, but bright, black eyes. None the less, the face is full of intelligence and force; and all observers, however they differ in details, alike agree that the bright eyes are full of fun, and that about the firm-set mouth there plays a smile, which tells of that generous and hearty sense of humor which pierces sham and, as Story says, is too honest for intrigue.

No one can say to-day whether Marshall realized, as he left the State Department, that the great work of his life lay all before him. We know it now; we know that all his past career had been only preparation for that which was to come. And what a training it had been! First of all, he was a lawyer—made so by the strong bent of his mind—in the full tide of successful practice,

and holding his well-won place in the front rank of the American bar. He had been a soldier of long and hard service, and had faced death in battle many times. A wide parliamentary experience had been his, drawn from many terms in the Virginia Legislature, the Constitutional Convention and a session of Congress. He had been in Europe, had seen European politics at close range, and had measured swords with the ablest, most unscrupulous and most corrupt statesman and diplomatist of the Old World. He had served in the Cabinet, and there had studied the relation of his country to the movements of world politics. He had been a man of affairs, great and small, and had lived and fought in the world of men. This varied education, these divers experiences, may seem superfluous for one who was to fill a purely judicial office; and yet they were never more valuable to any man than to him who was to be Chief Justice at that precise period.

When Marshall took his seat on the Supreme Bench, he brought with him, not only his legal genius and training and his wide and various experience in politics and diplomacy, but also certain fixed convictions. He was a man who formed opinions slowly, and who did not indulge himself in a large collection of cardinal principles. But the opinions which he formed and the principles which he adopted, after much hard and silent thought, were immovable; and by them he steered, for they were as constant as the stars. He had one of those rare minds which never confound the passing with the eternal, or mix the accidental and trivial with the things vital and necessary. Hence the compatibility between his absolute fixity of purpose in certain well ascertained directions, and his wise moderation and large tolerance as to all else. To these qualities was joined another even rarer, the power of knowing what the essential principle really was. In every controversy and in every argument, he went unerringly to the heart of the question, for he had that mental quality which Dr. Holmes once compared to the instinct of the tiger for the jugular vein. As he had plucked out the heart of a law-case or of a debate in Congress, so he seized on the question which overrode all others in the politics of the United States, and upon which all else turned.

That vital question was whether the United States should be a nation, or a confederacy of jarring and petty republics, destined to strife, disintegration and decay. In a well known letter to a

friend, Marshall says that he entered the Revolution filled with "wild and enthusiastic notions." Most young men of that period, imbued with such ideas, remained under their control, and, in the course of events, became ardent sympathizers with the unbridled fanatics of the French Revolution, or, at least, ardent opponents of anything like a strong and well ordered central government, and equally zealous supporters of State Rights and separatist doctrines. Not so John Marshall. With characteristic modesty, he ascribes the fact that he did not continue under the dominion of his "wild and enthusiastic notions" to accident and to circumstances, when it really was due to his own clear and powerful intellect. In the struggle with England, he came to see that the only hope of victory lay in the devotion of the army to a common cause, in their being soldiers of the Union and not of separate colonies, and that the peril was in the weakness of the central government. It seems simple enough to say this now; but this central idea was, as a rule, grasped feebly and imperfectly, if at all, by the young men of that period. Like Hamilton, Marshall worked it out for himself; and, in the letter just referred to, he says that it was during the war that he came to regard America as his country and Congress as his government. From that time he was an American first, and a Virginian second; and from the convictions thus formed in camp and on the march he never swerved. Here was the principle of his public life; and to the establishment of that principle his whole career and all his great powers were devoted. These convictions made him a Federalist. It was this very devotion to a fundamental principle which was the source of that temperate wisdom which caused him to avoid the Alien and Sedition Acts, because, by their violence, they endangered the success of the party which had in charge something too precious to be risked by indulging even the just passion of the moment. But his moderation in what he regarded as non-essential, was accompanied by an absolutely unyielding attitude when the vital question was touched. Despite the criticisms of the extreme Federalists upon his liberality, there was no more rigid believer in the principles which had brought that party into existence than the man who became Chief Justice a century ago.

Holding these beliefs, what was there for him to do, what could he do, in a position wholly judicial, and with every other branch of the government in the hands of his political foes? He

was confined to a strictly limited province. To his political opponents the entire field of political action was open. At the head of those opponents was Thomas Jefferson, who hated him intensely, with the peculiar hatred of the timid man, of acute, subtle, brilliant intellect and creeping methods, for the man of powerful mind, who was as simple and direct as he was absolutely fearless, and who marched straight to his object with his head up and his eyes on his foe. Marshall had crossed Jefferson in many ways. He had led opposition to him in Virginia, and had wrested from him a Congressional district. Now Marshall was placed in a great position, beyond reach of assault, and yet where he could observe and perhaps thwart Jefferson's most cherished schemes. Marshall, in his own way, entirely reciprocated Jefferson's feelings. He utterly distrusted Jefferson and despised his methods, his foreign prejudices and what seemed to Marshall his devious ways. So strong was his hostility, that it almost led him to make what would have been the one political mistake of his life, by supporting Burr for the Presidency when the election of 1800 was thrown into the House of Representatives. From this he was saved by his own wisdom and good sense, which were convinced by Hamilton's reasoning that Jefferson, whom Marshall knew, was a less evil than Burr, who was known only too well to Hamilton.

Jefferson and his party came into power with a great predominance, destined to grow more complete as the years went by. They were in principle hostile to the government they had been chosen to conduct. They were flushed with victory; they meant to sweep away all that the Federalists had done; they intended to interpret the Constitution until naught of it was left, and to put the national government and the national life into a strait-jacket. In the process of time, they found themselves helpless in the grip of circumstances, and governing by the system of Washington and Hamilton, whose methods and organization were too strong for them to overthrow. But at the start this was not apparent. The separatist principle was all-powerful, and Jefferson's followers threw themselves upon the work of the Federalists, and in their rage even undertook to break down the judiciary by the process of impeachment—a scheme which failed miserably, but which, no doubt, cherished the hope of reaching at last even to the chief of all the judges.

In their pleasant plans and anticipations of revenge, it must have seemed as if nothing could stop the onset of an all-powerful President, backed by a subservient Congress. Surely, the national principle, the national life, the broad construction of the Constitution, would shrivel away before such an attack. There seemed no one in the way; for, however much Jefferson, ever watchful, may have suspected, his own followers certainly did not reckon as very formidable the great lawyer sitting far apart in the cold seclusion of a court room. Yet, there this enemy was. There he sat intrenched. His powers were limited, but his opponents were to find out what he could do with them. They were to learn, by bitter experiences, that even these limited powers, in the hands of a great man, were sufficient to extend the Constitution and build it up faster and far more surely than they, by executive act or Congressional speeches, could narrow it or pull it down. Those of them who survived were destined to behold the Ark of the National Life, carried through the dark years of the first decade of the century, emerge in safety ere the second closed; and the national principle, which they had sought to smother, rise up in great assertion and with a more splendid vitality than any one had dreamed possible, as the fourth decade began and the man who had done the deed sank into his grave in all the majesty of his eighty years.

How did John Marshall do this work, this statesman's work, as Chief Justice of the United States? It is all there in his decisions. To show it forth as it deserves would require a volume. Only an outline is possible here.

The first blow was struck in 1803, in the famous case of "Marbury against Madison." Marbury applied for a *mandamus* to compel Mr. Madison to deliver to him his commission as Justice of the Peace, which had been signed and sealed by Mr. Adams and withheld by his successor. Marshall held that the applicant had a right to the commission; that, his right having been violated, the law of the country afforded a remedy; that the case in its nature was one for a *mandamus;* but that, a *mandamus* being an original process, the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction, because the act of Congress conferring such jurisdiction, not being authorized by the Constitution, was null and void. He declared, in other words, that the Constitution was supreme; that any law of Congress in conflict with it was null and void; that the Su-

preme Court was to decide whether this conflict existed; and then, going beyond the point involved, he boldly announced that, if the application had been properly made, the Federal Court could compel the Executive to perform a certain act. At one stroke he lifted up the national Constitution to the height of authority, and made the tremendous assertion of power in the Court which, he declared, could nullify the action of Congress and control that of the Executive, if the necessary conditions should arise. Small wonder is it that Jefferson was irritated and alarmed to the last degree, and that he complained bitterly of the manner in which the Chief Justice had travelled out of the record, in order to tell the world that he might, if he so willed, curb the authority of the President! But the assertion of the supremacy of the Constitution, and of the power of the Court to decide a law of Congress unconstitutional, has remained unshaken from that day to this.

In "Marbury against Madison," Marshall asserted the supremacy of the Constitution and the power of the Court in relation to the other branches of the National Government. Important and far-reaching as this was, however, the vital struggle was not among the departments created by the same instrument. The conflict upon which the fate of the country turned was between the forces of union and the forces of separation, between the power of the nation and the rights of the States. It was here that Marshall did his greatest work, and it was this issue which he desired to meet above all others.

In the case of "The United States against Peters," in 1809, he decided that a State could not annul the judgment, or determine the jurisdiction, or destroy rights acquired under the judgments of the Courts of the United States. Thus he set the National Courts above the States; and he followed this up by deciding, in "Fletcher against Peck," that a grant of lands was a contract within the meaning of the Constitution, and that a State law annulling such a grant was in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and, therefore, null and void. The United States Courts, it was to be henceforth understood, were not only above and beyond the reach of State Legislatures, but they could nullify the laws of such Legislatures. No heavier or better directed blow was ever struck against State Rights when those rights were used to thwart or cripple the national government.

The trial of Burr in 1807, although not bearing upon the cen-

tral principle to which Marshall devoted his best efforts, gave him an opportunity to define treason under the Constitution. On this memorable trial, there can be no doubt that he stood between the accused, whom the Government longed to destroy, and the just, popular sentiment which would fain have hurried Burr to the gallows. That Marshall's rulings were correct, and that he laid down the American law and definition of treason in a manner which subsequent generations have accepted, cannot be questioned. But this cannot be said of the famous ruling by which he granted the motion to issue a subpoena directed to the President of the United States. If his desire was to fill Jefferson with impotent anger and with a sense of affront and humiliation, he succeeded amply. In any other view the granting of the motion was a failure and a mistake; for, instead of showing the power of the Court, it disclosed its limitations. The Chief Executive of the Nation, clearly, cannot be brought to court against his will, for higher duties are imposed upon him; and still more decisive is the practical consideration that the Court is physically powerless to enforce its decrees against the Chief Magistrate, by whom alone, in the last resort, the decrees of the Court can be carried into execution. His animosity toward Jefferson was the probable cause of this single mistake in his long management of the judicial power. Yet it gives a vivid idea of the bold spirit which was able to make a limited court, not only the bulwark of the Constitution, but the chief engine in advancing national principles, when every other department was arrayed against it, and a hostile political party was everywhere predominant.

To assert the supremacy of the National Constitution over the constitutions and laws of the States was, however, only half the battle, and was in its nature a defensive procedure. It was necessary not only to maintain but to advance. It was not enough for the Constitution to stand firm; it must be made to march; and this was done by a series of great decisions, through which Marshall developed and extended the constitutional powers and authority, not merely of his own court, but of the Executive and of Congress. In 1805, in "The United States against Fisher," he found in the clause of the Constitution giving Congress the right to pass all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested in them by the Constitution, authority for a law making the United States a preferred creditor.

In 1819, the Dartmouth College case, the most famous perhaps of all Marshall's cases, was decided. In this, he gave the clause relating to the impairment of contracts, already used as the foundation of the judgment in the case of "Fletcher against Peck," a vigorous reinforcement and extension. In holding that a State could not alter a charter derived from the British Crown in colonial times, the Chief Justice carried the constitutional power in this respect to an extreme justifiable, no doubt, but from which a man less bold would have recoiled.

In the same year he pushed the same doctrine home in "Sturges against Crowninshield," holding that a State could not pass an insolvent law releasing debts contracted before its passage.

In the still greater case of "McCullough against Maryland," also heard at this time, he affirmed and extended the national power with one hand, while he struck down the authority of the State with the other. No man could add much to the argument in which Hamilton defended the constitutionality of a national bank; but Marshall presented it again in a manner which equalled that of the great Secretary, and which carried with it an authority which only the Court could give. He held the bank to be constitutional under the "necessary laws" clause; and, in one of those compact, nervous sentences so characteristic of the man, he defined once for all the scope of that provision. "Let this end be legitimate," he said; "let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

What an enlargement of national power is contained in these pregnant words! What a weapon did this single, weighty sentence place in the national armory!

The constitutionality of the bank being thus affirmed, the law of Maryland taxing its branches fell, of course, as null and void; for the power to tax is the power to destroy. That profound legal thinker, Andrew Jackson, differed from Marshall on this question. He wrecked the national bank, fostered the pet State banks, and left the panic of 1837 to desolate business and overwhelm his successor and his party in defeat. But, although Jackson tore down the superstructure, upon the foundation laid by Marshall—in an opinion where the foresight of the statesman went hand in hand with the matchless reasoning

of the lawyer—arose the national bank system, which after forty years still stands before us unshaken and secure.

Two years later, in "Cohens against Virginia," he held that the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extended to decisions of the highest State courts, and that a State itself could be brought into court when the validity of a State law under the national Constitution was involved.

In 1824, in "Gibbons against Ogden," he interpreted and breathed life into the clause giving Congress power to regulate commerce, and he held unconstitutional a law of the State of New York which was in conflict with that clause. In so doing he overruled some of the ablest judges of the State of New York, and cut off a right hitherto supposed to be unquestioned. And another extension of the national power followed.

In "Craig and others against the State of Missouri," under the clause forbidding a State to emit bills of credit, he annulled a law of that State authorizing the issue of loan certificates, which were held to come within this prohibited description.

In the "Cherokee Nation against Georgia," he held that the Indians were not a foreign nation and, therefore, not entitled to sue in the Supreme Court; and then, with his wonted felicity of phrase, he described them as a "domestic and dependent" nation, dwelling within the boundaries of the United States, and subject only to the laws and treaties of the central government, a proposition capable of wide application, and carrying with it the possibilities of a great extension of the national authority. Following out this principle in the case of "Worcester against Georgia," he held that a citizen of the United States going into the Cherokee country could not be held amenable to the laws of Georgia. The Administration was out of sympathy with Marshall's views, the State of Georgia was openly defiant, yet, after some months of delay, the State gave way and the missionaries were released.

In this list of cases, so baldly stated, very many have been omitted and none has been explained and analyzed as it deserves. But these examples, chosen from among the greatest and most familiar, serve to show the course which Marshall pursued through thirty-five years of judicial life. These decisions are more than a monument of legal reasoning, more than a masterly exposition of the Constitution; they embody also the well-considered policy of a great statesman. They are the work of a man

who saw that the future of the United States hinged on the one question, whether the national should prevail over the separatist principle; whether the Nation was to be predominant over the State; whether, indeed, there was to be a nation at all. Through all the issues which rose and fell during these thirty-five years, through all the excitement of the passing day, through Louisiana acquisitions and relations with France and England, through embargoes and war and Missouri compromises and all the bitter, absorbing passions which they aroused, the Chief Justice in his court went steadily forward, dealing with that one underlying question, beside which all others were insignificant. Slowly, but surely, he did his work. He made men understand that a tribunal existed before which States could be forced to plead, by which State laws could be annulled and which was created by the Constitution. He took the dry clauses of that Constitution and breathed into them the breath of life. Knowing well the instinct of human nature to magnify its own possessions, an instinct more potent than party feeling, he had pointed out and developed for Presidents and Congresses the powers given them by the Constitution, from which they derived their own existence. Whether these Presidents and Congresses were Federalist or Democratic, they would be certain, as they were human, to use sooner or later the powers thus disclosed to them.

That which Hamilton, in the bitterness of defeat, had called "a frail and worthless fabric," Marshall converted into a mighty instrument of government. The Constitution which began as an agreement between conflicting States, Marshall, continuing the work of Washington and Hamilton, transformed into a charter of national life. When his life closed, his work was done—a nation had been made. Before he died, he heard this great fact declared with unrivalled eloquence by Webster. It was reserved to another generation to put Marshall's work to the last and awful test of war, and to behold it come forth from that dark ordeal triumphant and supreme. John Marshall stands in history as one of that small group of men who have founded states. He was a nation-maker, a state-builder. His monument is in the history of the United States, and his name is written upon the Constitution of his country.

H. C. LODGE.

WHAT ENGLAND OUGHT TO DO.

BY A CONTINENTAL OBSERVER.

THE writer of these pages has long been a sincere and devoted friend of England. He was not born on English soil. England did not give him life. She did not watch over his first steps nor protect his early years. But, no sooner had he found a voice capable of getting itself heard, than he vowed the most convinced and the sincerest admiration for the great and strong qualities which he detected, and which he still recognizes, in the British nation. He defended her interests. In the modest sphere assigned him he lent her his support whenever his conscience allowed him to do so.

But he would not and could not shut his eyes to the traits and things which seemed to merit legitimate criticism and just observation, even though these observations assumed in his mind an appearance of severity. He held that the moral grandeur of a nation is seen in the attentive simplicity with which it receives the just and sincere warnings given it by its real friends; and he was so situated, moreover, that he was able to judge both the strong and the weak sides of the English nation, and free, after having praised them with enthusiasm, to criticise them frankly and without fear.

The author of these pages has seen and heard and observed many things, and he has come now to the conviction that the moment is a grave one for England, that she has reached a parting of the ways where her choice of the route will be fraught with serious and prolonged consequences; for it depends upon her decision whether she will continue to loom more and more mightily on the horizon of history, or disappear in the fogs of the past.

The question "What England Ought to Do," was put to me some time ago, at the close of a conversation I had with a friend

who holds a conspicuous position in England, and who is held in much esteem abroad, and who, moreover, is very well acquainted with men and things of our epoch.

"In my opinion," I replied, "England ought above all to do two things: Create a regular and well disciplined army, and secure a well-armed diplomacy."

It was then and thus, after having formulated my opinion, that the idea came to me to develop and explain my thought, and to say to a larger audience, in addition to the answer that I had given to my friend's question, what, in my profound conviction, was still a third duty for England. This will form the latter portion of these pages.

I.

Ever since the Transvaal war, whenever a Unionist or Conservative speaker, or even a member of the Opposition, has addressed either House, he has indulged in enthusiastic and, I hasten to add, well-deserved, praise of the English army; and, throughout the world, impartial minds readily join with him in this eulogy. Whenever an Englishman has treated of this campaign in a public speech, he has dwelt with reason on the immensity of the effort which England has accomplished in transporting, almost with mathematical accuracy, an army of 250,000 men to a distance more remote than any which an army so important has hitherto ever had to traverse. Neither the Roman cohorts, nor the Greek legions, nor the armies of Napoleon, ever accomplished with such ease a task so gigantic. Moreover, even if this army had been less heroic, it is the simple duty of every Englishman to render to it the fullest homage, to proclaim its valor and its endurance and devotion. The abnegation and sacrifice demanded by war from all who take part in it on a battlefield, are such that, if the soldier could not count on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, on possessing, in a word, a parcel of that glory due to every army in action, and to every member of such an army, the work of war, in an analytic and sceptical century like our own, would be utterly impossible.

I cannot but approve, therefore, all these Englishmen who have exalted the courage of the English army during the South African war.

This colossal South African improvisation could neither have

been undertaken nor successfully carried through by any other power in the world; and the Spanish Armada was but child's play in comparison with this formidable exodus from Portsmouth to Durban and the Cape. And it is just because this immense effort was an improvisation, just because the goal of the expedition was a land whose resources, temper, contour and defiles were unknown, that everything in the execution of this enterprise, save the ignorance that presided at its inception, should be praised and admired. But England would be irremediably destined to decline, if this South African war did not contain for her one of those supreme lessons which Providence gives to a land, and which is not renewed if the country does not know how to comprehend its decisive significance.

At the outset of the war, once on South African soil, the frightful inadequacy of the preparations made itself felt in all directions. The Commissariat, the Medical Corps, the Strategic Section, the Corps of Engineers, the organization of the battalions and of the high command—all betrayed lamentable defects and revealed a state of things big with menace. If the English army escaped the complete destruction toward which it was being led, it was due, first, to the heroism of the soldiers, to their untiring patience, their docility, their passive obedience and uncomplaining stoicism; but it was due also, and above all—and this should be well understood and proclaimed—to the complete absence of military instruction in the enemy. The Boers had in their favor the ingrained arrogance of their temperament, an armament rendered redoubtable by their personal decision, but the handling of which was so much beyond them that they were unable to make out of it all that might have been made. At Colenso, where the two armies were face to face, the English general, disdaining or ignorant of all the new laws imposed upon armies by modern weapons, ordered the most astonishing and inconceivable of manœuvres. He had his artillery, so to speak, covered by his infantry and cavalry, thus making it an obstacle to, rather than a protection for, the dash of his troops; and he surrendered this heroic army blindly to the invisible balls of the Boers. Who can say what the disaster would have been for the English army, after the dreadful day of Colenso, if the Boers had not been ignorant of the first elements of scientific warfare; if, with their cavalry, their arms, and backed by their artillery and perhaps by the guns captured

from the enemy, they had undertaken an organized, scientific pursuit, and effected, as they certainly might have done, the rout, and perhaps the utter destruction of Sir Redvers Buller's army?

Everywhere, in the first period of the war, at Spion Kop as elsewhere, the same thing happened. The Boers, rapid, invisible, inaccessible, decimated the English lines, and then, satisfied with the victory won, made no effort to follow it up and to reap its fruits by pursuit and destruction of the English army. The Boers, quite without military instruction, but of a resourceful and dashing courage, had no inkling of the art of manœuvring in mass, of fighting on a wide field of battle, and of avoiding, save by retiring or by flight, the enveloping movements of the foe, whenever the enemy was strong enough to undertake a flank movement or to take the Boers within two fires. In the open field they were absolutely inferior, and the sieges of Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith showed this clearly enough, for their assaults upon these towns were primitive and childish from the point of view of the art of war. Even when Lord Roberts inaugurated the second phase of the war by the capture of Cronjé, it was the ignorant obstinacy of the Boer general, rejecting the advice of Villebois-Mareuil to save himself by a policy of retirement by sections, that facilitated the fine strategic scheme of the English marshal. In a word, to sum up my whole thought, I should say that the English fought, at least at the outset, as if they were fighting before 1870, and that the Boers, better armed, and with a greater passion for personal independence, fought as the Zulus or the Basutos might have done. It would really be to despair of human intelligence if England now, at the issue of this war, and face to face with her destinies, were not to draw from recent events profound and lasting instruction, and did not, as speedily and energetically as possible, undertake the reforms forced upon her by this war, which is henceforth merely a vain struggle of a conquered race against a victorious race.

Some time ago, an Englishman in high position, who is certainly well acquainted with the temper of his compatriots and the ideas of his government, said to me: "We are not going to insist on obligatory and general military service, but we are going to build up the army which we require by volunteer service, and we are rich enough to pay our volunteers." I would not exaggerate the effect which these words made upon me, but utterances like

these from such lips filled me, I confess, with profound apprehension. Anything short of general and compulsory military service will be but a palliative, and England's enemies—that is to say, alas! owing to numerous and complex causes, almost the whole of Europe—will tremble with joy when they learn as irrevocable England's decision to confine her efforts for the improvement of her present military system to a device so little radical as that forestalled by my friend.

Every one is aware, and I am as well aware of it as any one, that the idea of compulsory military service is repugnant to the English nation. It has been hitherto calm and proud in the thought that it has escaped this terrible burden, peculiar in one form or another to each of the Continental states, the obligation for each male member of the nation to serve under the flag, with the vast weight of standing armies in time of peace, and with all the consequences, economic and social, of this régime.

Yes, the idea of compulsory military service frightens the English mind, and the vast swarm of Englishmen engaged in the duties and tasks of normal life have listened indifferently to the click of firearms and to the voice of the cannons from over seas. So inveterate, indeed, in England is the repugnance for the materializing life of the barrack-room that the whole system of English education has all along constituted an intentional and premeditated contrast to the positive and military training mingled with all education throughout the Continent. The volunteer camps of England, in comparison with real military instruction, are what a boat-race is to a match between ocean liners, or a horse-race to a cavalry charge: it is a hygienic exercise intended to strengthen young British lungs. The Englishman's university training has hitherto been, and still is, part and parcel of his ideas on military matters. I one day asked a very brilliant Oxford man, who had been talking learnedly and instructively of Thucydides, Sophocles and Euripides, what he thought of the battle of Dorking. "The battle of Dorking," he replied; "I never heard of that." No, the university training, as well as the military training, with the tendency of the young Englishman's mind, must be transformed and made to comply with the exigencies of modern times, as seen in the other nations. To be sure, if the principles of a "Greater Britain" had not penetrated English minds; if England's sole aims were the defense of her possessions

acquired previous to the present epoch; if the attitude she means to maintain were merely one of inflexible defense, an army recruited as in the past would suffice; it would be largely sufficient to protect and to maintain her territories previously won, and there would be no need, as to-day there is, and as everything proves there is, of abandoning her meditative calm, of assuming the heavy and almost painful burden of a standing army recruited after the fashion that has inevitably been adopted by all the great Powers, with the exception of England and the United States. But the United States is a republic, and large standing armies are a menace for the independence of republics, since, when the ambition of their generals is aroused, the civil authority has not at its disposal power sufficient to counterbalance the aggressive aims of the military chiefs. Thus the United States, unless imperialism renders it excessively imprudent, will avoid organizing a large standing army based on compulsory military service. Long ago, republican France was warned as to the danger lurking in its standing army, and the spectacle of recent years is there to prove that the warning was not misplaced, for a republic has not that personified authority at the top who awes the pride of the generals and commands obedience even from the most powerful.

But England is a monarchy, strong in the loyalty of its sons, and so strong in this loyalty that no military usurpation menacing the most popular throne this century has known is possible on its soil. So that, just in proportion as standing armies, based on compulsory service, and forming an immense homogeneous and domineering mass, are a danger for republics, so do they become for monarchies a mainstay and a defense. When it is a case of a country like England, having within her own borders an agitated and discontented province, possessing beyond the seas India and the Nile Valley and Burmah, exercising suzerainty over Canada and Australia, and called upon, while defending herself, to defend Malta, Ceylon, Singapore, Mauritius, Hongkong, Trinidad, Jamaica, the Barbadoes, the Bermudas, and many another West Indian isle, as well; when she has interests in Africa, in Asia, and, in a word, everywhere in the uttermost parts of the globe; it would be irony of ironies, it would be the rashest folly, to pretend to be ready to rise to these unparalleled and multiple responsibilities of imperial defense, by the sole organization of a volunteer army, on whatever principle such an army could be

formed. At any moment, in any quarter of the globe, England may be attacked, imperilled, without her having either the right or the power to put herself in a state of defense, and withal being forced to cover, by her armed intervention, any point whatever of the limitless empire where floats her flag. This we saw clearly enough in the Transvaal. The Boers, to be sure, both madly and hypocritically, launched against England the challenge of their ultimatum. They even assumed the offensive, counting on their rapid successes to arrest England's arm. But it was, nevertheless, England that was obliged, in presence of this attitude which she could not tolerate, immediately to assume the offensive, and to make the astonishing and admirable effort which she has just shown to the world. But I maintain, and this I say because I am summing up multiple and absolutely competent views, that if, instead of flinging upon African soil 250,000 volunteers of every sort, she had transported thither a regular, well disciplined army, organized with the mathematical precision of Continental standing armies, an army, say, of 100,000 men, this would have largely sufficed, even in the immense extent of the field of the South African war, to bring the thing to a speedy end. For it is not merely the soldiers who would have been ready, by their serious military training, to cope with the difficulty, but also the great chiefs, whose military science would have been on a level with that of Continental generals, and we should not have witnessed the blunders which England's friends beheld with sorrow and even with dismay.

At the outset of the Transvaal war, I read in a foreign paper, the name of which I have forgotten, a letter from an English superior officer, indignantly repudiating the lessons which German officers pretended to give his English colleagues, and he said: "We need no lessons from the Germans. We are the hardest working and the best educated officers in the world." This is, no doubt, true. But it is perhaps in Thucydides that these officers have completed their education, and neither the repeating rifle, nor the quick-firing gun, nor smokeless powder, existed in the time of Thucydides; and the greatest warriors of ancient Greece would have been beaten, they and their heaviest hoplites, by a single modern French battery, by two battalions of Highlanders, or by two companies of German cuirassiers.

The formation of a standing army, based on compulsory serv-

ice, as numerous as her home defense, and the protection of her colonies and her possessions impose upon England, remains henceforth for her a question of life or death. Thus only can she attain the point reached by other nations in the scientific instruction of officer and soldier. Thus only can she impose upon the foreigner such respect as will secure her against insult or disdain, and thus only, being no longer exposed to the defiance implied in the haughty attitude of the nations, will she be able to preserve a lasting peace, because visibly prepared for modern warfare. And thus, little by little, the nation, feeling more and more deeply the pride of the flag, and having the proud consciousness of being obliged to defend it, will be penetrated by that general patriotism which regular soldiers, recruited from every corner of the nation and from all ranks, finally succeed in inculcating in every citizen.

Never before has a nation given us the spectacle of men occupying a high position or holding the ear of the public, accusing, insulting, castigating their own nation while it was engaged in a formidable struggle. Yet this is what we have been seeing of late and what we are still beholding in England.

I am told that these men, whose names I would not mention, disapproved or opposed the war before it broke out. That I believe, and I do not impute their attitude to them as a crime. But what history will inevitably castigate in them is that, after having failed in their opposition to the war, they should have subsequently covered their country with insults, while her sons were exposed to the enemy's bullets. This patricide policy will appear unpardonable in the eyes of future generations. If my father wishes to fight a duel, I may do all I can to prevent him, if his cause appears to me unjust; and, on condition that, in my remonstrances, I do not transgress the bounds of the respect which I owe him, no one can blame me for my attitude. But if, during the duel, while the swords are being crossed, while he offers his breast to his adversary's sword-point, I myself deal him a blow which he cannot anticipate from a son, I commit the most infamous and monstrous of treasons. And so I say, and repeat that, in no country where standing armies exist—armies, that is, in the veins of whose soldiers flows the blood of the entire nation—was ever such a monstrosity seen.

Thus, the standing army which I am defending here would be for England at once her force and security, and the source of

an unflinching patriotism, the elements of which at present she does not possess. No, when Mr. Chamberlain said, "I do not care about the opinion of foreigners," he uttered a monstrosity; and, worse than this, Mr. Chamberlain's words are but the expression of the secret thoughts of all English statesmen. The main cause, indeed, of the antipathy felt toward England all over the world, is just this disdain which British statesmen profess for foreign opinion.

Now, it is a dangerous, illogical thing to do, thus to provoke by disdain the irritation of the world, and to have at one's disposal for its repression only the quite insufficient weapon now at England's disposal, considering the multiple provocations to which she is exposed. Moreover, England should make no mistake. The colonies have displayed devotion and loyalty; and although an effort has been made to belittle the importance of the sacrifice which they have made for the mother country, yet, the very fact of such a spontaneous and decisive manifestation has been enough to attract everybody's attention, and to reveal the broad and experienced spirit and the lofty views with which England has treated the colonies.

This attitude of the colonies, however, is not merely a one-sided demonstration. It would imply, if need be, the obligation on the part of the mother country to fly effectively to the defense of her menaced colonies; and we behold once again, therefore, the imperative necessity, in spite of the disdainful attitude of her rulers, of the formation of an important standing army.

I shall not undertake here to indicate, in detail, how such an army should be recruited; but there is no reason why I should not, after careful reflection, say that this army ought to number at least 600,000 men in peace-time, and for the moment, at least, in war-time. England has in Egypt 6,000 English troops, against 25,000 or 30,000 Egyptian troops. This may have sufficed for hostilities with the Dervishes, the Soudan hordes or even Menelik's troops. But it would become quite inadequate in the case of war with the Mussulmans; and England, which would have then to rely upon herself alone, would require at least 40,000 men. For a long time to come, England will be bound to maintain in the Transvaal a regular, well-seasoned, well-disciplined army ready for battle, numbering at least 60,000 men. India demands of her 100,000; Ireland 60,000; 100,000 are necessary to

meet all eventualities in the other colonies; 100,000 men are required in England and in Scotland, not to mention the mobile army of at least 100,000 men ready to be transported instantly, at home or abroad, to this or that point of her island coast, or of her dominions menaced over seas. So that, I repeat, she cannot get on without an army of 600,000 men and a corresponding military budget, if she wishes to keep herself intact, to say nothing of aggrandizement.

But I will go no farther. I shall not commit myself to any definite statement as to the mode of recruitment of this army, although, on the other hand, I should seem to be shirking a responsibility that I have freely assumed if I were not to state, just to discuss it, amend it, and complete it, later on, the system which I would myself prefer. My idea would be that this standing army should be formed by compulsory service based on the lot system, with facultative substitution. Military service would begin at twenty years of age. It would be active up to the age of twenty-five, with compulsory service in the reserve army from twenty-five to thirty. The active army, composed of 600,000 men, of which from 130,000 to 140,000 men would be recruited annually, would be permanent, with facilities for the temporary release from military obligations of 100,000 men, and, from the fifth year on, reserve forces also would reach the figure of 600,000 men. These troops would be called annually under the flag for a period of three weeks, and the economies resulting from the annual release of 100,000 men would meet the budgetary expenses annually for the reserve army. The rate for facultative substitution would be, in a country like England, relatively a high one, £160. This sum would be taken over by the State, which, at its risks and perils, would pay to the persons replacing their compatriots five per cent. annually. This, it should carefully be noted, only in the case of facultative substitution. This would amount to eight pounds a year, or thirteen shillings and four pence a month, or a supplementary payment of 5 1-3 pence per day. His service ended, the substitute would receive for his free disposal the sum paid in by the person whom he replaced. If he were in the colonies, or wished to settle there, he would not only be given a concession, but a sum would be advanced him on mortgage security, which, added to his substitute-rate, would allow him to settle down without fear of the future, and thereby

England would find herself gradually creating in her colonies, all over the world, farmers, tillers of the soil, and devoted and loyal subjects of the throne.

One might study the question of how to accumulate, for the soldiers of the regular army, a relatively modest sum, enabling them, at the end of their military service, to undertake in favorable circumstances the struggle for existence. These sums should be procured by means of the income tax, since it is for the security and tranquillity of those who live by their incomes that the soldiers of the regular army and their substitutes fight. Naturally, this system, like any other which might be sketched out, is merely an idea, which I venture to put forward, and I do not pretend that it is perfect nor yet applicable. But, as other systems may be proposed by competent men, I give this one here merely as a specimen, which I would not even undertake to defend, and which is capable of any or every modification, provided the formation of a standing army, recruited by compulsory service, energetically kept up to the level of military science, and alive to its duties toward the fatherland, be seriously effected.

II.

England has acted toward her diplomatic army as she has acted toward her military army. She has neglected its practical education. She has given it a bad organization. She has not accustomed it to regular and daily tasks; she has not taught it the social topography and the ethnography of the countries which she will have to fight. She has left the filling of the most important posts to caprice, to personal sympathies, or to considerations of birth. She has shifted to the South those who have failed in the North, and she has sent to the North those who failed in the South, as if the rebuffs of a diplomat were due to the climate and not to personal defects. And, finally, as in the case of her military army, she has organized neither the commissariat nor the armament, nor the ammunition necessary for an army constantly on the march and engaged daily with the enemy. The result is the inevitable one: England has been beaten everywhere.

English diplomacy everywhere is well-educated, punctual, obedient and discreet. It is well up in the treaties, it has an accurate knowledge of history. It knows the mooted points between the country that it represents and the country to which it is

accredited. But it wears the indelible stamp of its origin. Its politeness is mathematical; its greetings traditional; its amiability theoretical. It executes with a marvellous mechanism the orders it receives; it transmits with a graphophonic accuracy the communications made to it. It is an admirable instrument in the hands of those who direct it. But it has an immense fault, which, in the eyes of those who govern it, is perhaps a quality: it is not automatic.

With the rarest of exceptions, it passes through the most varied posts, changing country, and habits, and climate, and relations, but even as it set out so it returns, and as it returns so fared it forth.

No one makes it confidences, for the simple reason that it attracts none, nor solicits any; and, as it obeys with precision orders not less precise, it cannot invite confidences, for it can make none.

The English are blamed for possessing an insular soul. English diplomacy is the quintessence of this soul; and the soul of an English diplomat, from the beginning to the end, is kneaded of that insularity of which every truly British soul is composed. No diplomacy in the world takes such frequent leaves of absence. During the numerous journeys I have made pretty much everywhere, I have never met English diplomats, of every rank and sort, save either going or coming from their posts to their homes and *vice versa*. It is an incessant *chassé-croisé*. And this is due to the fact that any English diplomat can replace a colleague, or be replaced by a colleague, their missions being cut out for them by an almost implacable precision, and their acts and movements being traced for them with such mathematical accuracy that they have only to be a docile instrument of good will to be able to fulfil every order, and without effort to fill any place left vacant by the chance absence of any member of a legation or embassy.

The insularity of English diplomacy has given it an inordinate liking for residence in England, with an antipathy, or at all events an indifference, for sojourn elsewhere. Nowhere in the world is there a city which offers to these condensed Englishmen the attraction of London, with its clubs, its rapid visits to the country-house, the after-dinner conversation with a cigar about the dinner tables; the thousand and one normal, uniform, changeless things of which, at determined hours, with an implacable regularity, with a regimentary rigidity, London life is composed, when everything one does, every habit adopted, every costume worn, is a shibboleth

of one's *milieu* and "set." All these things have for the English diplomat abroad an irresistible and lasting charm. In the diplomatic post he holds, which he has coveted, because he desires absolutely and above all to preserve the classification belonging to him in society, every post is for him, not an exile, but a leave of absence, an obligatory sojourn, of which he supports courageously the load, but the weight of which he never ceases to feel.

What adds still more to the difficulties in the way of English diplomacy abroad, is that, like old men, at once presumptuous and naïve, it wishes to be liked and to make England liked solely for itself. With its lofty virtues, its rigid observance of the most austere laws and of public morality, it is reluctant to employ the ordinary methods, discountenanced by strict morals, employed by the other diplomacies throughout the world. It has no secret funds, and hardly possesses even the funds necessary to meet the requirements of its private police. The result we have seen a dozen times. We saw it when it was a question of creating bad blood between Germany and Russia; when it was a question of interrupting the march of Austria; when it was a question first of embittering and then of mitigating the relations between France and Italy; when it was a question of attenuating the Franco-German hatred, of confounding the interests of France and Russia, of separating those of England from those of Russia and France; and, finally, we beheld it triumphantly, irrefutably, when, in South African affairs, it was a question of arousing the whole world against England alone.

English diplomacy, in presence of the labors of the Transvaal agents during the long years in Austria, France, Germany, Russia and America, remained all but paralyzed, surprised, dumbfounded before it was able even to make the slightest movement of defense. England's projects were attacked, misconstrued, calumniated with startling unanimity, and not a single powerful voice dared to contradict the blunders, and confound calumniators.

I would not ruffle the austerity of English censors, nor revolt the modesty, the *pudor* of the Press Universal. I do not mean that it ought to have been, or ought to be, bought by ready money. In spite of all that has been said, and although journals and journalists have been mentioned publicly by name as having been quite ostensibly bribed by Rand gold and the Transvaal treasures, I do not believe it, and regard these assertions as libels. If

English diplomacy had been well informed, it would, in the first place, have known what was going on in the Transvaal, the preparations being made there, and the resources at the disposal, and the aims, of the Transvaal; all this it would have revealed to its government, which would have thus avoided the blunders into which it fell, and the calamities which England has undergone and is still undergoing. If English diplomacy had had the means of being well and exactly informed, it would, moreover, have revealed to its government the growth throughout the world of anti-English opinion, and, wherever it might be necessary, without bribing journals and journalists, it would have established powerful, enlightened, eloquent organs intended to combat vigorously error and to defend the truth.

I admit she would have spent some hundreds of thousands of pounds. I admit that she would have had to enter into the *mêlée*, undertake savage polemics in her battle with the contradictory opinions which she would have provoked. But she would have paralyzed the too facile enterprises of her country's foes. She would have prevented them from encouraging with impunity the aggressive arrogance of the Boers. She would have denounced and attacked the secret enrollment of soldiers throughout the world. She would have shown the Transvaal Republics the fallaciousness of the interventions on which they fancied they could count; and, even if she had been powerless to prevent the war, she would have had the means, the influence and the force necessary to prevent its prolongation, after the startling defeats which the English army has finally inflicted on the republican armies. In any case, if English diplomacy had been properly armed and provided with the "sinews of war," the conflict would long ago have been over. As the Transvaal war costs England £8,000,000 per month, if the action of her armed diplomacy could have abridged it by three months only, the £24,000,000 thus saved would have paid twenty times over for the secret funds that might have been placed at the disposal of this diplomacy.

The greatest diplomats of whom history has preserved the names have always held that one of the necessary conditions for a diplomacy really worthy of the name is mingling as actively as possible in the social and world-life of the country where it is established. It should try to know everything by listening to everything, and it should be able to listen to everything, because

able to be everywhere and to take part in everything. It should, therefore, have at its disposal all the means owing to which, in the most honorable or the most adroit way, a man has free entry wherever his presence can serve his objects and his duty as ambassador, not in order to listen behind closed doors, not to play the spy or to be a talebearer, but in order to breathe the ambient air in the midst of which he lives and moves, in order to become impregnated with the spirit of the country which it is his business to observe, and, if not to arrest, at least to canalize, the current which impels a government, a society or a nation toward an act of hostility against another government, nation or society.

English diplomacy has not all these resources and means at its disposal, and the consequence is that, everywhere, or almost everywhere, it lives as on an island which is difficult of access, and, in fact, whither access is facilitated only in official circumstances when no truth seeks to go ashore there, unless it be well disguised.

I have said enough for my readers to be able to complete my words by their personal conclusions. My opinion I have not to defend further. I merely hand it over to public discussion; and, if those who dispute me prove that they are right, I shall not undertake to defend an opinion which will have thus been shown to be false, nor to oppose views contrary to mine which shall thus have been shown to be true.

III.

It remains for me to touch upon a question which is at once delicate and rash, and which I would certainly not venture to discuss but for my desire to get at the truth, and my sincere friendship for England. For I feel that, in what I am about to say, I serve both the cause of England and that of peace, and consequently that of humanity as a whole.

A few years ago—in fact some long years now—I met at Naples, where he was taking a rest, the Duke of Fernand Nuñez, then retired to private life and seeking to recover his health. One day, the Duke said to me:

"When I was ambassador in Paris I called one day on the President of the Republic, and said to him, 'If your excellency could take in hand the cause of my country, and bring Spain back into the concert of the great European Powers, you would render so great a satisfaction to our legitimate pride, and do us so great a service, that we

should remain everlastingly loyal and grateful to your country. You would have in the Councils of Europe, whenever they might be convened, a constantly friendly and faithful voice to acquiesce in your opinion and espouse your interests. We are, in reality, a great nation. We deserve the epithet, and we are worthy to figure in the European concert. We are divided in appearance, but united in a common patriotism. Our pride would stop at nothing to spare the nation any humiliation. We are in reality rich, and our rise to the foremost rank would give us a feeling of unity which would soon induce us to prove that our prosperity justifies our ambitions and accounts legitimately for our pride. We have in the Antilles vast colonies, and the South American States are united to us by ethnic and linguistic bonds. Our exclusion from the European concert is an act of injustice which may become a danger. Take up our cause, and from the very fact that we are seated by the side of the great Powers around the green cloth, our attitude, our prudence and our loyalty will justify the honor done us in restoring us to the rank that is our due.' Some time afterward the President said to me: 'I was much struck by all you said to me. I have looked into the matter, and had my ministers do the same, and one of them, after having tried to obtain the opinion of the most powerful man in Europe, has brought me back this reply, which I am distressed to repeat to you: "Never will the great European Powers allow to form part of the European concert, in the foremost rank, a country that now for more than three-quarters of a century supports on its breast the knee-pan of the foreigners." ' And I, I replied: 'They are mistaken, and they insult us who fancy that we do not feel the humiliation inflicted on us, and that we need foreign opinion to impel us to be ready for every possible sacrifice, permitting us to rid ourselves of the secular burden weighing upon our consciences and making us breathe like those who pant.' "

I have since then a hundred times talked with Spaniards; and, whenever the conversation has fallen on this theme, I have surprised, according to the temperament of my interlocutors, sadness, sorrow, anger or exasperation painted on their faces, but never have I met with a Spaniard indifferent as to this subject when it was broached. "Gibraltar," as one of them, a statesman of mature age and experience, who played an active rôle in the conclusion of the recent peace, put it: "Gibraltar is a poniard, always plunged into a wound that has never been healed. We do not scream out our pain, but we never cease to feel it."

I quite understand that the English reader who has now an inkling of my thesis, without having given it as yet any serious thought, and without comprehending the full bearing of my words, should utter a cry of protest. "Malta and Gibraltar are our strong points of defense in the Mediterranean, our preliminary ports to Alexandria. They are ports of refuge for our vessels, our indispensable coaling stations, and centres of armament

and provision. Without Gibraltar and Malta, we should be neither at Port Said, nor at Alexandria, no longer masters of our water routes, and we might at any moment be exposed to the gravest risks. We never had the pretension, in occupying Gibraltar, of preventing the passage of vessels through the straits; but, knowing that we are secure there at Gibraltar, we can, if need be, sustain a struggle which we would not dare undertake if we did not feel ourselves protected by its guns."

So be it, and I risk arousing all sorts of outcries and contradictions, in depriving the English reader of his illusions as to the real effective value at present of Gibraltar.

Some time ago, I chanced to be on the Franco-Spanish frontier. I wished to form an idea of the real dispositions of Catalonia. I omit for the time being all mention of what I then learned in Catalonia itself; but what struck me is that, on Spanish territory, the fort of Guadaloupe, a formidable point commanding almost impregnably the course and the valley of the Bidassoa, was absolutely disarmed, or rather not armed, and that nothing prevented a French army entering Spain from this side. When I expressed my surprise, I was told that it was quite the same thing from the Bidassoa to the confines of the Franco-Spanish frontiers, that everywhere the forts commanding the frontier were unarmed. I sought to discover why Spain left its frontiers thus open on the French side, and this is what I was told:

"You know that on the other side of Gibraltar and at the extremity of the separating bay is the port of Algeciras, which, like Gibraltar, lies opposite Ceuta. England has spent three or four millions of pounds in the construction of docks on the side of the Bay of Algeciras. When these docks were constructed, the Spaniards had the idea of fortifying Algeciras, San Felipe, Majorca, Rocadillo, Almirante and other points of the same sort along the inner coast line of the bay. England succeeded in preventing this scheme by showing Spain that such a project would be regarded by her as an act of aggression against England, for her docks were, owing to the distance, at present out of the range of the guns of Algeciras, but that this would no longer be the case if intermediary points closer at hand were to be put in a state of defense. In presence of her energetic representations, Spain abandoned the idea of fortifying these points on the Bay of Algeciras, between that port and Gibraltar, and England, reassured, made no further demands. France, however, aware of these incidents, also resisted the idea of the arming of the Spanish fortresses on the Franco-Spanish frontier, and obtained from Spain the promise that the valleys of the Pyrenees, Bidassoa and the rest should not be exposed to the guns of the Spanish fortresses."

Such is the explanation given to me of the defenseless state of the Spanish frontier bordering upon France.

Now, the Transvaal war has proved many things, but one of its first results is to upset completely the theories hitherto adopted, and to destroy most oddly the results obtained by England in preventing Spain from fortifying the intermediary points of the Bay of Algeciras, between Algeciras and Gibraltar. England, of course, fancied, in obtaining this concession, to protect Gibraltar eventually against Spanish guns. But the Transvaal war has shown the transportability and the facility of provisional and effective installation of the heaviest artillery, at any point desired, and near enough for effective attack. The Boers transported their "Long Tom" as they might have transported a piano. They established it as solidly in the depths of the valleys as on the summits of the kopjes; and, in a word, the heaviest artillery, guns comparable with the most formidable pieces of modern fortresses, can be carried to-day, at will, to any point which the assailant may choose. The result is that the Spaniards now have the certainty that, if need be, they could establish the centre of their heaviest artillery at the point which appeared to them the most suitable, and that, if ever the time comes, for any reason whatever, as a consequence of a series of events now foreseen or not yet foreseen, when they would be called upon to enter upon a struggle in order to wrest the poniard from the wound which has never healed, the docks imprudently constructed under the shelter of Gibraltar would be within the range of their guns, and to protect them England would have to abandon them altogether, and make ruinous outlays to establish them on the opposite side, just under the artillery of Gibraltar, since the hinterland of Gibraltar, as well as the bay of Algeciras, belongs to Spain.

What I mean, therefore, and what I say without pretension, as any one may perceive, of establishing a technical theory which is beyond all criticism and refutation, is that to-day Gibraltar is no longer the impregnable fortress that it was, that the English docks would not be sheltered from the guns of the Bay of Algeciras, and that the hinterland of Gibraltar belongs to Spain. If Spain, for instance, in order to recover Gibraltar, hesitating before no sacrifice, were to make common cause with France, Gibraltar might be attacked from all sides, by sea and by land, by the combined armies of the hitherto hypothetical allies, by the

already existing fleet of France and by the future fleet of Spain, which is reconstructing her sea forces and has entrusted the task to France. I may add that Gibraltar, with a population which, in such an eventuality, would nowhere find a sure means of egress, is a *place-fort* requiring a formidable garrison, the very alimentation of which, coupled with that of the population, would form a crushing burden, difficult even for England.

I am quite aware, and every one well knows, that a Franco-Spanish alliance is at present merely an hypothesis. There are, however, certain grounds for supposing that it is not so chimerical as might be believed. France, of late, has manifested toward Spain the most kindly and most practical feelings of good will. She has concluded with Spain a commercial agreement very favorable to the latter. She has powerfully assisted Spain in the so difficult undertaking of the conversion of its debt. She has aided it in keeping an eye upon Catalonia, as regards the introduction of arms, during the recent piteous failure of Carlism in that province. Everything, in a word, goes to show that the most friendly relations subsist between these two Latin nations.

My meaning, therefore, is that the comfortable point of control held by England at Gibraltar has become of doubtful efficacity, and that this point might become for her, at a given moment, an element of weakness instead of strength.

Note that I have not supposed, for a moment, that England could abandon or simply restore Gibraltar, without exchange or compensation, thus weakening her power in the Mediterranean. No. But men of the highest authority, Englishmen as well as foreigners, Spaniards of the highest competence and intelligence, as well as English engineers of the most serious reputation, all have assured me that England to-day would gain by the exchange, if, for Gibraltar, Spain were to give her Ceuta. To shift the present Gibraltar docks out of the range of the guns of the Bay of Algeciras, England would have to spend four or five millions of pounds. And if in possession of Ceuta, in exchange for Gibraltar, she were to spend there the amount of money which the displacement of her Gibraltar docks would cost her, she would render Ceuta the most formidable, the safest, the most easily defendable, and the most suitable situation for her own defense in the Mediterranean, and on the very spot even where it is a question of protecting Morocco against the appetites of the world.

Moreover, such an act, such an abandonment, or rather such an exchange, would, as the Duke of Fernand Nuñez said, make Spain the most devoted, the most grateful and the most loyal friend of England; and the latter, which, very rightly, complains of the pretty general ill-will and almost uniform hostility against her, would find in this new friendship a consoling compensation for the unjust suspicions of which she is the victim. Certainly, if, as all the Spaniards with whom I have ever conversed have assured me, Spain feels so poignantly the state of things at Gibraltar, she will exchange Gibraltar for Ceuta with enthusiasm; and, if she refused to do so, it would be either because she is no longer free to do so, or because her distress, her irritation and sense of humiliation are no longer so profound as she pretends; and, in either case, my proposition evidently could not or should not be realized. But, if Spain is free to treat with England, if she is free to give England, in exchange for her recovered pride, not to speak of Ceuta, what the sincere friendship of a new ally can offer to a great country, I need no longer insist on what I have just been saying. Spain apparently is living in a state of sincere and lasting friendship with England. If, by the retrocession, or rather by the exchange of Gibraltar for Ceuta, England were to become veritably the friend and ally of a devoted Spain, she would at the same time annul the danger lurking in the question of Morocco's becoming a formidable apple of discord, around which might be let loose a universal war. So that thus also would England enormously serve her own ends, render a service no less great to Spain, render a service to the peace of the world, and aggrandize herself as well as Spain. And if all this be possible, it is needless to add any fresh arguments to those I have already given.

And now let me say this: I have sought to show in language, it may be, void of all precaution, what I said at the outset, to-wit: that England needs a well-disciplined standing army; an armed diplomacy, and, as a complement, the conquest of an ally. If my words bear fruit, I shall be still more happy than proud; if they are repudiated, treated with irony, or combated, I shall, nevertheless, have done what I felt to be my duty, and I shall stand by, a witness of any events that may occur, saying to myself, struck by the futility of all efforts: *Alea jacta est.*

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PEKIN RELIEF EXPEDITION.

BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM CROZIER, U. S. A., CHIEF ORDNANCE OFFICER ON THE STAFF OF GENERAL CHAFFEE, COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN CONTINGENT IN THE RECENT EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF PEKIN.

THE readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW are familiar with the history of the Pekin Relief Expedition. It will be recalled that the advance to Pekin was commenced on August 4th, having been preceded by the failure of the Seymour relief column, the capture of the Taku Forts and the battle at Tientsin. The nations represented in the advance were Japan, Russia, England, France and the United States. The French force which started with the expedition was small and was left on the fourth day out at Yangtsun, to guard the railroad crossing of the Peiho at that place. At Tung Chow, thirteen miles from Pekin, a mountain battery with about a hundred infantry, commanded by a Major General, again joined the column. The combatant force available was composed of approximately 8,000 Japanese, commanded by General Yamagutchi; 4,000 Russians, commanded by General Llinevitch, and 2,500 each of British and Americans, commanded respectively by Generals Gaselee and Chaffee. No common commander was chosen; the different contingents cooperating whilst retaining their independence. It fell out that the British, Japanese and Americans usually acted together, as did the Russians and the French. That this not very military arrangement resulted in no compromise of the success of the expedition was due probably to the fact that as a fighting task the job was not a hard one, there not being an active and courageous enemy to confront. The principal concern of each general was to keep his troops supplied and to get them into efficient condition

through the hardships of the trying march. The Japanese being the most numerous force, and being composed of troops of the three arms of the service in good proportion, and having a properly organized staff, lacked nothing necessary for independent action; their reconnaissances were always the most extensive and their information the most complete. Without the least tendency toward assumption they thus fell naturally into a position of initiative, and took a leading part in arranging the order of march and of battle. The British force also comprised infantry, cavalry and artillery; that portion which remained continually with the expedition consisted entirely of Indian troops. The Americans had the 9th Infantry, the 14th Infantry, a battalion of marines and Light Battery F of the 5th Artillery. Without cavalry they were deprived of tactical eyes and ears, and being thus dependent on others for information, and having too small numbers to act otherwise than as a compact unit, their only course was to fall in with the plans which were made for them. These always assigned to them a dignified part and involved a full share of the fighting. The Russians had with them infantry and artillery and a small number of cavalry; the French, infantry and artillery.

The first engagement was at Peitsang, and was fought, practically, by the Japanese; the others would have been glad to take a more effective part, but the nerve of the Chinamen was not sufficient to provide fighting enough to go around, and the Japanese, being in advance, got it all. On the following day occurred the combat of Yangtsin, at which the supply of fighting was again short, and the Americans and British, having the advance, got practically all there was. Pekin was entered on August 14th, when all the forces were engaged except the British, who, after all, were the first to enter the legation enclosure; and on the 15th the Americans took the Imperial City, carrying the five successive gates leading through it into the Forbidden City. A fortnight afterward the Forbidden City was formally entered.

Knowing the salient facts of the expedition and something of the manner of their accomplishment, the reading public is now in position to take an interest in a comparison of the attributes and methods of the different forces. Comparisons have already been begun by different observers and are characterized by a mixture of praise with some very sharp blame. Most of the praise, as well as a small portion of the blame, is given to the soldier, and perhaps

by inference to his officer in the line, while, as is the fashion, the staff, in most accounts and current comments, comes in for tremendous rating in which there is no admixture of praise. Blame is wholesome, but in order that profit shall be taken from it it is necessary that it be bestowed with proper, not to say expert, discrimination, else we shall fail to make the right corrections.

To begin with the Subsistence Department, it is borne in upon the campaigner that the eatables and drinkables, if not the most important, are at least the most continuously insistent, of the indispensables. Of these there was an ample supply at Tientsin from the time of the arrival there of the first American troops; and they included not only the ordinary components of the ration but most of the delicacies classed as fancy groceries. Ginger ale and bottled waters were in abundance, and plenty was the order of the day. The food of our soldiers exceeded in quantity, quality and variety that of any of the allied forces, as was the comment of all foreign officers under whose notice it fell. When the march to Pekin was taken up, however, the fare was less generous. All supplies directly accompanying the troops had to be carried in wagons or on pack mules, and of these means of transportation the command was very short, having sufficient only for carrying three days' rations and one hundred rounds of reserve ammunition per man; but, in common with the other contingents, we had a reserve supply of rations and ammunition following upon junks by the Peiho, of which the course was in the general direction of the march as far as Tung Chow, within thirteen miles of Pekin. Such luxuries as tents, however, were out of the question, officers and men sleeping in the open air and taking the rain as it came.

The ration thus carried was reduced to about three pounds per man—the full ration in bulk with its packing cases weighing about five pounds per man—and comprised the staples: bacon, hard bread, sugar, coffee, rice, beans and condiments. Even so, it was better than was carried for the troops of any other nation; the Japanese had only rice and dried fish, the Indian troops mainly rice, the others a variety and quantity approaching, but not equalling, those of the Americans. No provision was made for supplying the United States troops on the march with water other than the canteen which each man carried. Other troops were better off in this respect; the British Indians carried water in skins on pack mules, and some had barrels upon carts. But

there are wells in all the Chinese villages, and these, along the line of march, were not more than a mile and a half apart; and, with the column properly halted, it is as easy to fill canteens from a stationary well as from a stationary cart or mule. The water in the wells was always cool, and, though seldom perfectly clear it was never revoltingly turgid, as was that of the river and canals; it was drunk freely by all the troops of the expedition. No other troops made such a time about water as the Americans, who had orders to drink none without boiling it, and had special utensils provided for the purpose. These orders could not be enforced, however, as thirsty soldiers will not wait, even when arrived in camp, for water to boil and cool. Portable filters were provided and were used in the hospital service; one also I observed in the Light Battery and one was in the headquarters mess. The characteristic ailment of north China, however, seems to come independently of the water; it attacks nearly all Europeans and Americans during their first summer, not sparing even those who drink nothing but imported waters. With careful inquiry I was unable to find a medical man who could assign a satisfactory reason, other than that it was "in the air."

I have neither heard nor read any criticism of the operations of the Subsistence Department other than as these were affected by lack of transportation, which suggests inquiry as to the character and quantity of the latter. The Americans had thirteen four-mule army-wagons and one pack train of forty freight mules, besides two or three ambulances and a Dougherty wagon. The four-mule wagon is considered to be distinctly superior to the means of transportation of supplies employed by any other nation. Loaded with 3,000 pounds of freight, and often with more, it made light of everything in the way of obstacles which the roads offered, and was much more economical, in both men and animals, than the two-wheeled, one-horse carts of the Japanese and Russians, with a driver for each vehicle. The latter would have been overloaded with more than 600 pounds each, of which, for a ten days' march, 150 pounds would have to be reserved for the food and baggage of the horse and man, leaving only 450 pounds of useful freight; whereas the four-mule wagon carries 2,580 pounds of useful freight, so that transporting power in carts equivalent to that of one wagon, four animals and one man would require five and three-quarters vehicles, animals and

men, costing much more and occupying twice the space on the road. The Japanese pack trains were organized with a man for each pony, who led him on the march; in the Indian pack trains, one man riding a mule led three other mules; the American train had one man to four mules, all of the loaded animals being driven in a bunch with a bell mare leading. Here also was economy of men, although perhaps the Japanese provision of a man to each animal was a necessity, as their ponies are all stallions, and their train, at a halt, was a bedlam of flying heels and wild snorts; it was more dangerous to pass than a Chinese outpost. A large proportion of the Japanese transportation consisted of pack animals; the British Indians had nothing else; the inferiority in economy, when contrasted with the American system, is striking when it is noted that it requires the same number of mules to carry 1,000 pounds on packs as will haul 3,000 pounds in our army-wagon. The American pack train carried ammunition only, for which purpose it could not have been replaced, as it afforded the only means of maintaining a first reserve supply in constant readiness for immediate distribution to the firing line. The pack saddles of the different nationalities were, in their effect on the animals, of about equal merit. Occasional sore backs were noticed in all the trains; but the American required the most skillful packer.

The indispensable *impedimenta* of troops in the field are always the occasion of delay in active operations. All the American troops which started for Pekin on August 4th were at Tientsin by July 27th, except the Light Battery, which arrived on August 3rd; but the only vehicles for transportation were those which had been sent over in June with the Ninth Infantry. Others which followed the Fourteenth Infantry from Manila on the transport "Wyfield" were still aboard that vessel in Taku Bay, awaiting unloading and shipment up the river by the scanty means which, in the keen competitive press for them, had only been secured by energy and enterprise on the part of the Quartermaster's Department. The pack train arrived on the morning of August 4th, was loaded at the railroad station from the accumulation which it had been impossible to transport to the camp, and started with the expedition in the afternoon. Investigating the reasons for the lack of transportation, the facts show that the first troops sent over, the Ninth Infantry, had been abund-

antly supplied, but that this supply was subsequently stretched to take care of two regiments of infantry, a battalion of marines, a light battery and the headquarters. If it be asked why the additional troops did not have their own means of transportation immediately after their arrival, it must be remembered that an improvement in transportation conditions could have been insured only by the maintenance at Manila of a thoroughly provided depot for the dispatch of military expeditions, regarding the Philippines as an outpost for guarding the interests of the United States in the far East and equipping it accordingly.

The shortness of the American transportation, however, was at no time the cause of delay; while the advance to Pekin from Tung Chow, the place where connection with the junks was finally broken, was delayed from the 12th till the 13th because of the plea of the Russians that their transportation had not yet come up. The large numbers of missionaries' families and other refugees and entrapped visitors, especially the ladies, who were sent down from Pekin a day or two after its relief, owed the comfort of their journey to Tung Chow to the American ambulances and other vehicles, which were the only ones in that part of the world fit to ride in. Within three days after the arrival at Pekin fancy groceries and bottled waters began to make their appearance in the American commissary, and within a week there was abundance of these for all.

A radical feature of the Japanese and British Indian organization is the employment in large numbers of auxiliary troops, or coolies, approximating fifty per cent. of the fighting force. Most of these accompany the baggage train and are used in drawing carts or as bearers, and they do the general work of the camps. Their employment may be justified in countries where men are cheap, and good animals and vehicles scarce, but it does not make for economy; their own rations and baggage have to be carried along, and if used as bearers they are more fatigued upon arrival in camp than the fighting troops, and, therefore, not in condition to work for the latter. During prolonged rests, it is well for soldiers to take care of themselves; the considerable number of coolies employed by the American forces in China and the Philippines, as litter bearers, etc., were believed by the officers to exercise a demoralizing effect upon the men, who were apt to develop an inability to carry a bucket of water or clean a gun.

If a sufficient number of four-mule wagons, the most rapid and economical transportation yet devised for countries in which they can go at all—and with a little help they can do marvels in the way of trail covering—be supplied to carry all the men's baggage except their arms and canteens, and in addition a sufficient number of armed men to act as train guards, riding either on the seats with the drivers or on others provided, these men would be sufficiently fresh to do the loading and other extra work, and the whole organization would be much more economical and serviceable than one provided with coolie corps.

From a competitive criticism of arms and personal and horse equipments, the American force comes out well; the infantry rifle, with some instances of remarkable endurance, sustained the reputation which it had acquired in Cuba and the Philippines. At Tientsin, when the troops crawled through the mud and lay in it for hours, the rifles became completely clogged; but, by taking them by the muzzle and swishing them through the water for a few seconds, they were restored to perfect action. The thimble belt, used only by the Americans, is still preferred to the cartridge pouches of the others. Our field artillery was as good as any there, although there was none of the most modern design, with its special effort to increase rapidity of fire by reducing the recoil of the carriage to a minimum. The McClellan saddle would fit anything from the largest sized American horse in good condition to a Chinese donkey, three feet high, in the last stages of emaciation; and allow either to be ridden without producing a sore back. No other hospital corps was provided with such means for transporting sick and wounded as our ambulances; the British doolies, or heavy, curtained litters carried by four men, were a poor substitute, and, considered as litters, were only half as economical of men as ours, which required only two.

In United States base and temporary hospitals, the patients were on cots; in the Japanese, they were on the floor, an illustration of the greater requirements—and their supply—of the American soldier. No other hospitals, either, had women nurses.

The shoes, hats, uniforms of the American troops, were not such as any would wish to exchange for those of the patterns used in other services, and no failure in their serviceable qualities was developed. The horses were coarse brutes compared with the high-class animals ridden by the English officers and the Bengal

Lancers, but in regard to its other war material the United States has learned no lesson of inferiority.

In regard to military organization, the same cannot be said. The other forces showed evidence of preparedness and readiness, resulting from the fact that each unit, as well as the general command, was complete with its transportation, drilled auxiliaries and staff assistants, all organized and accustomed to act together; while the American troops had to be sent as small independent units to China, to be there brought into relations with their staff and organized as a mobile force. It was again proved that our staff departments are of inadequate numbers. General Chaffee had to take his Adjutant-General from one of his line regiments, his Inspector-General from another, also his Chief Quartermaster of the expedition, as well as other officers for various staff duties; thus robbing the line, as we always do at the time when it can least spare its officers, depleted as it now is also by the officers required for the volunteer army. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that, of the two infantry regiments which marched to Pekin, not one company possessed its full complement of officers, and that the majority had only one of the three allowed. We have no organized staff for purely military purposes disconnected from supply, such as collecting and disseminating information, arranging the details of movements, supervision of the condition of the forces, etc. The Adjutant-General's and Inspector-General's Departments and the Engineer Corps have, scattered among them, many of the elements of such duty, and there is nothing in our organization to prevent the first department from taking it up; but its officers are far too few for the purpose, even if they were selected with special reference to it; and in the field they, or the ones detailed for their work, speedily find all their time required to keep the orders, correspondence and records from hopeless confusion. When the hampering conditions under which it worked are appreciated, credit should be given by the country to the administration of the War Department for putting into the field, as promptly as it did, a force of respectable numbers, which was able to give a good account of itself. What could have been done without the Philippine base, forms a fit subject for reflection, when it is understood that every soldier, every pound of ammunition and supplies, and every wheel of transportation which reached China in time to

start on the relief expedition, came from that possession; lacking which, we would have been unable, like the Germans, to render effective co-operation in the relief of our people.

Another respect in which the United States force does not well bear comparison with the others, is that of the smartness and soldierly conduct of the troops. Both in China and on the way there, at Nagasaki, the men in going about were utterly careless as to their dress and bearing. The Japanese and Sikhs, at the rendezvous, in the camps and at Pekin, whenever seen in public, wore their uniforms complete and properly put on, carried themselves with military bearing and were careful in saluting officers; and the heavy and somewhat awkward Russians, while not presenting so trim an appearance, were particular in these respects. American soldiers off duty walked around or rode in rickshaws without blouses, belts or leggings; with shirts open at the throat and breast, the sleeves unbuttoned and rolled up to different heights, or perhaps one flapping, and with the military-looking campaign hat worn in every shape and at every angle. Such sights were common. The American soldiers were the slouchiest of all, except the French. At Nagasaki, in addition to disregard of the arrangement of such portion of the uniform as they might have on, many were to be seen wearing travellers' caps of various shapes and styles. Their carelessness as to saluting officers must have caused some wonder among the people of the military nation considered to have recently emerged from barbarism, and among the Indian soldiers of lower civilization. The horse equipments of the British officers and of the Bengal Lancers were always cared for and neat, the leather having good surface and the metal shining. Let an American officer try to imagine one of our soldiers polishing a steel bit on a campaign! The belts and shoulder-pieces of the British officers were of uniform pattern, made to carry certain articles which they all had. American officers carried what they liked—usually a field glass and a pistol, the latter on such belt as suited their fancy. It is not intended to convey the impression that the American troops constituted anything like a mob; their control was never in the least degree out of hand, and they showed themselves, as heretofore, perfectly subject to such discipline as was exacted. They were the most intelligent of all the troops forming the expedition, as was strikingly apparent from observation of their faces at the good oppor-

tunity afforded by the march past the staff at the entry of the Forbidden City, on which occasion also their neatness and fine appearance were most gratifying. For such slackness as is here noted, the fault lies with the officers, the men being in this respect what the officers make them. They come from a people who are not in the habit of considering smartness as a necessary accompaniment of efficiency, but who, having only recently gone through the process of reclaiming a wild country, in which much had to be accomplished with little, have a high appreciation of the rough and ready, which they reflect. Americans have a tendency to stand up and fight, for which we are to thank God; it is for military training to give this quality its best chance of successful exhibition, by adding to it every feature which the best talent of the world judges useful in the composition of the soldier. Elements of the training are evidently lacking in our soldiers, and it is pertinent to ask why. Every regular regiment has now among its officers a good proportion of graduates of West Point, who, alone, would represent the knowledge of what constitutes a soldier's duty and contributes to his efficiency. Why is this knowledge not applied? In China, it certainly was not because of indifference on the part of the commander, whose own impulses are all the other way—but it would have been impossible for him, with the responsibility of the expedition upon his shoulders, to produce an excellence of detail of which the spirit did not pervade the commissioned mass. I believe the answer to be, that the constant thought, attention and effort required cannot be secured without stimulus, and that stimulus is lacking in our service. It may not be generally appreciated how little power exists, under our laws, to reward meritorious officers, or to place subordinate command in the hands of the most efficient. The President selects general officers and the appointees to some of the staff departments; there his power stops. All promotion in these departments and throughout the line is strictly by seniority; the efficient and the inefficient, the careless and the attentive, the sober and the intemperate advancing equally; if an officer avoids a court-martial the rest follows. There is no effective process of elimination of the inefficient; officers are examined for promotion, and if they cannot pass are supposed to go out of the service; but in the ten years of the operation of the law upon the subject, there is no single instance

of an officer having been deprived of his commission by its application, except for physical incapacity. Not only has merit no influence in the advancement of officers, but in normal times the natural rate of promotion is so slow that all officers become too old for their grades, and are apt to lose interest in the duties. This results from the small proportion of high to low officers in a military organization, and can be corrected only by artificial elimination, *i. e.*, the application of a method by which a sufficient number of officers, preferably the least efficient, shall retire from active service—such a rule as exists in every military and naval service of the world, with the sole exception of the army of the United States. The table below shows the ages at which officers can hope, under existing laws, to attain the various grades:

First Lieutenant	at	31.1	years.
Captain	"	43.5	"
Major	"	57.1	"
Lieutenant-Colonel	"	60.9	"
Colonel.	"	62.25	"

The figures show the average ages for all officers of the staff and line; their discouraging character is apparent, and receives illustration in the case of Captain H. J. Reilly, the commander of the American Light Battery, who was killed while directing the fire of his guns at the taking of the Imperial City. He was of the class of officers who can ill be spared; under his efficient command the battery had achieved a reputation in the Philippines, and during this expedition it had always been found where it was wanted, ready to do what was expected of it. His death as a Captain, after thirty-three years of service, was an honor to himself, but was a discredit to the system which kept an officer of his well-known merit in low grades for such a length of time. I believe the material of our army, both officers and men, to be the best in the world. No other nation has company officers of the average ability and education of our own; but the superiority shades away as their service progresses, and they get farther away from the rigorous system of stimulus and selection which spurred and winnowed them at the Military Academy, and which in other services is continued through all grades.

At the instance of the War Department, a bill was introduced in Congress at its last session designed to correct some of these evils; it provided that one promotion out of every three in the line should be made by selection, and that the selection should be

primarily in the hands of the officers themselves of the branch of the service concerned, a board of whom would submit three names to the President, who would from these make the promotion. The latter feature was to meet the objection of the Army, that selections made, as have been most of those for the staff departments, would be through political influence and not for merit. Another provision was that appointments for service in the staff departments would be made by boards of officers of those departments, without the feature of the submission of three names to the President. The subject of artificial elimination was not dealt with.

Administrations confronted with military difficulties are usually embarrassed by the insufficient number of troops, and, being themselves temporary, have strong reason for devoting their attention to the increase of the size of the army rather than to the introduction of reforms of permanent though slower benefit; the more especially as the augmentation itself carries a transient improvement in quality by promoting younger officers and affording, usually, occasion for the exercise of selection—the patched-up machine will tide over the emergency, and the unremoved deteriorating influences will not produce their old effect until it shall have become the instrument of other hands. But here was a case in which an administration made its first concern quality and not size, as far as the measure it recommended affects the greater part of the army, and it should have received corresponding encouragement. Far be from me the Cassandra task of attempting to persuade my countrymen that an army of any given size is a necessity for the Republic; if the views of certain persons upon this subject be correct, events will demonstrate it, and if the demonstration be accompanied by a lesson I have no doubt that it will be pluckily, if not good naturedly, received. But I believe that the people strongly desire that the military establishment which they are willing to pay for shall be of good quality, and I make this my apology for my representing that, unless reforms embodying principles similar to those above outlined be instituted, full efficiency will not be attained, and our army will continue to compare unfavorably with those of other nations.

There are many minds to which, in looking over the progress of the campaign, will be suggested the inquiry: What valuable

contribution has its conduct made to the cause of humanity in warfare? With so many nations acting together, what examples have they been able to afford each other of the successful use of methods designed to cause the distress of war to bear only on the combatant forces and governments, to the exclusion, as far as possible, of peaceful inhabitants? Immediately upon arrival it became necessary to employ largely native labor; this labor was always impressed, if not to be had voluntarily, but from the beginning it was paid for by the Americans at a satisfactory rate—twenty Mexican cents, ten cents American, with rice ration, per day. This practice was eventually adopted by all, but was said not to be followed for some time by several of the Powers. Private property, horses, carts, provisions, &c., were taken for public use, sometimes with compensation, oftentimes not, at least in the earlier stages. But in regard to the general matter of payment for value received, it is to be believed that, after the initial disorderly period was passed and a certain regularity and order had been established, the principle was quite generally observed. In regard to the personal treatment of non-combatants and wounded, much good cannot be said. The circumstances of the expedition were not such as to predispose the troops to a feeling of consideration toward the Chinaman, whose barbarous treatment of missionaries and their families was well known throughout the force; and the more or less popular character of the society guilty of it tended to involve the population in the detestation justly provoked, so that personal hostility prevailed to a much greater extent than in the case of an ordinary war between States. The majority of the natives had no other desire than that of safety for themselves and their belongings, and were willing to do anything to placate whatever party might be in local power; but this disposition, while saving them from continued cruelty, did not induce careful discrimination in the heat of an exciting situation. With all the explanation that can be made, stories of inexcusable brutalities were current throughout the camps, some indicating the loose rein to passions, others mere brutishness. None of the worst class of cases came under my personal observation, and all stories should be received with caution. One was told me by a fellow staff officer of the American Commander and is as worthy of complete credence as any testimony can be. He related that, while riding by a Russian

column on the march, he saw a soldier violently kick a child of some eight years, who was sitting on the edge of the road; and, as the blow of the heavy boot turned the child's body, he kicked him again in the face, sending him over backward into the corn. The assault was murderous, and could scarcely have had less effect than the permanent loss of the boy's eyesight; it was seen by the rest of the Russian column without other mark than of amusement, although from the formation there must have been officers near enough to have witnessed the act. At Tung Chow, while riding with a group of officers, one of them exclaimed: "Look at that dreadful thing!" Glancing up, I saw a commotion among a small group of Russian soldiers about seventy yards away, and it was explained that they had just dragged a Chinaman from the grass and stabbed him with bayonets. I did not see the act itself nor investigate it further, and am not a good witness as to the murder, the occurrence of which, however, I do not doubt. While riding alone about Tung Chow on the day of its entry, I found in an empty compound a Chinese coolie, lying face down, bound hand and foot, with his head brought back by his queue, which was tied to his hands, and his hands then tied to a fence. He was unconscious and breathing, but with a bullet through his body and no chance for his life. I cut him loose and arranged him so that he might die comfortably. Returning some time after, I found him apparently gone, but with some Japanese soldiers poking him with sticks to see if they could prod him into a sign of life. I, of course, knew nothing of the circumstances under which he got into the state in which I found him; he may have been guilty of the exasperating offense of "sniping." During the entire advance, and for a fortnight after, dead bodies of coolies floating in the river and lying about in odd places gave evidence of killing which must have been unjustifiable. Crimes against women were told of, including one instance of horrible cruelty to a husband who had interfered; but there is no reason for believing that these cases were more numerous than is inevitable under the circumstances, or that there was toleration for the offenses. One American soldier was brought to trial and conviction, and received a sentence of twenty years' imprisonment, and there were reports of just punishment in other commands. As to the wounded on the field of battle, there was general expectation of no quarter on either side; but, as none of the foreign wounded

fell into the hands of the Chinese, and as the latter usually got off while the invaders were far enough away to give them time to remove theirs, there was not much opportunity for the application of the pleasant principle. One instance came practically under my observation. At Peitsang, I was at the Chinese outpost at the powder depot almost immediately after its capture by the Japanese; Chinese soldiers apparently dead were lying about. As I rode along the embankment, I saw a Japanese soldier ahead hastily putting a cartridge into his gun, and after having passed him I heard the discharge. Calling back to my orderly asking what he had fired at, the reply was that he had fired down into a trench; for which there could have been but one object, although neither of us saw it. The justification for this was held to be that the Boxers and their sympathizers were fanatics whose dearest object was to kill foreigners, and that they would do what they could toward its accomplishment as long as life was left in them. Riding over the field a few minutes after this occurrence, I passed two wounded Chinamen in the grass, but their bloodthirsty enthusiasm, if they had had it, had waned, as they made no hostile demonstration.

Of looting there was much. Tientsin was thoroughly looted. At Pekin there were no guards to prevent it until the day after the hands of the American force had been freed by the capture of the Imperial City. The earliest and most persistent looters were the Chinese themselves, either the soldiery and Boxers or the inhabitants. As soon as they considered the proper period to have arrived, they commenced operations and were willing to take high risks in carrying them on. The British looted openly and systematically, the plunder being turned in to a common store from which auction sales were held each afternoon at the British legation, under the direction of an officer; the proceeds to be used for the benefit of the soldiers. Other nationalities were believed to have imposed little check. When the city was divided up, the Americans placed guards over the portion assigned to them and quickly put a stop to disorderly proceedings. Their commanding general was strongly opposed to looting, as to all other forms of abuse of the natives; and he issued stringent orders in regard thereto, in the spirit of which he was supported by the officers, whose duties were lightened by the fact that robbery and cruelty are not found in the grain of the Ameri-

can soldier. Although some looting was done by Americans, it is believed to have been very much less than that by any other troops of the expedition.

Incendiary fires were common, and the route to Pekin can be said to have been marked by burning villages. No instance is known of Americans starting these fires; and, in general, it is believed that the record of the Americans for humanity is indisputably better than that of any other troops.

On the whole, the campaign cannot be said to have marked for the foreign powers an advance in the diminution of the horrors of war, but must be recognized as rather a step backward; notwithstanding which, its conduct was so far better than Chinese standards that the tendency of its teaching must be for them in the right direction.

I arrived at Tientsin with the 14th Infantry from Manila on July 26th, as Chief Ordnance Officer of the expedition on the staff of General Chaffee. I was much of the time near the American commander and available for general staff purposes; and he honored me by making such use of my services. In this manner I had good opportunity for general observation. Like all officers, I was intensely interested in the showing made by the different forces; and, in the comparison, I found cause, as an American officer, for both congratulation and dissatisfaction. Removal of the reasons for dissatisfaction is not apt to result from much of the criticism which has been printed; it has been apparent to the critics that something has been wrong, and, in casting about for underlying causes, they have been misled by too ready acceptance as facts of unverified rumors, and in some cases of mere guesses. The harshest critics have been those organs of public opinion which, in their disapproval and discouragement of the whole military institution, have contributed most to the unsatisfactory conditions of which they wrongly appreciate the manifestations. The inadequate though perhaps wearisome detail of the preceding pages can be summarized as follows: In the character of their material, animate and inanimate, the troops of the United States excelled; in all the results of liberal organization, training and stimulus, the product of national interest in and fostering encouragement of the military arm, they were outclassed by the forces of the other nations.

WILLIAM CROZIER.

THE LEGAL SAFEGUARDS OF SANITY AND THE PROTECTION OF THE INSANE.

BY ALLAN M'LANE HAMILTON, M. D., F. R. S. E.

Of all the new problems which press for legislation, none is more imperative than that relating to the care and cure of the insane. Uniformity of divorce laws throughout the States of the Union will in time be secured by intelligent public opinion, and the segregation and treatment of sufferers from phthisis will also be found necessary. No less imperative should be the demand for a uniform and enlightened code of laws directed to the prevention of that form of disease which we know as insanity; to the protection of those supposed to be affected by it until a proper tribunal shall have passed upon their condition, and to the management of sufferers thus affected, looking to their prompt discharge, when the result has been a cure or a sufficient amelioration to warrant freedom.

From an economic point of view the subject is grave. The care of its insane costs the State of New York annually more than five million dollars, and every year the number of patients grows larger. A proportionate increase is found, as well, in all the great centres of population. The growing competition under which the struggle for existence is carried on, the attendant temptations to dissipation and crime, the daily stress of life, all tend to promote mental disease.

The semi-sane and the insane tread upon each other's heels. In a population of seven millions, the State of New York, on any given day in the year 1899, had about 23,000 insane persons under its care, in public and private institutions. The property devoted to their use was valued at twenty-six million dollars. In the hospitals of the rest of the Union, there are probably more than two hundred thousand of the recognized insane in institutions whose value cannot be far from two hundred million dollars.

The horrors which Charles Reade described as existing in the private asylums of Great Britain need no longer be feared, although the recently exposed inhumanity in the treatment of the supposed insane in New York City would indicate that the day of brutality and incompetence is not quite past. The prison which was converted into an asylum has now become a hospital; the significance of the change is more than verbal. The shocking conditions under which the pauper insane were chained up like wild beasts, or confined in barred pens, in some of the poor-houses of twenty years ago, have been done away with in the main. The progress of reform has been steady. The insane are no longer quasi-criminals, and the evidence that our friends and neighbors are not in mental health is no longer presented in proceedings savoring of prosecution, but rather of protection.

But other reforms are vital and necessary for the benefit of the public, as well as of the individual; and I may with propriety refer in support of this statement to the proceedings in the Wendell case, with which I had the opportunity to become personally familiar. There came here very near being a substantial defeat of justice, for the lack of just such reforms in medico-legal procedure as those I am about to advocate. Similar cases occur from time to time throughout the country. The king, as *parens patriae,* had by common law the right to take charge, through his chancellor, of the person and property of lunatics. Courts of equity in the United States have a like power.

It is for the best interests of all concerned that the body politic should, in all cases, be charged with this responsibility. In New York State, and in the country in general, the insane, whether in public or private hospitals, are wards of the State. They are all entitled to the visitation, attention and intelligent interest of the State authorities. If their estates are unable to pay, they are cared for by the State without charge. They are to a degree distributed in hospitals or farms, where they receive proper care for their particular form of disease. This is a long step in advance. But even more radical reforms are as greatly needed in the medico-legal methods by which the citizens of most if not all the States are examined as to their sanity, and committed as insane, and discharged when restored to mental health.

It has been said that "the lunacy laws of the United States are, for the most part, an incongruous mass of legal verbiage."

As a matter of fact, there is no uniform law throughout the Union on this subject, any more than there is on divorce. The reasons why there should be uniformity are apparent. The Legislatures of such States as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Iowa and Wisconsin have given increasing attention to the laws affecting the insane, and the tendency toward wiser and more humane legislation is general.

But as medical science has still a great deal to learn about this, the most subtle and difficult of all diseases, so has medico-legal science a task, which need no longer be delayed, in the simplification of the procedure for the commitment of the insane and the discharge of the sane. If the insanity of one New Yorker in every three hundred has been passed upon by the authorities, the mental affliction of others is sometimes suspected even by the non-expert. Certain disorderly persons who in public places make themselves offensive in a way difficult to reconcile with common sense; cranks who annoy strangers; unreasonable and unpractical reformers; confirmed litigants for litigation's sake, and, in many cases, even the blackmailer may be considered in this category. So also the victims of distracted homes, of overcrowded tenements, of noisome workrooms, of vice and dissipation, of conditions of civilization with which they are unable or unwilling to cope successfully, are a menace to themselves and the community. In a majority of instances, their mental disease could be cured or prevented from reaching a dangerous development, or controlled by prompt treatment, especially by removal to a new environment. In many such cases, the probability of cure lessens rapidly as the disease progresses.

Of the insane thus at large, a majority are not proper subjects for confinement; their malady responds to treatment in their homes, or to discipline, or the influences of the changed scenes which means and leisure can procure them. But others ought to be put at once beyond the possibility of peril to themselves and others. And that involves what is known in medico-legal parlance as a "commitment."

The jurisprudence of most of the States is agreed upon the necessity for surrounding the commitment with legal safeguards; yet what has been achieved in this direction leaves much to be desired. The person and property of a citizen are held sacred by the spirit of our laws. "Too much of our legislation," says an

authority, "seems to be based on the assumption of improper motives on the part of friends or relatives," who institute proceedings for a commitment. Impropriety of motive is rare, however.

The friend or relative who wishes to have another's sanity determined may, in the State of New York, call in any two of the physicians whose names appear on the register of the State Commission in Lunacy as qualified examiners—and of these there are about one thousand in New York City alone. These examiners must be of respectable character, graduates of an incorporated medical college, permanent residents of the State, and practitioners of medicine for not less than three years. If, on examining the patient together on the same day, they find evidences of insanity, their certificate so declaring must be signed under oath. Some judge of a court of record must then formally "approve" the medical certificate, over his own signature. The forms to be filled out for a commitment are printed by the State Commission in Lunacy, and require that certain data should be stated.

Careful provision is made by statute in most States that medical examiners shall be properly qualified for their work. The order of a court of record is required in all cases before the patient can be committed to an institution, the kind of institution depending on the ability of his friends or his estate to pay for his treatment in a private hospital, or the necessity for care and treatment at the expense of the State.

Now, an important part of this medical certificate of lunacy is a "statement of facts, to be made upon knowledge, information and belief by the examiners in lunacy," concerning the sex, age, nativity, bodily condition, habits, number of previous attacks and general symptoms upon which the conclusion of insanity is reached. Such a statement is everywhere essential. But the supposed facts it recites are in too many cases ridiculous and inadequate.

The following statements made in a few of the commitment papers which have come under my personal observation, as indications of insanity, may be cited. It need not be said that they are not necessarily indications of insanity; even if they were, no proof was adduced of the correctness of the statements, nor was any qualification made of their import:

"He has a wild look."
"She prays and is very religious."

"She sees things."
"He is very violent and does not mind what his friends say."
"He thinks people do not treat him right."
"He believes his wife is unfaithful to him."
"He is indifferent to his wife and children."
"He says his head hurts him."
"Her face is flushed."
"She thinks something has been put in her food."
"He is excited."
"He is sad and melancholy."
"He says he has lost his property and is very poor."
"I eat raw corn because clergymen eat raw corn."
"She has walked on the grass in her bare feet." (This patient was a disciple of Dr. Kneipp.)

In a recent case it was asserted by the patient that the nurses had "put needles into her feet." From reading this without any other knowledge of the case, the impression would be gained that it was an hallucination; but it turned out that the nurse had actually used the hypodermic needle by the doctor's orders.

In commitment papers, there is very rarely any statement of the patient's history, except what consists in categorical replies of the most meagre kind. Prolonged departure from the previous normal standard is seldom noted; while the clinical features of the insanity receive scant mention or none whatever. The hearsay statements of others, which the blank forms require, even if honest, are often unreliable and exaggerated. In fact, asylum superintendents very often have to make the diagnosis themselves, finding the commitment forms vague and misleading. It too often occurs that physicians indulge in generalizations; and an incompetent observer, in spite of the specific requests printed in the blank that the acts of the alleged lunatic and his exact speech should be detailed, is apt to give his own impressions.

The necessity for shutting out the hearsay evidence and for requiring accurate and proven statements of the facts on which a commitment is based, is self-evident. It goes without saying that no person should be committed to an institution for the insane upon mere recitals of acts which are common to the sane and to the insane. *Ira furor brevis est;* the recital of what a sane person often says and does under the excitement of anger would, if presented without explanation, be far more damning than the alleged indications of insanity recorded in many of the commitment papers.

The law should, therefore, exclude hearsay evidence. It

should require the actual legal service of the papers in all cases upon the person examined, and refuse to permit the medical examiners to be the sole judges of whether or not personal service should be dispensed with. The laws should, it seems to me, limit the number of examiners in lunacy and exact more rigid qualifications. One examiner to every 25,000 of population ought to be sufficient. At least five years of practice and some special study of mental diseases should be required; and the certificate of moral and professional qualifications should be issued in each State by some duly constituted body of the highest character, like the Board of Regents in the State of New York. In States where there is no such body, the Chief Justice of the court of last resort might act with an advisory medical board. Even after the legal certificate of two properly qualified examiners in lunacy, the judge who is asked to sign the commitment, and who can have no personal knowledge of the facts of the case, should be empowered by statute to send for the patient, if possible, and talk with him; or, still better, to send to the patient, apart from the examiners who have certified to his insanity, a medical man of high standing and special experience, who shall act as *amicus curiae* and report to the court the results of his own examination.

Proper commitment to a hospital for the insane having thus been effected, it becomes important that the right of communication between the inmate and his lawyer, friends and family in the outside world should be rigorously secured. The law prescribes that an inmate shall write at will to the authorities of the State—the Governor, the Attorney-General, the District-Attorney, the State Commissioners in Lunacy, whom he may, at any time, invoke to exercise their visitorial rights, and to the judges of the courts of record. The law in many States forbids the examination or detention of such letters by the hospital authorities, and declares that "the postage must be furnished by the institution, if relatives or friends are unable to provide the same." The law of most States makes a further provision that each patient may, once in two weeks, write other letters—to family, friends and counsel; and, in some cases, that these letters may be examined by the hospital authorities, who are authorized to use more or less discretion as to whether the letters should be forwarded to the addressees, or sent to the State Commissioners in Lunacy.

I am convinced that this discretion should be rarely exercised in the direction of secrecy, and that the safest plan on all accounts is to provide by law for free and uninspected communication between the inmate and his counsel and family. How, else, is a miscarriage of justice, such as recently occurred in a *cause célèbre,* to be rendered impossible in the future? The patient, whom I found to be quite capable of managing her affairs, and saner than many men and women now at large, although she was eccentric and at times had been excitable, was not even allowed by the physician in charge, who assumed the right of her custody, to communicate her situation to her own lawyers, and it was only an order of court that opened the prison doors. This young man had constituted himself gaoler and had surrounded the house with an armed guard.

While all private asylums should be licensed by the authorities of the State, some of the smaller institutions of this description might well be dispensed with entirely. In some private institutions, conducted by unscrupulous persons on an extravagant basis for the care of the very rich, the temptation to keep a profitable patient, after he is able to take care of himself, and is no longer insane, is undoubtedly great. Any institution conducted on a speculative plan, with the connivance of public officials, should be abolished.

The whole subject of the discharge of cured inmates—inmates who would be better off, and happier, in the outside world, useful in many ways to themselves and others—and of persons who should never have been committed, demands the most serious attention. The laws in all the States provide that a writ of *Habeas Corpus* may be applied for in behalf of any inmate in a public or private hospital for the insane, and that upon the hearing of such writ certain judicial proceedings shall be taken to determine whether or not there should be a discharge. They should also provide that any physician of a charitable public institution is absolutely forbidden to accept fees in any case.

Whenever the question of sanity is raised, I cannot too strongly state my belief, based on thirty years' experience, that no jury of laymen is fully competent to, or should be asked to, pass upon the issue of sanity. A single medico-legal commissioner, to hear and determine the facts, to advise the court and examine witnesses as to fact, as well as medical witnesses, would be pref-

erable to the present system, or to any system other than a jury of physicians, which might prove impracticable. Sheriffs' juries should never be asked to do more than pass upon the estates of the alleged lunatics, inasmuch as they are incapable of estimating the significance of symptoms.

The laws in general, however, continue to provide that, when an inmate wishes to leave a hospital for the insane, and there is a question whether he is able to do so, the issue shall be determined by a commission and a sheriff's jury. The commission—which in New York consists of a lawyer, a doctor and a layman—acts in the rôle of judge. Evidence is offered, under oath, by both doctors and laymen, before the jury, which renders a verdict as to whether the inmate in question is sane or insane. This verdict is subject to be set aside, like any other.

In a recent case, which emphasized my conviction of the urgent necessity for legal reform in lunacy procedure, the medical member of the commission practically testified as a rebutting expert before the very jury that looked up to him as judge. In effect, he "summed up" the case to the jury, from the bench, ingeniously making a picture of symptoms of the alleged disease to fit the case. The impropriety of such action is greater where such an expert-commissioner has already passed an official judgment upon the alleged lunatic.

The propriety of a law forbidding the service on any such commission of any medical man who has ever been called into the case of the patient in question needs no argument. Nor should any State Commissioner in Lunacy—whose office gives him more or less authority over all inmates of hospitals for the insane—be allowed to appear on the witness stand as a medical expert, in any proceeding for the discharge or detention of such an inmate. The fact that the State Commissioner in Lunacy has, in his private capacity as a doctor, previously examined a patient, should also be held to preclude his sitting on the commission, or testifying in that patient's case. It can readily be seen that a prejudiced man, or one jealous of his professional reputation, might suffer a warping of conscience which would render him liable to a dangerous bias.

The general belief that the insane are ill-treated in asylums has passed away, in the main, with the conditions which gave rise to it. Wanton cruelty rarely occurs in the United States, except

in badly managed places which are corrupt parts of a political machine. Where maltreatment exists, it is in general due to the fact that inexperienced men do not comprehend that the irritating violence of the patient is the result of disease. The sooner attendants and nurses cease to assign sane motives for disorderly conduct of the insane, and make this allowance for their charges, the sooner will retaliation cease.

Great care is given to individual cases. The advantages of foreign research and of opportunities for personal study constantly increase the usefulness of the medical staff of hospitals for the insane. While patients are sometimes retained longer than they need be, the controlling motive is often fear that they may harm themselves or others, or a desire to keep them away from the surroundings which caused their insanity. On the other hand, patients are sometimes discharged from the State hospitals before they ought to be, to make room for new patients. This overcrowding is, at times, a painful feature of State hospitals; it suggests the need of even greater State expenditures for buildings, pavilions and farms such as that at Islip, L. I. It is directly responsible for such escapes as that of seven insane criminals from Matteawan, several months ago, despite the watchfulness of an uncommonly competent medical superintendent.

It is difficult to emancipate the management of the insane asylum from politics, although this evil is not so dangerous as it once was, particularly in the State institutions. It is to be regretted that the insane, especially those with means, who are found in the hotels or streets and who are arrested and taken to committing depots, should be often obliged to pay large sums of money for commitment, and that they are occasionally obliged to undergo subsequent unnecessary legal proceedings. At several important centres of population, a small coterie of individuals has been recently known, where money was in sight, to act alternately as committing physicians, witnesses and commissioners. A more dangerous abuse it would be difficult to imagine. It is, indeed, the earnest hope of those who are most familiar with this subject that a reorganization of laws may result in profound and lasting improvements.

ALLAN MCLANE HAMILTON.

CAUSES OF THE CONSERVATISM OF ENGLAND.

BY AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, Q. C., M. P., AUTHOR OF "*OBITER DICTA*," "MEN, WOMEN AND BOOKS," ETC.

If mistiness were really the mother of wisdom, then, indeed, would the Duke of Argyll be the wisest of living peers. But Cardinal Newman, it is to be feared, was writing ironically when he professed to discover so close a relationship between mistiness and wisdom; and, any way, it would be rash to assume that the Duke of Argyll is wise merely because his meaning in his contribution to the January number of the North American Review is obscure. To what cause, one wonders, is this obscurity due? More than one reason for it might be assigned. But my own belief is that the Duke's obscurity and dark sayings are largely due to the fact that, for some reason or another, he does not speak out his whole mind. He keeps back so much that what he puts forward is hardly intelligible to the plain man, who once rode upon the top of a "bus," but who now, owing to the cost of the War with the South African republics, has dismounted from his cheap conveyance and become "the man in the street."

The Duke looks about him and discovers that there is to-day a Government not only in office but in power, a Government formed "not on a conjectural platform, but one of tried and substantial planks. Never before has a majority of 150 in the House of Commons followed the Government whip's requests for five years. Never before has that majority on an appeal to the polls been sent back with power and purpose undiminished." It is, perhaps, a little early to assume, either that the reconstructed Cabinet is as powerful and as much respected in the country as was the old one, though the possibility of this may easily be admitted; or that the new majority of 134 will "follow the Government whip's requests" as obediently as did the old majority of 150. But how-

ever this may be, about the facts there can be no doubt. There Lord Salisbury is, and there he has been since 1895. How came he there? This is the question the Duke sets himself to answer, and he answers it in a breath. It is because of Mr. Gladstone's attitude in 1886 toward Home Rule for Ireland. Whatever else the Duke leaves in cloudland, this much stands out bold and clear.

> "It is necessary to go back fifteen years to know how and why it is that a Government formed not on a conjectural platform, but one of tried and substantial planks, is in office. * * * * It was impossible even for the most casual and careless to forget that these men had only been Liberal in the direction of constituting Ireland a separate nationality at the end of lifetimes devoted to combating the Nationalist Irish claim. It was seen at once that the act was done for continued power. * * * * It made England think that the party which could so surrender their convictions could not govern. And it is to this idea that the strength of the Conservatives is due."

This idea or notion of the causation of the Conservatism of England finds great favor with the "small, transfigured band" of Liberal Unionists, who have unhesitatingly attributed the longevity of Conservative governments to themselves and to the continued dread of the English electorate of Home Rule for Ireland.

I do not believe anything of the kind.

The Toryfication, if I may be allowed the word, and it is a convenient one, of London and of so many of our great towns in the north of England, and in other parts as well, is one of the most striking political facts of recent times. I have watched the process in more places than one. It began long before 1886.

Fair Trade, and all the fallacies and prejudices, deep-rooted in human nature, that to Fair Trade do properly appertain, had an immense deal to do with this Toryfication.

The hearty dislike entertained by the working man (which by a strong effort of the imagination I can account for, though I would not seek to justify it) for the wealthy, middle-class, Dissenting manufacturer, who had come to look upon the parliamentary representation of the town where he had made his money as something peculiarly his own, the devoted and self-sacrificing labors in the midst of the poorest parts of our huge populations which now characterize the clergy of the Established Church—sometimes contrasted a little unkindly with the non-parochial activities of the Nonconformist ministry—alike contributed to swell the rising tide of the new Toryism in our large towns.

About the same time, and at the very end of the life of the strange Being who had become the Earl of Beaconsfield, sprang up the great Disraelian Myth, which has changed the most un-English of all our Prime Ministers into an almost sacramental Symbol of Patriotism, and of a species of idealism which, though vulgar enough, is yet found more exhilarating than the pure worship of Cheap Goods and Free Markets. The Disraelian Myth has been worth many a legion to Lord Salisbury. The Primrose League is ridiculous enough; but men who want big majorities must not scorn the simply ridiculous. Nor do they.

Tories after the fashion of Sir Edward Clarke are Dizzy's men, and Dizzy's men are to be found in every street of every town in the north of England; and they make more converts to what they call Toryism in a week than all the Liberal Unionists put together can muster in a twelvemonth.

To fan this flame, to make it roar and crackle like fire in a forest, came Majuba. It is no part of my present business to discuss Majuba. Personally, I do not believe in great nations pursuing unusual courses. It is not usual for a great nation, any more than it is for a high-spirited man, when slapped in the face to sit down under it. That is not the way people behave in, let me say, Sheffield. It puzzled everybody, and what puzzles everybody can hardly fail to be misunderstood. The Boers did not understand us. We were magnanimous, and they thought we were afraid. We wanted to save lives and to inspire friendship, and in fact we bred contempt, and only postponed to a distant day a far more dreadful punishment. Mr. Chamberlain, who is an idealist in the disguise of a man of business, was in 1881 all for magnanimity. Mr. Gladstone agreed with him; so did the Duke of Devonshire and the others. Mr. Chamberlain and the Duke are said to have repented. A truly repentant politician would be a novelty. Politicians rarely repent, though not infrequently they have recanted. But seldom before has it happened to men to be carried aloft on the shoulders of a mob which, as it carries them, curses their criminal folly.

Majuba Hill made Tories in streetfuls, and it certainly seemed as if nothing so Toryfying could ever happen again; when, lo and behold! the same set of men who left Majuba unavenged allowed Gordon to die the death in Khartoum. So, at least, men said, and the saying completed the conversion of many thousand

waverers, particularly in large towns where men, women and children are closely packed together, and where strong emotions are "in widest commonalty spread."

I will not pretend to be the happy man who knows the reason of things, but I do not hesitate to ascribe the growth of Toryism in London, and in the great towns of the north of England, mainly to the causes I have assigned. Other causes there doubtless were; indeed, I could name some of them, but among the causes those I have mentioned stand out in strong relief.

On the top of all these things came Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule schemes, which Scotland and Wales accepted, but which England failed to appreciate. Mr. Spurgeon shook his head, and Mr. Spurgeon controlled as many votes as Mr. Chamberlain. The Wesleyans could not see their way to become Home Rulers after the desired pattern; and, generally, the great Protestant interest began to scent Home Rule. It is quite true that Mr. Gladstone's Bills were never popular in England, but to suggest that their unpopularity, great as it was, manufactured Tories after the same fashion and at the same rate as they were being manufactured by Fair Trade, by the Disraelian Myth, by Majuba, by the death of Gordon—is, I think, grossly to exaggerate.

The English elector has a true political instinct bred in him by his admirable common law, and grasps, at least as well as the majority of so-called statesmen, the realities and necessities of a political situation. Is the retention of Ireland compatible with free institutions? That was in 1886, and is now in 1901, the question. It so happened that Mr. Gladstone was a fervent lover of free institutions, and the bare idea of suppressing or curtailing free institutions in Ireland was repulsive to him. I remember once making bold enough to remonstrate with him for not taking what I considered to be the proper amount of interest in Oliver Cromwell's christening robes, which were duly extended before him at Chequers Court. "I cannot bring myself," said he, "to care about Oliver; he was no lover of free institutions." "But, at least," so I ventured to murmur, gazing at the christening robes, "*you* cannot deny he was a Christian." "I see no occasion," replied Mr. Gladstone, with one of his grimmest looks, "either to deny or to affirm your proposition."

If then, we take free institutions for granted, what was to be done? Then there was something else for which Mr. Gladstone

had an enormous respect—the something he called "constitutional methods." The spectacle of eighty members of Parliament, elected according to the rites of the polling booth, all united in a demand for a reconsideration of the Act of Union, and going with unfaltering regularity into the same lobby, was in Mr. Gladstone's eyes one of great significance.

Such a situation had to be faced and dealt with in one way or another. Mr. Gladstone was not alone in his dealings with Mr. Parnell. It was no secret that Mr. Chamberlain had opened negotiations, and who could guess what Lord Randolph Churchill might not do?

Mr. Chamberlain's scheme was never put into a bill; so no one can say whether or not it was better conceived and more likely to recommend itself to England than Mr. Gladstone's unlucky efforts; but a scheme Mr. Chamberlain had. Mr. Parnell had to choose between the two men, and he chose Mr. Gladstone.

All this chaffering and negotiating made it plain to the plainest that Home Rule was a disputatious matter, something to bargain about; and, having taken part in every General Election since and including 1885, I can only repeat that I think the Duke of Argyll is greatly mistaken in attributing Lord Salisbury's long reign to the supposed dread of Irish Nationalism. Liberal Unionism is not, indeed, to be minimized. Mr. Chamberlain, despite his vulnerability owing to his truly astounding past, is an immense force in the country, as well as an acute Parliamentarian; and the Duke of Devonshire is the most useful of men, not for anything that he says or does, but for the soundness of his looks and the sanity of his manners. But, as a whole, the Liberal Unionists have been overpraised and overpaid.

Nor has anything that has happened since the failure of Mr. Gladstone's last Irish bill, tended to elevate opposition to Home Rule for Ireland into a loftier air, to endow it with the dignity of wise statesmanship, or to paint it with the colors of true patriotism. What has Lord Salisbury done to banish the bugbear, to lay the ghost, of Home Rule? The Duke of Argyll gloats over the Tory majorities. Never before, says he, have such things happened in England. What has happened?

Has Irish loyalty received its exceeding great reward? Are the Irish landlords, that faithful bodyguard of English ascendency, hoarse with cheering? Does Local Government, that

mighty engine of power, remain in the well-tried, and, to do them bare justice, capable and economic hands of the Magistrates at Quarter Sessions? Was it not the Duke of Devonshire who declared that to entrust Local Government in Ireland to the Nationalists would be an act of madness only equal to the grant of Home Rule? And did not Lord Salisbury ratify and confirm this dictum, and adopt it as his own? What, I repeat, has happened? Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire have handed over Local Government in Ireland to the Nationalist Party, who are working the machine with unflagging energy and no mean skill to serve the ends of Irish patriotism; and though it is true that the landlords were bought off for a big sum of money, this in no way impairs the Nationalist victory, though it may rob the landlords of whatever self-respect might still be found adhering to them. How does the Land Question stand? Does the defection of Mr. T. W. Russell mean nothing, nor the fact that, with the doubtful exception of Colonel Sanderson, there is no Unionist Member from Ulster in the present Parliament who is not committed to some scheme of buying out all that is left of the landlords, and of breaking up the large grazing farms?

One fact is apparent to all the world. Lord Salisbury's counter-proposals to Mr. Gladstone's have ended in a failure that is utter and complete. The depopulation of Ireland and the final eviction of the landlords may indeed make the granting of Home Rule some time or another easy and unimportant; but this much at least is plain, that neither Tories nor Liberal Unionists have exhibited courage or understanding in their handling of Ireland since 1886. The country knows this perfectly well, and is not in the least disposed to give either Lord Salisbury or Mr. Chamberlain any credit for statesmanship in their conduct of the affairs of Ireland. They may write "Majuba" upon their banners; they may encircle the name of Gordon with a bloodstained wreath; they may invoke the mysterious shade of Mr. Disraeli, and deck themselves out with the cheap symbols of the Primrose League; they may play with Fair Trade and hint at hostile tariffs; they may make stage-love to the Colonies, and talk vaguely about an approaching Union of the Anglo-Saxon Races—all these things they may do, with some show of reason and with the certainty of winning votes; but the arms of Ireland they will never quarter. They have settled nothing, and the question still remains: Is the

retention of Ireland compatible with free institutions? The Duke of Argyll apparently thinks not; for, though he does not speak out upon the point, he would seem to be in favor of repealing the Act of Union to the extent of cutting down the number of Irish representatives to at least one-half of their present number. But he doubts whether Lord Salisbury, for all his magnificent majority, will attempt anything of the kind. "What patience," says the Duke, "on the part of the Unionists!" Mr. Gladstone's failure to answer the Irish Question was at least magnificent; Lord Salisbury's failure is contemptible.

The Duke of Argyll's fierce determination to see all things in Home Rule is amusingly illustrated by his ability to explain Lord Salisbury's victory last October by a reference to words used by Mr. Gladstone in 1886, and without any necessity of mentioning the War in South Africa, then being furiously waged, or of alluding to the fact that the dissolution was dexterously and dishonorably chosen at a time when it was difficult to vote for the Liberal candidate without seeming to do the Boers a good turn. Mr. Chamberlain, who is a better electioneerer than the Duke, did not in his telegraphic messages trouble about 1886; he was content to tell the electors that every vote given to a Liberal was a vote gained by the Boers. Mr. Balfour, who was specially retained to lend to this method of warfare the dignity of his character, did so by explaining that Mr. Chamberlain did not mean that the Liberal candidate wished the Boers to destroy the army of Lord Roberts, but only that the Boers would in their great ignorance misinterpret the issue and be misled by the result, if any but the Tory were returned.

An excellent reason, some may think, for not choosing so delirious a moment for a General Election.

Everybody but the Duke of Argyll knows perfectly well that, but for the War in South Africa, Lord Salisbury would have had a hard tussle, and easily might have been defeated; and that even in the face of the War he might, but for the distracted counsels and divided opinions of the Opposition, have been defeated, and if so it would have been in consequence of the disgust and apathy of thousands of his usual supporters.

It is all the odder the Duke's not seeing this; for, the moment he leaves off counting Lord Salisbury's majority, which he never does quite correctly, and gets away from his causation, he reveals

himself in the familiar outlines of a half-hearted and suspicious supporter. There is no enthusiasm about him. He is far too honest to profess a confidence he does not feel. He marvels at the lack of courage and initiative displayed by the master of many legions. What is the good of a great army, if it goes nowhere, does nothing, and only marks time? Indeed, when the army does move, is it in the right direction? The winter of the Duke's discontent is made manifest by numerous observations. Lord Salisbury "shuns to propose anything which may be called, however remotely, by the name of conscription." Things are what they are, and a man is either a conscript or he is not. About compulsion there can be no doubt. Rifle Clubs and cheap ranges, the patronage of the great and the subscriptions of the rich, the support of a patriotic press and the turgid eloquence of the pulpit, may make shooting at a target as popular for a time with working people as golf is at present with the well-to-do; but nobody could call this avocation, "however remotely, by the name of conscription." Lord Salisbury will continue to shun compulsory service in the army for a very good reason—because nobody can tell him whether he could carry it or not. The Duke is made melancholy by this timidity, and holds out to the Ministers who have the courage to grapple with this question the high reward of being called, with both originality and point, *"Non Angli sed Angeli."* Fallen Angels, I fear, they would be before they had seen the measure through. Besides, does it not savor of Little Englandism to suggest, even through the medium of a familiar quotation, that it is better to be an Angel than an Anglo-Saxon?

Another sore point with the Duke is that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has *as yet* done nothing to repeal the Finance Act of Sir William Harcourt. I find something almost intolerably pathetic in this "as yet." Perhaps there is still time. Even next session he might do it. The occasion is so auspicious, and the necessities of the landed interest so obvious. What a delusion is this to get hold of a man! The horrors of war are still upon us; the enemy remains in armed possession of the country our "forward-reaching" thoughts had already allowed us to allot to our soldiers; a new debt of well-nigh two hundred millions of sterling pounds hangs round our necks; the prospective expenditure upon our army and navy beggars the imagination; fresh taxes must be invented, or old ones reimposed; the very food of the people can

hardly hope to escape the imposts of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who would gladly have resigned had he been allowed to do so; and yet, in the face of it all, here is a live lord who thinks he will wring our heartstrings by the old, old story of "country gentlemen who cannot live in their houses or give the same employment as before," "and yet nothing of all this has been repealed by the Unionist Chancellor of the Exchequer."

Perhaps, after all, the Duke of Argyll is not under any delusion, and knows perfectly well that, as long at all events as the British Empire lasts, so long will the land of Britain pay at least as much succession duty as, after too long a period of dishonorable exemption, it was made to do, first, by Mr. Gladstone, who wrought a partial reform, and afterward by the courage of Sir William Harcourt. Whether land-owners in the Colonies will ever rush to the Duke's assistance, and clamor to share his burden with him in exchange for the privilege of seeing a handful of their best talkers sitting in the Imperial Parliament and helping to shape the foreign policy of the Empire in the remarkable way in which our own members help Lord Salisbury, I do not know. Broad acres and fine sentiments seldom have a common ownership. In the meantime, our land-owners must go on paying. After all, is it not insurance money? What does the Duke himself say? "It may be difficult to persuade the toiling masses that any insurance of the future should come out of their pockets." Difficult—but not impossible, particularly if you teach by way of example.

But the fact, I am afraid, is that the Duke, though an Imperialist of the true grain, is not yet a master of imperial finance. A great Empire abroad can only be maintained by a happy and contented people at home. The old colonizing days are over, and we have entered upon a new phase of self-conscious pride and glory. The Duke does not seem alive to this. He refers with marked disapproval to the social legislation of the day; "it is all against capital," he says, "all in favor of labor." "Only at general pensions at 65 to all men and women does the Union Government hesitate." And how long will they hesitate? Free education was, we know, the gift of a Tory Government hankering after country votes. But education is by no means the chief desire of an Englishman, though it may be his greatest want—free breakfasts, free music halls, no less than free libraries and

free baths. Is an Imperial Race, bearing all the burden of Empire here at home, to be denied its innocent amusements? Imperial Rome never grudged her citizens *panem et circenses.* Frugality at home and Empire abroad are no better fitted to live together than broad acres and lofty sentiments. People will not pinch themselves to paint the map red; they want to pledge the Empire in an imperial pint. Great military and naval establishments promote a corresponding expenditure in every department of the public service. Peace, Retrenchment and Reform—what niggard words are these, smacking of Cobden and Bright in the days of Howard Vincent and Ashmead Bartlett! When Dr. Murray reaches these words in his great dictionary (so poorly called "The English Dictionary"), he will mark them obsolete. With Peace we have naught to do; Retrenchment, with all Europe snarling at our heels, is admittedly out of the question; and as for Reform, it must be postponed until the War Office is put right. This is no time for economy, unless it be in education. It is an age of big deficits and big ideas. We must all pay, and those who have ever so little must pay for those who have nothing.

The working classes have got to be properly housed. Lord Salisbury, who, to do him bare justice, never pretends to be a philanthropist, says so; for, otherwise, poor people will not go on voting for him in London, and then down will topple the Empire, and the map of the world will turn some other color. The keys of the Empire are kept in the miserable tenements of the poor, and on the poor man's vote depends

"the glories of our blood and state."

It is no use the Duke of Argyll quarrelling with social legislation. The poor man must be kept in good humor and good health. He must be well housed and well fed, and his children may as well be educated. The poor man has grown a little tired of typhoid and diphtheria, and he hates the thought of the workhouse as much as ever did the Fellow of a College the cure of souls in the country that awaited him in his old age; he is sick of grinding poverty and of being hustled from slum to slum. In their hearing, you extol the Empire, and they cheer you, for well do they know who did the rough work that went to its making. But you must do more than extol the Empire. You must keep up the heart and the breed of the people here at home, and to do this will make inroads in many fortunes.

A pretty girl once had the audacity to jump on Dr. Johnson's knee and begin kissing the philosopher. "Go on, my dear," said the sage, complaisantly; "you will tire of that before I do." I will lay a small wager that it is the rich man, and not the poor man, who first grows tired of this hugging of the imperial idea.

The Duke is very confident about the loyalty of the Colonies. He knows them and is entitled more than most to give evidence on their behalf. Like evidence of the immortality of the soul, one can never have too much of this sort of thing. "Wherever there is British blood, there is the ever enduring British bond." The Duke even goes so far as to say that the Colonies "are so much money at credit to be called in against a rainy day."

Nobody, however, can have met a colonist and talked to him for ten minutes, without perceiving that Colonial loyalty is British loyalty with a difference. It is a conditional loyalty, and not an inevitable one. It depends upon treatment; and, unless it receives the treatment it thinks it deserves, it is capable of being converted into a deadly and enduring hatred.

There is a chapter of Rabelais devoted to a classification of fools, and among a very long list of fools, more than two hundred and fifty of them, may be noticed the Fool Imperial. What precisely Rabelais had in his mind when he pictured to himself an Imperial fool I do not know, but I think the description applies to a good many politicians of the present day, and particularly to those who imagine that the times are ripening for a confederation of the Anglo-Saxon Races. A Pan-Saxon Idea, to go down into the lists and strike the shields of the Pan-Slavonic Idea, which has just massacred the liberties of Finland, and of the Pan-Germanic Idea, which has swallowed so much and is now looking askance at the seaboard of Holland and her hardy race of seamen! Fee-fi-fo-fum!

I do not suggest that the Duke of Argyll shares these mad dreams, though I was startled not a little by a sentence in which he couples together "English and American institutions."

Lord Beaconsfield once recommended us all to take *"Sanitas"* as our motto. It is a very good one; but, just now, I think *"Sanity"* would be better. The two first Budgets of the Twentieth Century are more likely than anything I can think of to promote a Sound Mind in an Empty Exchequer!

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

PRACTICAL EFFICIENCY OF THE PRESENT BANKING LAW.

BY JAMES B. FORGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF CHICAGO.

In the annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency, special attention is called to three features of our national banking system, and suggestions are made as to how Congress can improve them by legislation. These are:

First: The excessive loaning of a bank's funds to its officers and directors;

Second: The limitation of individual loans to ten per cent. of the bank's capital, which, there being no special penalty provided for its infringement, has become partially inoperative;

Third: The evil effects supposed to result from what is considered the too lax provisions of the present law, in regard to the extent to which the legal reserve of one bank can safely be represented by a deposit in another bank, instead of by cash in its vaults.

In the suggestion to correct or improve the first of these features, in regard to excessive loans to officers and directors, a very proper distinction is made between loans to executive officers and those made to directors actively engaged in other lines of business. It is recommended that loans to executive officers should not be made until after they have been submitted in writing to the directors or executive committee of the bank, and approved by a majority of them—with a fine fixed for the infraction of this rule; and, in regard to loans to directors, it is recommended that the limit of credit which shall be extended to any director may be fixed by a resolution of the Board at any regular meeting—within which the executive officers in their discretion may loan to a director without other action by the Board.

If a limit of credit has not been so fixed, an application for a loan by a director must be in writing and approved by two directors. Such a loan may be made by an executive officer, but it must be brought to the attention of the Board at its next meeting —a penalty to be provided for violation of this rule.

These recommendations are features of a bill introduced at the last session of Congress by Marriott Brosius, Chairman of the Committee on "Banking and Currency," and are commended by the Comptroller. Are they practicable?

I heartily concur in any restrictions placed upon the executive officers of a bank in making loans to themselves, and I care not how strict these are made. I would even go further. I would suggest that such loans be entirely prohibited. There is an old saying that "it takes two to make a bargain," and it is a simple business proposition that an executive officer of a bank should not be allowed to act on both sides of transactions, on one side of which he represents his own personal wants and interests, and on the other officially represents the lending bank. I am, however, not equally in accord with the recommendations in regard to restrictions on loans to directors engaged in other lines of business.

The first recommendation, "that a limit of credit be fixed for any individual director by a resolution of the Board within which the executive officers may grant loans," would, in practice, lead to a result quite different from that which it is intended to accomplish. The executive officer, being relieved by the resolution of the directors from the responsibility properly devolving upon him by virtue of his executive office, would cease to give that close scrutiny to his transactions with directors which alone can save a bank from bad debts. A fixed and steady limit of credit, whether to a director or to any other customer, involves a bad principle in banking. Steady lines of credit to directors would be made easier, and, therefore, more common. They would be ratified and confirmed by the very law proposed.

If the executive head of a bank is fit for his position, it will be more difficult for any individual director to secure from him a line of credit to which he is not entitled than it would be to get it from a Board of Directors of which he himself is a member. Directors only share the responsibility of their united action. The executive officer assumes his alone, and is directly responsible for his action to the directors.

It is the executive officer's duty to go carefully into the condition of the affairs of any one to whom he lends money, whether he be a director or not. It is his specialty to pass upon credits, and he learns how to say "No." To place upon the directors of a bank the whole responsibility of fixing the limit of any director's line of credit would only make it easier for individual directors to secure for themselves credit to which they are not entitled.

The further recommendation that, in "cases where a director's limit has not been fixed by resolution of the Board, he should make his application for a loan in writing, approved by two directors," is equally impracticable. It would only handicap an executive officer in performing his duty. It requires courage to decline a director when he makes a personal application unsupported by any stronger influence; it would call for heroic courage to decline a director a loan when approved by two other directors; and it goes without saying that any man of sufficient standing and respectability to be elected a bank director would find it an easy matter to persuade two of his friendly co-directors to approve his application for him. They would do so in perfect innocence, and no one could blame them. It is not their business to go into the affairs of their co-directors in the same way that an executive bank officer should. They would probably know the applicant as a good citizen, and a good fellow, but would not be likely to know enough about the details of his affairs to warrant them in recommending him for the credit he applies for. They might approve his application from the negative standpoint of not knowing any reason why he should not have it. The executive officer might, however, know some positive reason why he should not; and, as I have said, the approval of the application by two directors would only handicap him in his dealings with directors when they wanted more than they are entitled to.

Directors, when they become applicants for loans, should do so as individuals, on exactly the same footing as other customers. As a relief to the executive officer from the personal influence which an individual director may bring to bear upon him, he has always the full Board to fall back upon. The best men will, as a matter of course, be even more scrupulous as to their borrowings from a bank in which they act as directors than they would otherwise be. So far this has been my fortunate experience with the directors with whom I have been associated. There can be no

question that the best directors a bank can have are men actively and prominently engaged in business. This being so, there is nothing startling in the discovery that 18,534 out of a total of 28,709 directors of national banks are directly or indirectly indebted to the banks under their management. The only important questions in this connection are, how much of the bank's funds these directors have more than they are legitimately entitled to on a purely business basis, and how much more they have than would be granted to them if they were not directors. So long as human nature remains what it is, some men will take advantage of their official positions for their own aggrandizement, just as others will steal or otherwise act in bad faith. It is decidedly the exception, however, for a man to take advantage of his position to obtain a credit to which he is not entitled from a bank in which he is a director.

Bank directors will sometimes fail in business just as others do, and banks will lose by them just as they lose by others. Excessive loans will continue to be made to directors, not, however, because they are directors, but under the same old delusion under which bankers are led on to excessive loans, and ultimately to excessive losses—namely, the hazarding of more money to save a loan already in jeopardy. Excessive loans, unless they are deliberate thefts, are not made in first transactions. Bank directors as a class are among the best customers a bank has, and no urgent necessity exists for special legal discrimination against them. Some of them will turn out badly, in spite of any law that can be devised; but because the "hold-up man" goes abroad after dark to follow his nefarious occupation, it is superfluous to make a law preventing good citizens from walking on the streets after sundown. The law should be directed to the punishment of the wrong-doer, without interfering with the inherent rights of the good citizen.

The recommendation of the Comptroller for improvement in the second feature of our banking system to which he draws attention, is that after the words in Section 5200 of the Banking Act reading as follows: "Loans to any person, etc., shall at no time exceed one-tenth part of the amount of the capital stock of such association actually paid in," should be added the following: "Provided, that the restriction of this section as to the amount of total liabilities to any association of any person, or of any

company, corporation or firm, for money borrowed, shall not apply where a loan in excess of one-tenth part of the capital stock shall be less than two per cent. of the total assets of said bank at the time of making said loan. Said loan shall be at all times protected by collateral security equal to or greater in value than the excess in the amount of said loan over one-tenth of the capital stock."

It is always a dangerous thing to have any vital part of a law inoperative, or partially so. I have no doubt that the Comptroller finds difficulty in some cases in enforcing this law as it now exists.

In the development of our banking system, some banks with comparatively small capitals have grown to positions of commanding importance, have acquired large resources and accumulated large surpluses; and the law, as it now stands, would prevent them from making absolutely well-secured loans which their positions and resources fully entitle them to make. They should not, therefore, be held to a strict performance of this part of the law; but the fact remains that the Comptroller does hold other banks, not similarly situated, to a strict interpretation of it. It would, therefore, be well to change the law to meet the changed conditions, and I think the Comptroller's recommendation for an improvement in this feature of it is a good one.

The next feature, the Comptroller says, involves the fundamental principles of safe banking. It also forms, however, an important part of the national banking system itself. It is, in fact, one of the props on which the system, as it has been developed, leans. We must be careful how we interfere with it.

I think the Comptroller is inclined to exaggerate the evil results of the centralization of reserves in the large financial centres. The world's reserves are centralized in its principal financial centres. It dissipates the financial strength of a country to have its actual money resources scattered all over the country in small amounts. From an economic standpoint, it is one of the weaknesses of our national system that it requires a too wide distribution of our actual money reserves. The evolution now going on in the system will, if allowed to work itself out, mitigate the evil to which the Comptroller draws attention.

Bank consolidation, causing the formation of large banks in the central reserve cities, which carry large reserves available

when necessity calls for them, will afford strength to the system not heretofore felt. Although essential under our system, the legal reserve limit is not without its bad features. The fluctuations of the legal reserves of the associated banks of New York, watched as they are by every banker in the country, and commented upon weekly in the press dispatches, exercise entirely too much influence on the financial nerves of the country. A barometer is thus formed by which the financial weather of the country is forecast. Whenever our reserves get low, we prepare for a storm by withdrawing our balances and strengthening our cash reserves; and thus, by our own action, we increase the trouble which we should try to avert. This is an inherent weakness of our system, the ultimate remedy for which has not yet been evolved. It will, I think, come along the line of greater concentration of our cash resources, and not by their wider distribution, which will only dissipate our strength. What is wanted is cash reserves, held in the large financial centres, of sufficient magnitude to satisfy the whole country that they can get money when they need it. This, with an adequate circulating medium that will automatically expand and contract in response to the varying needs of business, will supply that confidence which every now and then under existing conditions is found to be lacking. It is largely a matter of confidence. When we know that we can get gold or legal tenders whenever we require them, we don't want them unless we actually need them; but if there is any doubt about it we want them whether we need them or not. If under our system it can be obtained, a bank currency in some degree responsive in the volume of its issue to the volume of the business done—and not, as is now the case, bearing no relation whatever to the business conditions calling for it—would be a big step toward a solution of our difficulties.

The Comptroller's recommendation is that but one-fifth instead of three-fifths of the fifteen per cent. reserve required by law of banks not reserve agents, may consist of balances due by reserve banks; and that banks in reserve cities be not allowed to continue to keep one-half of their legal reserves in the shape of balances due by their agents in central reserve cities.

On September 5th, last, the 3,304 country banks were carrying with their reserve agents $253,514,133, and the 261 banks of the twenty-seven ordinary reserve cities of the country were carry-

ing with their reserve agents in central reserve cities $151,442,395. What portion of this amount, aggregating $404,956,528, these banks would have to withdraw to comply with the suggestion of the Comptroller, we cannot accurately determine; but that it would be a large portion is certain. To estimate that the half of it would be withdrawn, is to keep on the conservative side.

If the Comptroller held one of the positions now filled by some of his predecessors in office and himself became the executive officer of a central reserve city bank, I don't think he would suggest anything quite so radical. His expressed desire is to avoid the financial experiences through which this country has passed during the last few years, including the widespread withdrawal of currency through the country and the strain the reserve cities were subjected to in 1893, endangering the stability of the entire banking system. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the contraction which his suggestion involves would subject the banks to an experience precisely similar to that which they had in 1893, only, I believe, a greatly aggravated one; and thus he would bring about the very condition he desires to avoid.

It may be desirable thus periodically to have a practical test of the inherent strength of our system; but, to those whose hair grows prematurely grey in the process, it might seem an overdoing of the strenuous life to which, even under normal conditions, a banker is subjected. I hope Congress will defer action on the suggestions for another generation.

In the recent Presidential campaign, the successful manager of it, Mr. Hanna, as a plea for a continuance of the present administration, appealed to the people to "let well enough alone." As bankers and business men, our appeal to the present Congress should be the same: "Let well enough alone." Give us a chance, under existing laws, to develop our own resources.

With the unlimited resources at our command, if we are unhampered by unpropitious legislation, we cannot help going on to increased prosperity. It is impossible to legislate us rich, nor can we as a nation be legislated poor; but we may be hampered and retarded in our growth by ill-advised tinkering with existing laws that might shake the banking system of the country to its foundation.

JAMES B. FORGAN.

THE PLIGHT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BY PERRY BELMONT.

ALTHOUGH the Democratic vote, last November, may have been more than a hundred and thirty thousand below what it was four years ago, while the total vote was larger, yet the Democratic outcome was better, so far as votes can indicate it, than in 1872, when, on account of a previous aberration on the part of a nominating National Convention, Horace Greeley had only 43.33 per cent. of the whole vote, and Grant had 55.63 per cent. McKinley had this year probably not much over 52 per cent.

I.

In considering remedies, there may be inspiration in the results obtained, after the Greeley fiasco, by members of the Manhattan Club, including among them O'Conor, Tilden and Marble. Having reformed Tammany Hall, the Democracy carried New York State in 1874 by some fifty thousand, and in 1876 chose a majority of national electors who certified in due form that Tilden had by them been chosen to be President. If the House of Representatives had stood firmly and calmly by the constitutional process of counting, as then defined by law, Tilden might have been peacefully inaugurated, and his guidance have saved the country from the coinage and currency calamities which afterward came upon it because Democrats in Congress had been bereft by Republicans of their chosen leader in the White House.

There are members of the Manhattan Club now living who stood by the Democratic reformers of that day, and by the Democratic national platform of 1876—a platform which may fairly be taken as the best modern exposition of the Democratic prin-

ciples which should be applied at Washington—and who are now ready to contribute their ripe wisdom in the present political crisis.

II.

Without such exceptional faculties and facilities as Tilden had, it is impossible to know well the political tendencies which operate throughout an area as large as is the United States. It is possible, however, to refer intelligently to the voting, during the last decade, in one Congressional District of New York situated on Long Island and Staten Island, composed of the counties of Suffolk, Queens and Richmond, which may be taken as typical of the earliest settled communities in the northeastern part of our country. Its population is partly agricultural and partly urban, gaining a livelihood on sea and land, made up of many races and religious creeds—the western portion being adjacent to cities, while the eastern retains the traces of early New England settlers. The voters are intensely patriotic and without illusions or delusions regarding silver, or gold, or greenbacks, or legal tender contrivances to defraud creditors, and they know what is honest and straightforward in the affairs of a State or of individuals.

In the district to which I refer, there were for President Democratic majorities of 3,310 in 1880; 4,455 in 1884; 2,763 in 1888, and 4,795 in 1892; whereas there were Republican majorities of 13,948 in 1896, and 3,420 in 1900.

The cause of the change in 1896 is not far to seek. It came of suspicion that the Democratic leaders were abandoning the Democratic principles of the Tilden-Marble platform of 1876. In the last Presidential campaign, the voters reduced the Republican majority of the first McKinley campaign, in the area of the old Congressional district (notwithstanding Governor Roosevelt's residence therein) from 13,948 to 3,420, because of a feeling that the perilous clouds, which four years before seemed settling over the whole land, were passing away. There was also a belief that a majority of the Kansas City Convention wished to obliterate the undemocratic declaration of 1896, and that majority would have done so, had it not been for the surviving ambitions and the delusions of two or three men, then in the places of leaders. They clung to the dead body of the fusion of 1896, a

fusion with Populists and Silver Republicans, many of whom in the extreme West subsequently voted for McKinley, and returned, or are now returning, to the Republican party from which most of them had emerged but a few years ago.

III.

From the point of view held by the American Democracy, there are two criticisms on the conduct and leadership of those who cunningly obtained possession of the Democratic machinery in 1896, and nominally retained it in 1900. Their platform and candidate proclaimed theories which were once Republican, were then defended by Populists, but were always un-Democratic. The usurpation of the Democratic name and organization accomplished at Chicago in 1896, was as furtive as it was sudden in execution. It took the Democracy unawares. It was not "openly proposed and fairly presented" in the several States, as Mr. Bryan has recently said a party revolution should be.

The aberration from the immutable principles of the American Democracy did not proceed from within, or from those whom ex-President Cleveland has recently described as "the rank and file." It was the result of an intrigue between a few leaders controlling the organization in certain States and dissatisfied Republicans, uniting with Populists who made the "capture" (that is the word used by Mr. Bryan) of the Chicago Convention. Neither New York nor the Eastern States were taken into the conspiracy.

Of the 741 delegates to the National Silver Party Convention, 526 had been Republicans, and the temporary chairman of the Populist National Convention declared in his speech that the Bryan Chicago Convention had been guilty of stealing "the People's Party platform almost entire."

After the campaign of 1896, Mr. Bryan published a book entitled "The First Battle," in which he set forth, with much minuteness, the several steps taken by those who had plotted against the traditional policy of the Democratic party. He disclosed motives and methods generally unknown at the time by Eastern Democrats. As a member of the House of Representatives, when President Cleveland urged the repeal of the destructive Sherman Silver Dollar law, Mr. Bryan led the resistance to the repeal, resorting finally to dilatory and obstructive tactics. After

those had been suppressed by a majority of the House and the repeal had been enacted, he, as he announced in his book (p. 150), went to a conference of silver men in Omaha, in June, 1894. There he proclaimed his invention of free silver coinage at "16 to 1" without waiting for the "aid or consent of any nation on earth." During the next year, and early in 1896, several other conferences, or conventions, were held in the South and West; he mentions Senators Jones and Stewart of Nevada, and other Republicans, as the "leading spirits." The avowed purpose, in the beginning, was a non-partisan movement to constrain the Republican and Democratic National Conventions to declare for free silver, and "to provide for the nomination of a silver ticket in case both failed to do so." That non-partisan scheme having encountered obstacles, another movement was begun to "capture" the Democratic Convention at Chicago. A "Bimetallic National Committee," as it called itself, was formed in a Washington hotel, Mr. Bryan says, which appointed a State Committee in each of thirty-five Southern and Western States and Territories to attend and "capture" the Chicago Convention. They met at the Sherman House in Chicago, immediately before the assembling of the Democratic Convention, and Mr. Bryan said that the silver intrigue must "secure the temporary organization and control the Convention at every step." On that silver committee, outside the Convention, was Mr. Frank Foster of Massachusetts, but neither New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, nor any New England State, excepting Massachusetts, had any part in the conspiracy against Democratic doctrines. The silver cabal won at every point. The National Democratic Committee had very properly, in recognition of his successful leadership and meritorious services, proposed Senator Hill as temporary Chairman; but, in violation of precedent and traditional courtesy, his election was resisted and defeated. The outsiders led by Bryan accomplished the admission of contested delegates, of whom Mr. Bryan was one, who had been refused admission by the Democratic National Committee.

In this way and by other expedients, they captured two-thirds of the Convention. The captors were able to defeat the minority platform, which concisely, clearly and accurately set forth the financial and currency measures which the voters commended in 1896, and again last November. Meanwhile, and as recently as

February, 1896, Mr. Bryan announced (page 124) that he "would not support for the Presidency an advocate of the gold standard," and set forth at much length the political ethics which justified him, as he says, in participating in a Democratic convention, and then "bolting" out of it when he could not succeed in discarding Democratic doctrines.

Mr. Bryan seems to imagine that Democrats are getting together to do to him and his Republican and Populistic allies what he and they did to the American Democracy in 1896. At Chicago, a few nights ago, he was reported as having said:

> "Reorganization is an internal remedy and it cannot be applied externally. Those who are within the party lines have a right to a voice in the making of the platform and are entitled to make such change in the organization, or machinery, of the party as they please, but honesty and good faith require that any desired change shall be openly proposed and fairly presented."

Those are the veriest commonplaces, the truth of which all Democrats will concede; but in 1896 the furtive conspirators did not proceed as "honesty and good faith require." The methods by which Bryan, Croker and their allies dictated at Kansas City a reaffirmation of the Chicago platform repugnant to a majority of the Convention, are well known. Mr. Bryan deems a voter not to be a Democrat unless his vote was cast for him in 1896, or 1900. How was it with those Democrats who did not vote for Breckenridge, or Douglas, in 1860, although sound Democrats before and after? How was it with those, previously Democrats, who voted against Cass in 1848, but for Pierce in 1852? Was not John Van Buren, the first President of the Manhattan Club, a Democrat, even although he did not vote for Cass? Were not those Democrats who refused to vote for Cass in 1848, among the "wheel horses" for Pierce in 1852, and were not those Democrats who could not stomach Greeley in 1872 among the most efficient for Tilden in 1876?

The American Democracy is not "cabined, cribbed, confined" by votes for Bryan or confidence only in Bryan. It is "broad and general as the casing air." Although Tilden had received the votes of a majority of the Presidential electors duly chosen and therefore was President *de jure,* he did not by speeches and through a newspaper solicit a renomination. But when, in the course of time, he indicated his preference for Cleveland, the Democracy approved his choice and the people ratified it. His

suggestion of Manning for Secretary of the Treasury was adopted by the President, and approved by the country. Manning, in the grasp of a mortal illness, tendering his resignation to the President, told him, with a clear perception of the Republican silver dollar peril, that "the country is plunging along a miry road to foreseen disaster," "foreseen," at least, by Manning. The disaster came.

IV.

Notwithstanding the counting out of Tilden and counting in of Hayes by the Electoral Commission, leaving the *de jure* President out of the executive office, the Democracy fairly prospered until the second term of Cleveland, when calamities—generated by Republican greenbacks to be redeemed, and Republican silver dollars whose coinage had to be stopped—burst over the country, accompanied by world-wide financial and industrial depression, followed by annual Federal deficits from 1894 to 1899 inclusive. The tariff legislation of Cleveland's second term encountered, as we can now see, difficulties and perils not then understood. Industrial depression was doing its devastating work. The deficit had to be dealt with and changed into a surplus. The wisest were at a loss to know which, among the many proposed, would be the most feasible remedy. Before the President's annual message in December, 1893, the Ways and Means Committee of the House had prepared a tariff bill which Cleveland commended to Congress. He expressed the opinion that "a small tax upon incomes derived from certain corporate investments" had been wisely embraced in the plan. That income-tax was put in the Wilson bill by Bryan and two others, who composed a sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee. The Secretary of the Treasury took a similar view and alluded to investments of railroads as under-taxed, although the managers of such enterprises looked upon them as over-taxed, in comparison with other property. The sum required from the income-tax was not declared and apportioned among the several States, and the Supreme Court was constrained to decide it to be unconstitutional. The unprecedented obstacles arising in the Senate out of claims, rivalries, diversified and conflicting tariff interests in the enormous area of the United States, prejudiced the new law before it had taken its place on the statute book.

The remedies presented by Bryanism in 1896 when industrial depression, in the United States and in Europe, was near its end—remedies taken over by the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1896 from the Populist and Silver Republican Conventions—were so repugnant to American Democracy, that the Republican leaders were enabled to foist upon the nation an executive and a Congress, which, by the Dingley tariff, carried protective customs taxes on many articles to the highest point, as if out of mere spite against foreigners. That action started in Europe a war of retaliation against the United States, which the Republican leaders profess to be able to mitigate by reciprocity makeshifts in the form of tariff treaties.

It is impossible to think of customs taxes which will not bring in revenue, and it is also impossible to raise two hundred millions annually by a tariff, and not thereby give subsidies to domestic manufacturers of articles similar to the duty-paying foreign products. However praiseworthy may have been such subsidies for military or other purposes in the early history of the government, it is very different when the subsidies paid by customs taxes enable or compel those who obtain them to sell their surplus in foreign countries at lower prices than to our own people. The Supreme Court, when in McCullough's case it declared, by the pen of Marshall, that Congress had an implied power to create "the bank," also declared it had an implied power to "promote the common defense and general welfare" by protecting our manufactures from injurious foreign competition; but the Chicago Democratic Convention of 1892 denounced as unconstitutional a tariff for any other purpose than revenue. The Chicago platform of four years afterward affirmed "that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue" (omitting "only"), and said nothing of the unconstitutionality of protective rates and schedules. The coinage and currency question so absorbed the voters that the tariff agitation disappeared. In a recent article, however, a Secretary of the Reciprocity Commission at Washington working under the fourth and other sections of the Dingley tariff law, exposes, with a simplicity unexampled in modern partisan literature, "the feeling of exasperation and resentment throughout the commercial world" aroused by that tariff. The intention of its framers was, he said, to put rates high, "in order to permit reciprocal concessions" by the Execu-

tive. He publishes a list of reciprocity treaties which the Senate and Congress have not ratified. He then makes the prediction that, if the reciprocity contrivances should fail, retaliations against the United States, on account of the monstrous Dingley tariff, "will restrict all foreign trade, entrain endless embarrassments and engender unfriendly feeling between the nations involved." Senator Lodge was reported as arguing the other day in the Senate that there was urgency for the Army bill because Europe may threaten by force our increasing export trade. He mentioned the beginning of a European federation against it, but he did not assign as the cause the subsidies offered by the Dingley tariff, which constituted an invitation to European retaliation. The Bryan Chicago platform declared that there must not be "changes in our tariff laws," excepting to cure deficits, "until the money question is settled." Has it been settled?

Be that as it may, the tariff question will be profoundly affected by the interpretation which, in the cases pending before it, the Supreme Court shall give to the phrase of the Constitution "throughout the United States."

Since the publication of two papers on the subject in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for December, 1899, and March, 1900, I have not seen any reason to doubt what the final judgment of the Supreme Court will be regarding the theories of the Constitution upon which the McKinley administration and the Republican Congress have based their government of our new islands since the Treaty of Peace. Those theories the Attorney-General has recently exploited before that tribunal.

A review of the political events of the century just now completed, discloses the fact that, during all the period, the American Democracy has struggled to maintain intact the partition of sovereignty between the people of the States in whom all sovereignty resides, the State governments that the people created, and the government of the United States. That government the people of the United States, acting as States, afterward established by taking from the States a portion of the sovereignty they held, and conferring it on the new government now at Washington. The Democracy has endeavored to concede to that new government at Washington all the "implied powers," fixed and required under the Constitution, by interpreting the grant of those powers not too strictly and rigorously, but fairly and justly. During

nearly all the first sixty years of the last century, the executive department of the Federal Government was in the hands of the Democracy, inasmuch as the administrations of John Quincy Adams, Harrison and Tyler were brief episodes. The three amendments of the Constitution resulting from the war of secession have, in Democratic opinion, only diminished a few of the pre-existing powers of each of the several States, and have not in any sense modified the old Democratic rules for interpreting the grant of powers. Excepting the very few rights of sovereignty taken away by those three amendments and given to the Washington government, its limitations and State Rights exist as before. That has a distinct bearing on the future of the Democratic party, inasmuch as many of the modifications in the laws of our country demanded by Bryan and the Populists cannot be constitutionally made by Congress, but, if they are to be made at all, are for the people of the several States to consider and enact, under their reserved powers in the partition of sovereignty originally made by the people.

V.

The failure on the part of those signing the recent Spanish treaty to keep in mind those century-old tenets of the American Democracy, has precipitated upon the Supreme Court the pending questions growing out of that treaty, and has thrown into confusion and perplexity the President, the Senate, our foreign and domestic affairs. It must have been that our American negotiators at Paris considered and decided, before signing the treaty, how our new Islands were to be governed. President McKinley and the Republican leaders have since been executing the theories of that decision regarding the meaning of the phrase "throughout the United States."

There are those who say that the ratification of that treaty has, in some way, taken the United States out of what they describe as a "century of isolation," made them a "world-wide power," compelled a new kind of diplomacy, and novel participation in the affairs of other nations. But has the Federal Constitution been thereby changed? Has the Government of the United States ceased to be one whose sovereignty is limited? Have the executive and legislative powers been thereby enlarged? Those are the questions now pending before the Supreme Court.

Must not our Constitution be modified, before the President of the United States can enter into "world-wide" affairs on a par with European Kings, Queens and Emperors, who (which the United States government has not) have full sovereign powers unrestrained by a written fundamental law. Armies and navies can be moved as such sovereigns please, and treaties can be made as they have a fancy to make them, whether public or secret.

President McKinley, under the inspiration of "world-wide power," invades China, without specific authority of Congress, with an army of five or six thousand, and enters into stipulations with Europeans regarding the internal affairs of China. Some of the features of the President's pending negotiations with foreign powers at Pekin regarding future Chinese autonomy, should show whither "world-wide power" is going, and how far the McKinley Administration has departed from the traditions of the Department of State under its former chiefs. But it will be a strange commentary on "world-wide power," if it shall after all turn out that the Administration has recently had no real influence on Chinese affairs.

VI.

Is the government departing in many ways from the well considered diplomacy and negotiations, when Caleb Cushing concluded our first treaty with China, and our first treaty with Japan was made by Commodore Perry, both ratified under Democratic administrations?

And then what is to be thought of that which has recently gone on between Washington and London regarding the Isthmian canal? Did the Executive, following good American traditions in such important matters, confer with his party friends in Congress, before he made such definite pledges to England by the Hay-Pauncefote settlement? Is the whole affair to be taken as an expression of the President's conviction that, in order to be a "world-wide power," the President must have the treaty making power in his hands as European sovereigns have it? Must the Senate, representing in such matters the several States whose rights may be infringed by a treaty, accept whatever the President may choose to send to it?

The American Democracy condemns imitation in the New World of the faults of the Old, intrusion into spheres of influence abroad where it has no call to go, seeking an over-sea empire, com-

mitting the war power to the Executive unless when sudden assault is to be repelled, the establishment of a great standing army forbidden by the nature and purposes of our government, hostile to the prejudices of Americans, as shown by the clause of the Constitution preventing a permanent appropriation therefor. The great material prosperity which has come, and is coming, to the United States from their independent isolation will, by the inevitable rivalries of increasing American production, trade, and the power of enormous wealth and capital, create enough resentment without our taking part in international political and dynastic ambitions in Europe. The American Democracy has in mind the wisdom of John Bright when he said:

> "There never was a time since the beginning of history when there was not one, or more than one, State which conceived itself either so numerous, or so well situated, or so rich, or so ingenious, or so united, or so martial, or so pious, or so favored by Heaven, or so pre-eminent for some other great quality, that it might safely defy all the rest of the world, set up its own rules, be its own law, and entertain schemes incompatible with the peace of the world."

The American Democracy is now confronted by two opponents hostile to one another, but each finding Democracy in its path. One is the Republican party, or a portion of it, tearing up the Constitution in pursuit of what it describes as "world-wide power." The other is the organization of the Populists, trampling under foot the Constitution, in pursuit of objects over a greater part of which Congress has no jurisdiction. If there are evils infesting our national, State and municipal affairs, such as Mr. Edmunds has recently described, and if they have largely come upon us since we departed from that independent isolation which gave the United States abounding freedom, wealth and real international power, since the wars of "aggression" by our armies have been entered upon, and since trade wars by subsidies are being waged for "world-wide power," how is Washington to be purged of those evils, unless by political purification beginning in the towns, cities and capitals of each of the several States? The constant problem to be solved, the never-ending temptation to be resisted, arises from the perpetual need of wise restraint and guidance of Federal powers exercised by the government at Washington, but amid all the perils and solicitudes of the present the Democracy does not despair of the future or of the Republic.

PERRY BELMONT.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

BY MARION L. DAWSON, FORMERLY JUDGE-ADVOCATE-GENERAL OF VIRGINIA.

THE social crisis through which the South is now passing is far more serious than those who are unfamiliar with Southern conditions suppose. The illustrious Henry W. Grady, whose public utterances on this subject were received in all sections with commendation and applause, once said: "The future holds a problem in solving which the South must stand alone. This problem is to carry within her body politic two separate races, nearly equal in numbers. She must carry these races in peace, for discord means ruin; she must carry them separately, for assimilation means debasement; she must carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged in honor and in gratitude; she must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability she will never be quit of either." This is true with one exception. The South cannot solve this problem standing alone; she must have the sympathy and support of all sections to assist her in accomplishing the great work which Providence has entrusted to her. Mr. Grady recognized this, and repeatedly emphasized it on many subsequent occasions.

The South accepted in good faith the problem which was thrust upon her, and, trusting in the guidance of God and in the justice and sympathy of a united people, she pledged her sacred honor to execute her trust faithfully. She knew that she must solve the problem by meeting, as best she could, conditions as they arose. She had no past experience to guide her, for there is no instance recorded in history where two alien and dissimilar races have ever existed side by side, on a plane of civil and political equality, for any length of time, in peace. She also knew that she must solve it so as to give the inferior race every indus-

trial and educational advantage; less than these would not satisfy the exacting demands of justice and humanity. She knew, too, that she must hold the confidence and win the gratitude of the inferior race, at the same time maintain a social barrier across which no alien foot should come, and preserve at all hazards Anglo-Saxon ascendency. No attempt should be made to disguise this fact, no excuse should be offered for it, and no deception should be practiced on the public. Deception and evasion are the resorts of the crafty and the cowardly. Honesty in this, as well as in other matters, is the best policy.

In a spirit, then, of absolute fairness, having only the best interest of our common country at heart, let us look the facts plainly in the face. All sections desire nothing more and nothing less than the whole truth; in this the South most heartily concurs. I have discussed this question with all classes of intelligent people, in nearly every State in the Union, from Virginia to California, and from Maine to Southern Texas; and, whenever I have discovered any bitterness or prejudice against the South, or any desire to condemn her because of her treatment of the negro race, I have found that it arose from a misconception of the facts.

Barring a few fanatics, whose opinions influence no one, and who persistently blind themselves to all truth, except that which they wish to find, the people everywhere are disposed to be just. To those, then, who are ready to recognize *truth* wherever found, the following facts are presented with the hope that they will conclusively show that the South has in no way failed in her duty to the negro race.

It is unnecessary to shock the sensibilities of the public by calling attention to the repulsive details of those crimes for which lynching, in some form, has been the almost invariable penalty. They have always been, however, of a nature so brutal and so savage that no pen can describe and no imagination picture them. It is only necessary to say, in this connection, that the South once more stands arraigned before the bar of public opinion, charged with brutal and inhuman treatment of this weak and inferior race, of whom she is the natural guardian and protector. Let judgment be not hastily rendered. If she deserves a verdict against her, by all means let her be condemned; but if she is innocent, let justice hasten to remedy the wrongs which in some sections have been ignorantly done her.

All thoughtful people, who have intelligently considered this much discussed subject, must uphold the conclusion that, generally speaking, the desire on the part of a large number of citizens in any given community to take the law into their own hands, and summarily try and execute criminal offenders, must arise from one of the following causes:—1. An ignorance of the fact that the safety of society depends upon a just and orderly administration of the law, and that however righteous the cause may seem to be which, on any given occasion, influences the mob, the inevitable tendency of mob violence is to anarchy; 2. Some defect in the machinery of the law, which renders the administration of justice tedious and uncertain; 3. The ungovernable fury to which the people are aroused by the exceptionally heinous nature of the particular crime which they organize to avenge.

The first of these probable causes for mob violence may be dismissed with but few words. Lynchings have occurred in all sections of the country. The mob has been organized for its deadly work in the centres, as well as on the borders, of civilization. The lawless acts of the mob at Urbana and Akron, Ohio, Pana, Illinois, and New York will go down in the history of crime side by side with those in Texas, Georgia and New Orleans. In 1892, two hundred and forty-one lynchings were divided between twenty-seven States, scattered from Virginia to California, and from New York to Texas; in 1893, there were no less than one hundred and fifty-nine lynchings in fourteen different States; in 1894, eighteen States recorded them, and in 1897 the numbers rose to one hundred and sixty-six in twenty-five States; in 1898, the number of lynchings diminished, but in 1899, the mobs, in both the South and the middle West, surpassed in fury all past records. In the former, a negro brute, whose atrocious crime almost placed him outside the category of human beings, was horribly mangled and burned to death at the stake; in the latter, negro men and women were shot to death in a race riot caused by labor competition.

These facts prove conclusively that mob violence is not a sectional matter, nor is it the result of any desire or intention on the part of the white people of the South to oppress and ill treat the negro race. Lynchings in the South are mainly caused by the peculiar nature of the crimes for which lynching is a penalty, and partly, perhaps, by the delay and uncertainty incident to all legal

proceedings everywhere. I recall, in this connection, the following case which happened in Virginia some years ago. A young negro, who had been raised by a respectable farmer and treated always with kindness and consideration, abused in an unspeakable manner, and then murdered, the farmer's five-year-old child. He was apprehended and hurried secretly to a distant jail. There, cool counsels prevailed, and in due course he was tried and convicted. An appeal was taken, and, on a technicality, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower court, and remanded the case for a new trial. At the second trial, he was again convicted and the case was again appealed. A year had now passed, and the patience of the people had become exhausted. They consequently took him out and hung him to the nearest convenient tree. Two other cases are also recalled, in each of which a defense of insanity was set up, the accused was ably defended, expert testimony was introduced, and, after a long delay, a bitter fight and great notoriety, they were executed in an orderly way.

The crime itself, however, is more responsible for mob violence than all other causes combined. The Anglo-Saxons have always been distinguished above other races for their passionate devotion to their homes; they have never considered life too dear a sacrifice to offer in its defense. When the intelligence, then, is flashed through a community that a home has been despoiled, that its protector has been slain, that the mother or the wife or the daughter or the idolized child—none has been spared—has been torn violently from the family circle and left worse than dead, I care not how quiet and how orderly the community may be, nor how promptly the officers of the law may act, nor what barriers they may throw around the criminal, the chances are that all will be equally helpless to protect him. The deepest passions are inflamed, the fiercest instincts of the race are aroused, reason is temporarily dethroned, law and order forgotten, mob violence runs riot and death falls upon the criminal with a power as terrible and as resistless as a thunderbolt discharged from an angry storm cloud. No right-thinking man or woman, white or black, ought to have, or can have, any sympathy for such criminals as those who suffer death for the crimes described, nor can they believe that any punishment, however cruel or severe, is undeserved. The fact, however, that the tendency of mob violence is to destroy liberty, to abolish courts and to dissolve the bonds of society,

renders it of the utmost importance to devise the surest and most practical way to stop or at least to check it. In full realization of this, the leading citizens of the South have conscientiously devoted their best talents to that end.

One practical way in which the evil may be remedied will be to make such changes in the penal laws as will insure a certain and speedy administration of justice, and do away with the harassing and painful necessity of a rigid cross examination of the victims, either in open court or behind closed doors. It is of the utmost importance, too, to make the lawless element among the negroes clearly understand that crime will be surely and speedily punished, and the better class of their own race should lose no opportunity to denounce negro criminals, and they should do all in their power to assist in bringing the guilty to justice. If this is consistently done, it will unquestionably tend to check crime; but, as it will not go to the root of the matter, it will not effectually prevent it. This can only be accomplished by elevating the moral and intellectual condition of the young, ignorant and shiftless element of the negro race. It is a well known fact that from this element come nearly all negro criminals.

History teaches us that education, in its most comprehensive sense, is the only known means by which the desired results can be obtained. Freedom without intelligence and without virtue is a dangerous possession, because without these liberty is too often synonymous with license. The South has gone to the limit of her resources to confer this priceless gift upon the negro race. She now expends about forty millions of dollars annually in school funds, of which sum the negroes contribute but one-thirtieth, though they have the opportunity to reap nearly half the benefit. In the South, all trades are open to them, and they receive every encouragement to become proficient in the industrial arts. A large number of negroes have eagerly taken advantage of these opportunities and have made unprecedented progress in bettering their condition in every way. They have amassed in one State property, the assessed value of which is nearly thirty millions of dollars, and it is estimated that they own, all told, about three hundred millions of dollars' worth of personal and real estate. They have their own doctors, lawyers, and preachers; they have been given the best schools, colleges, and universities, and they have their own military companies. Many

of them realize that their interests are inseparable from the interests of the South. They have found by experience that the people who give them employment, who annually pay millions of dollars that their children may be educated, who make it possible for them to acquire wealth, who labor side by side with them in the field and in the factory, are their best friends. The criminals, as a rule, do not come from this class, but from that far larger class who have failed, or refused, to take advantage of their opportunities, and who seem to have little or no moral conception of crime. It is this class who constantly menace isolated Southern homes with a danger worse than death, that threaten to depopulate rural districts and paralyze agriculture. It is this class who have no regard for human life and who seem to revel in crime. These are they who terrorize the defenseless of both races, who encourage criminals, secrete them and assist them to escape, who make martyrs of them when they are captured, and who kill the fatted calf and receive them with open arms when they return from penal servitude.

Criminal statistics show that while only twelve per cent. of the population of the United States are negroes, this race furnishes thirty per cent. of the criminals and twenty-eight per cent. of the murderers, including all races.

But, even with these facts before us, and dark as the picture may seem to be, and heavy as the burden which the South must yet bear, she not only is not without hope, but she has unwavering confidence in the future. Education and civilizing influences must ultimately win the victory over ignorance and vice; if they do not, education is a failure and the history of civilization a lie. These influences will lessen crime, and the law-making power, encouraged by public opinion, which after all is the dominant power in a free government, and of which Legislatures are but the reflectors, will devise some swift and adequate punishment for it.

The South will solve her problem. She will work out her own salvation; and in this great labor for humanity she will have, and she will deserve, the encouragement, the sympathy and the support of this now united people, who are striving only for the best interests of a common country.

MARION L. DAWSON.

"SUBSTITUTES FOR SHIP SUBSIDIES": A REPLY.

BY ALEXANDER R. SMITH.

It is a somewhat significant commentary on the paucity of argument against government aid for American merchant ships in the foreign trade, that recourse is had so often to the statistics of our domestic shipping to prove an increase in "our maritime efficiency." In advocating small bounties on cargoes carried from the United States, as "Substitutes for Ship Subsidies," in the January number of the North American Review, Mr. Louis Windmüller falls into this error. It should be clearly understood that subsidies are not asked for vessels in our domestic trade, but only for our shipping in the foreign trade. Our domestic shipping, which is protected by our laws against the competition of foreign shipping, is in a state of healthy, prosperous and profitable growth. The reverse is true of our unprotected shipping in the foreign trade. And it is because of this fact that subsidies and bounties are asked for the latter.

Mr. Windmüller, in my judgment, would have come much nearer to a correct statement of the condition he wished to describe, had he submitted such a table as the following in place of the one he used in his article:

AMERICAN TONNAGE IN FOREIGN TRADE IN 1890 AND 1899 COMPARED.

Year.	Total Tonnage.	Sail.	Steam.
1890	946,695	749,065	197,630
1899	848,246	488,216	360,030

Here is shown an actual decline of over ten per cent. in our tonnage under register (in the foreign trade) in ten years. But it would be scarcely fair to assert that there had been an actual decline in the "efficiency" of our tonnage, as it is estimated that a ton of steam shipping is equal to three tons of sail shipping. On this basis, therefore, Mr. Windmüller might contend that the

following would be a fairer statement of the efficiency of our shipping under register:

EFFICIENCY OF AMERICAN SHIPPING UNDER REGISTER IN 1890 AS COMPARED WITH 1899:

Year.	Total Tonnage Efficiency.
1890	1,341,955
1899	1,568,306

This would show a growth in the efficiency of our marine in the foreign trade of over seventeen per cent. But, to be just, Mr. Windmüller would have been compelled to admit that it is our steam shipping that has been aided, during the larger part of the decade named, in which the growth has occurred, and that the decline has been in our sail tonnage, which has received no aid whatever during that time. There are no regularly established lines of steamships under our flag in the foreign trade that do not receive direct aid from our Government, and as to steamships which do not receive aid, it will be found, upon examination of the official records, that they are, generally speaking, engaged as much in the domestic as in the foreign trade. In other words, it is fair to assume that, but for the aid given by the enactment of our postal subsidy law of 1891, crippled as it was, there would have been no substantial growth in our steam shipping in the foreign trade between 1890 and 1899. In this very connection, the statistics of our steam tonnage under register from the close of the Civil War up to and including 1891, when the postal subsidy act was passed, fully bears out the claim that, but for this aid, our steam shipping under register would have shown no substantial growth in the last decade. As the war ceased only three months before the close of the fiscal year of 1865, the figures of the steam tonnage for that year are misleading, because they were abnormally low, being but 98,008 tons. In 1866, the steam tonnage under our register amounted to 198,289, while in 1890—twenty-four years later—it was but 197,630 tons, showing a slight decline. It should be said, however, that, between those years, our steam tonnage under register had (in 1868) increased to 221,939 tons, the highest amount, and had declined (in 1880) to 146,604, the lowest amount. The annual average of steam tonnage under American register during the entire twenty-six years succeeding 1865, was 186,182. It will be observed that from the time of our Civil War until 1891, the growth of our steam ton-

nage under register was practically nil. Using Mr. Windmüller's own citation of the subsidy paid to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, between 1865 and 1876, it is pertinent to show that during that entire period, excepting 1865, our steam tonnage under register never fell below 177,666 tons, and was as high during one year as 221,939, which latter figure was not again reached until 1891. It is also pertinent to point out that our tonnage under register fell, in 1878, to 170,838, and in 1880 to 146,604, the latter marking the lowest tonnage in any year succeeding 1865, and to add that it is by no means improbable that this decline was due to the withdrawal of the subsidies in 1876.

Even going back to 1850, and citing the case of the Collins Line, referred to by Mr. Windmüller, which in that year had come into full operation, we find additionally interesting data. Our first subsidy act was passed in 1845, advantage of which was taken for the first time in 1847, when but 5,631 tons of steam shipping was under American register. The next year it increased to 16,068 tons, and in 1849, the year in which the Collins ships first appeared, our steam shipping under register had increased to 20,870, more than doubling in 1850, when our steam tonnage under register amounted to 44,942—a growth of over 800 per cent. in three years. It still further increased until 1855, when it reached 115,045 tons, but again declined, probably largely because of the severe losses suffered by disaster to the Collins Line, falling, in 1858, to 78,027 tons. This was the year in which the Collins Line failed, and this was the year in which the United States subsidy was withdrawn from the line—at a time, by the way, when its great rival, the British Cunard Line, was receiving a subsidy from the British Government of approximately $1,000,000 a year!

Coming down to the period that has elapsed since the postal subsidy act of 1891, we find that it is in this period that the real revival in our steam tonnage has occurred; and it is that revival which alone gives the semblance of progress to our merchant shipping under register. In 1892, our steam tonnage under register amounted to 228,899, a drop of 11,000 tons since the preceding year. It may here be proper to point out that the act of May 10th, 1892, admitting to American register the steamships "Paris" and "New York," led to the construction of the "St. Paul" and "St. Louis," this one act alone effecting an addition to

our steam shipping under register of 44,600 gross tons. In 1893, our steam shipping under register increased to 261,103, the addition of the "Paris" and "New York" increasing the amount by 21,342 tons. And, in 1899, our steam shipping under register, as has been pointed out, reached 360,030 tons. This average, during eight years, or from 1892 to 1899 inclusive, amounted to 273,198 tons of steam shipping under register, which is an increase in the average of the last eight years of forty-five per cent., as compared with the average during the preceding twenty-six years. This summary of our maritime growth shows the extent to which government subsidies have been a stimulus.

It should be said further, that the provisions of the postal subsidy bill, as originally drafted, were cut thirty-three per cent. before the bill was passed, a reduction that seriously crippled and has greatly retarded the growth of our steam shipping under register. If (as was pointed out in Senator Frye's speech at the opening of the short session of the 56th Congress, when he explained the provisions of the pending shipping bill in detail), the pending shipping bill should be passed, its provisions as to high-speed passenger steamships would scarcely vary from the sum provided in the postal subsidy bill as it first passed the United States Senate without a roll call in 1890. In the light of the present criticism of the provisions of the pending bill, in respect to fast steamships, this significant point has been all but lost sight of, both in and out of Congress.

If the figures of our maritime growth in the foreign trade be compared with those of other leading maritime nations, less reason for exultation will be found than Mr. Windmüller discovered in the tables of the domestic and foreign shipping of the maritime nations which he used in his article in the REVIEW. Mr. Windmüller seems inclined to doubt that ships cost more to build in the United States than in Europe, and he entirely overlooks the fact that the cost of ships in British shipyards at present is abnormally high. Since none of our shipowners has been able to find any American shipbuilders who are willing to build ships in this country as cheaply as they can be built abroad, although they have diligently sought for them, there is not much in the mere assertion of those who only think that they can be built here as cheaply. "Until additional shipyards furnish more vessels," says Mr. Windmüller, "capable of satisfying a larger pro-

portion of the enormous demand of our export trade, the cost of American steamers will not be lowered." It is the confident belief of almost everybody who has studied the shipping bill now pending, that one of its chief and most immediate accomplishments will be the creation of a number of large shipyards, equipped to meet any demand, of a character to make competition between our own builders much more severe, and likely to force a permanent reduction in the cost of American construction.

Mr. Windmüller presents a fair summary of the essential provisions of the bill now pending, but he contends that "it will fail to accomplish" its "avowed objects." The reason he ascribes for this sweeping opinion is that the subsidies "will chiefly accrue, for some time to come, to American lines which cross the Atlantic and Pacific for the purpose of carrying passengers and expensive freight." He is quite mistaken in this, as the subsidies will chiefly accrue to cargo-carrying ships. But the "expensive freight" carried in fast steamships from the United States is none the less the product of our people than is the inexpensive freight, and happy is the nation which is able to export a larger quantity of "expensive freight" than of inexpensive products in their unmanufactured state! We must not overlook the usefulness of fast steamships as mail carriers. And, whether or not their existence stimulates an increase of passenger traffic, it should be remembered that passengers are not all carried in the cabins, and that those brought hither in the steerage have, generally speaking, been of the greatest assistance in helping our people to develop their almost inexhaustible resources, and thus adding to the nation's visible and tangible wealth. Mr. Windmüller thinks that "what the country really needs is carriage, at reasonable rates, for the immense yield of our agriculture, and for the bulky products of our mines," and he adds that, if ships "were readily obtainable, exports could be further increased," especially, he further points out, in direct communication with the southern portions of our continent. But, in point of fact, all of the testimony presented to the Congressional committees which have favorably reported the shipping bill for passage, goes to show that freight carriers of the most modern, economical and useful type will be constructed in the United States, if the bill passes in its present form.

The Congressional committees which have studied the pend-

ing bill had before them every important owner and builder of ships in the United States, during the many months they had the bill under consideration, and their recommendations in its favor are based upon what they regard as facts and arguments establishing its justice, practicability and effectiveness, as well as its superiority over any other alternatives suggested. What Mr. Windmüller says about the usefulness to Great Britain of her policy of giving direct bounties to the seamen who compose her effective naval reserve, is most interesting and timely. That is a subject, however, that may be better dealt with in a separate measure.

The proposition to grant free American registry to foreign built vessels, when carefully considered, proves to be an entirely theoretical suggestion. It seems to free traders to be a natural application of their free trade theories, but in operation it would prove to be entirely impracticable, so far as building up a marine under the American flag is concerned, at the present time. This is the view that has always been held by the shipowners of the United States, people who should be quick to see the advantages of such a policy, if they existed, and to advocate its adoption if it could be shown to be in any way helpful in solving the problem of reviving our mercantile marine in the foreign trade. Mr. Windmüller refers to the time when Great Britain abandoned the laws that confined her registry to British built ships; but it would be interesting to see how any advocate of free ships could prove that the repeal of that law has been of any material advantage to either British shipowners or British shipbuilders, especially since the era of iron and steel. Certainly, British ships are all British built, and, practically speaking, always have been. A law, then, that permits British subjects to purchase foreign built ships, but under which no foreign built ships are actually registered as British, accomplishes nothing for Britons. And certainly it cannot be contended that this law helps British shipbuilders, because it has not affected them in any way. More than that, if the American advocates of this policy of foreign built ships are able to name any American citizen who would be willing, if our laws permitted, to purchase and register foreign built ships as American, and run them in our foreign trade without aid from our Government, they may thus pave the way to its serious consideration.

ALEXANDER R. SMITH.

SIKHISM AND THE SIKHS.

BY SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K. C. S. I.

SIKHISM, the creed of the brave and hardy race that held dominion over the plain country of the Punjab during the first fifty years of the present century, and disputed the sovereignty of Northern India with the English, well deserves the study of those interested in the birth and development of religions. Like some other creeds, it had its origin in a profound dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, and a passionate endeavor on the part of its founder to break the chain which Brâhmanism had fastened round the feet and hands of every Hindu. Later, under the wholesale stimulus of persecution, it became a fierce and inspiring belief, which changed a nation of peaceful peasants into an army of disciplined warriors, who, guided by a leader of genius, were the most formidable armed force that native India had seen since the days of Aurung-Zeb and Shâh Jehan. The revolt of Sikhism against Brâhmanism resembled that of Protestantism against the Church of Rome, in that it was not a contradiction of dogma, but a resistance to the intolerable pretensions of the priestly class. The doctrines of Luther differed in but few and unimportant particulars from those of the orthodox champions of Catholicism. The theological tangle known as Brâhmanism would have included the doctrinal subtleties and puerilities of Nânak without difficulty. It was itself a compound of mysticism and realism, tolerant and all-embracing—theistic, polytheistic and pantheistic at the same time. It allowed to the ignorant worshipper a myriad gods, from the ochre-stained stone in the forest to the awful personages of the Hindu Trinity; while to the elect, who had risen beyond symbolism to the purer air, it provided conceptions of the Deity as noble and exalted as those to be found in any religion of East or West. But no creed, however lofty in

conception or ethically worthy, is tolerable to free and liberal minds in which the power of interpretation and direction is jealously guarded, as a hereditary right, by a corrupt and prejudiced priesthood. It was against this pretension that the reformers of the West and the East took up arms; and it is a strange coincidence that the teaching of both Luther and Nânak was synchronous, and that they were born and died within a few years of each other.

In this paper all that can be attempted is to show, generally, the line of doctrine expounded by Nânak and his eight successors in the office of Guru or spiritual leader; secondly, to note the important changes introduced by Govind Singh, the tenth Guru and founder of the Church Militant of Sikhism; and, lastly, to observe the practice of the Sikhs of to-day, and the degree in which they have fallen away from the teaching of both Nânak and Govind and reverted to Hindu ceremonial and modes of thought.

When Nânak, who was born in 1469, began his teaching, Hinduism had long crystallized into the sacerdotal guild which we see in India to-day. It may even be said that its religious aspect was then more lost than now in a multitude of ceremonial observances and social prescriptions; for the influence of missionary and proselyting creeds, like Christianity and Islam, has been to draw out what is best in Hinduism and encourage cultivated Hindus to reject the material and grosser part of their creed in favor of its higher esoteric teaching. But then, as now, for the uninstructed mass of the people, Brâhmanism was Hinduism—that is to say, doctrine counted for little or nothing, and the strict observance of the rules of Caste, with the Brâhman as the top-stone of the social pyramid, was everything. Caste had been invented by Brâhmans for Brâhmans; a system by which Hindu society was divided and subdivided by hereditary and impregnable barriers, the Brâhmans remaining a sacred priesthood, immeasurably above all others, directing the lives and conduct of all, and without toll to whom none of the ordinary functions of civil life could be effectively performed. The greedy Brâhman demanded his fees at birth and marriage and death, and to feed Brâhmans was a virtue far above devotion to mercy, truth and justice. It was against this privileged hierarchy that Nânak directed his attack; and, although he did not preach the abolition of Caste as was subsequently done by Govind Singh, his writings are filled

with acknowledgments of the brotherhood and equality of man, and he admitted all classes as his disciples. Nor did his gentle and quietist nature attempt a direct assault on the Brâhman class, other than by the denunciation of the idol worship on the profits of which they lived. He even allowed and approved the use of Brâhmans as private and domestic priests, to perform such ceremonial as was unobjectionable; though he rejected their teachings, together with the doctrine of Vedas and Purânas, the Hindu sacred books. Born in the Punjab, where the conflict between Hinduism and Islam had long continued, he was doubtless influenced, as had been the *Bhagats* or pious teachers who had preceded him, by the central idea of Mohammedanism, the unity of God; and monotheism was the cardinal truth of his doctrine.

It is necessary to study carefully his Gospel, known as the Adi Granth, to realize adequately the purity and beauty of Nânak's doctrine. This enormous volume is somewhat repellent to Western scholars. The only form in which it is accessible—for the Gûrmukhi in which it is written is exceedingly obscure—is the translation of Dr. Ernest Trumpp, a learned German professor, who was brought to Lahore at a time when I was Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government to undertake this difficult task, on which he spent seven years' labor. But his command of English was not equal to a rendering of the spirit of the original, and he further appears to have considered the Granth as an incoherent and shallow production, and its chief value to be linguistic, as a treasury of the mediæval Hindu dialects. This judgment appears to me to be mistaken. There are, it is true, many puerilities and vain repetitions from which the books of no Eastern religion are free; but it is scarcely possible to turn a single page without being struck by the beauty and originality of the images and the enlightened devotion of its language. No Catholic ascetic has ever been more absorbed in the contemplation of the Deity than was the prophet Nânak when giving utterance to his rhapsodies.

The monotheism of Nânak is often not to be distinguished from Pantheism; and, unless a creed be provided with a personal and anthropomorphic deity, it is always difficult to draw the line between the two. Sometimes Nânak represents God as a self-conscious spirit protecting the creatures He has made; an ever-present Providence, Who can be approached through the Guru, the heaven-appointed teacher, and ready to bless and emancipate

the soul which worships sincerely and humbly. At other times, man and the universe and all that exists are but a part of and an emanation from God, Who produces all things out of Himself and to Whom all finally return. In the same way, it would seem that Nânak in no way denied the existence of the lower deities of the Hindu mythology; for the poetic pantheism on which his belief in the one supreme God was based could hardly exist without the symbolism which inspired all nature with life, and found a spiritual force behind and within every manifestation of natural energy. Yet all such deities he asserted to be indifferent and unworthy of regard, much as the early preachers of Christianity treated the gods of Greece and Rome, in whose existence they believed, but whose dominion was to be overthrown by Christ. Idolatry he condemned, and the service pleasing to the Deity was that of the heart; neither vain ceremonies nor the austerities which the Hindu ascetics had been wont to consider as the key which unlocked the highest and most secret mysteries, but a pure, unselfish life, a faith in God revealed through the instrumentality of the appointed Guru or spiritual guide. Charity and good works were commendable and the worthy fruits of an unselfish life; but they were not of themselves sufficient to release the soul from its bondage to sense and illusion, or to save it from transmigration, the ever-present dread of the Hindu, or to insure its reunion with God. These results could only be attained by meditation on God and through the saving grace of His name.

Although Nânak claimed to be a prophet, he did not assert that he was inspired or possessed of miraculous powers, though these were freely ascribed to him by his disciples, both during his lifetime and after his death. But he magnified his office of Guru into that of an intermediary between man and God, and blind obedience to the Guru was enjoined as an essential article of faith. The Guru's saving power was such that contact with him brought salvation to the most criminal. In short, the virtue of the Guru was supreme; and, although Nânak himself claimed no special sanctity, but spoke of himself as an ignorant and sinful man, yet the Gurus who succeeded him and who possessed more ambition and less piety, were virtually deified by their followers; and the worship of the Guru and the surrender to him of the wealth, the honor and the life of his followers, became as grievous a burden to the Sikh community as the yoke of the Brâhmans had been.

The doctrine of transmigration of souls was common to Sikhism, Hinduism and Buddhism—the belief in the continued existence of the soul, through countless changes into various forms of animal and human existences, until by the virtue of the Guru and the saving power of the name of God, final emancipation was attained and absorption into the Supreme, when individuality ended. This practical annihilation, which the loss of individuality signifies to the less subtle fancy of Europeans, was the chief object of the religious strivings of the Sikh or Hindu, and it was the reward of virtue and of faith in God. It was thus from a different standpoint that life and death were regarded by Eastern and Western thinkers. To the former life is a burden from which the soul should seek release in forgetfulness and darkness; to the latter, the idea of a happy immortality, as the reward for a virtuous earthly life, is the one thought which permits life to be borne with cheerfulness, and death faced with equanimity. But the troubles and enigmas which have confused and perplexed many Christian communities found their exact counterpart in Sikhism. There was the same conflict between predestination, election and free will. The sacred name was only communicated by the Guru to those upon whose forehead had been imprinted, from the beginning, the sign which designated him as one of the elect. Destiny was absolute and supreme. Man was represented as a puppet, whom the Master made to dance as it pleased Him. In every breast, goodness, passion or darkness was predominant, and human actions were necessarily the result of the influence that swayed them. Illusion had been spread around all earthly things; man was deceived by a Power above and without him; and he was irresponsible, seeing that the impulse of his conduct was beyond his control. It was hopeless to attempt to reconcile the doctrines of predestination and free will, the choice of good or evil, and a system of rewards and punishments, with the fixed decree of an unchanging destiny; and the attempt was probably made in order to account for the inequalities, the sorrow and suffering of human life, the perplexity of which had lain at the root of the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

It is not possible here to discuss the dogmas of Sikhism as expounded by Nânak in more detail. He was a true prophet, and accomplished worthily an exalted mission. His system, like all systems, had many imperfections; and chief of them were those

which equally belonged to Calvinism, in the substitution of one tyranny for another, and the overshadowing of all human joy by a predestined lot which no faith or virtue could modify. But the good far outweighed the evil. Nânak taught the wisdom and omnipotence of one Supreme God, and the equality of all men, of whatever race or creed, in His sight; purity of life, charity, humility, and temperance. He enjoined kindness to animals, and forbade both female infanticide and the burning of widows. He condemned idolatry and asceticism, and preached the wholesome doctrine that the state of the worker and householder was the most honorable condition, and that, to find God and serve Him, it was not necessary to practice austerities or retire from active life. His object, in which he largely succeeded, was to purge Hinduism of the dross which had gathered about it; to lift it from the slough of polytheism and vain ceremonial in which it was choked, and to bring it back to the firm ground and the pure air of the Vedas. His mission, at the close of the fifteenth century, was the same as that of Raja Lâl Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandar Sen in the nineteenth; but his originality was the greater, for his impulse was not, like theirs, the necessary result of contact with European culture and modes of thought, which are largely and beneficially affecting Hinduism. The missionary teaching of Christianity affects educated Hindus little if at all; but the science and literature of the West are playing an important part in purifying Hinduism of its materialism, and bringing it back to its ancient monotheism, or to that state of suspension of judgment which is somewhat inadequately designated agnosticism.

The successors of Nânak, who held the Guruship from 1538 to 1675 A. D., were of far inferior capacity and disinterestedness, and do not require much mention. It was the fourth Guru, Râm Dâs, who founded the famous city of Amritsar, and built the Golden Temple in the middle of the Tank of Nectar, thus giving to the Sikh people a centre for worship; while Arjan, the fifth Guru, systematized the theocracy, collected taxes and assumed something of the state of a secular ruler. His death was due to the tyranny of the Mohammedan Government, which then, from its capital of Delhi, ruled the greater part of the Indian peninsula; and from that date, 1606 A. D., commenced an obstinate quarrel between Sikhs and Mohammedans, which continued until, in the general crush of the Mogul Empire, at the

beginning of the present century, the former seized supreme power in the Punjab. Nor is the hostility between them at an end at the present day, and the Sikh warriors, in 1857, followed the call of the English to Delhi and Lucknow, to avenge their slaughtered prophets and co-religionists of days long past. The stern measures of repression which the Moslem Governors employed against the Sikhs were in some measure justified by the turbulent character of these sectaries who lived by plunder and levied contributions upon all who were not of their persuasion. But the fierceness of their hatred to Mohammedanism and its steady flame were due to the religious bigotry of the Emperor Aurung-Zeb, who considered it a sacred duty to destroy all who would not accept Islâm, and whose savage fanaticism hastened the decay of the Mogul power. No creed endures the foundation stones of which have not been cemented with blood; and the persecutions of Aurung-Zeb only united the Sikhs more closely in resistance to his rule, until at last a man arose among them who possessed spiritual authority and organizing power, and who changed the whole complexion of the Sikh creed. This was Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, who, on the martyrdom of his father, became leader of the sect till his death in 1708. The changes introduced by Govind, though fundamental, were not doctrinal. He was, indeed, no quietist like Nânak, but a man of action, animated by the passion of revenge. The monotheistic theory he did not dispute; but his patron saint, so to speak, was the fierce goddess Dûrga, to whom he is said to have offered a human sacrifice to inaugurate his mission. He formed the Sikhs into a military brotherhood under the name of the Khâlsâ. He abolished caste altogether, which Nânak had never ventured to do; and, although this offended many of the better classes, it was received with enthusiasm by the lower orders who flocked to his standard. He instituted an initiatory rite of baptism, known as the *pâhul*, a feast of communion, and a distinctive dress to distinguish his disciples from other Hindus. Sikhs were forbidden to cut their hair or beard, to gamble or to smoke tobacco; but intoxicating liquors were allowed, and the richer classes have always been hard drinkers, though the peasants are temperate enough. No regard was to be paid to Vedas, Shâstras or the Korân, neither to Hindu priests or Mohammedan mullahs; visits to temples and shrines and the observance of Hindu ceremonies

at birth, marriage and death were alike forbidden. The mild law of Nânak was transformed into a gospel of intolerance and hate, directed not only against his bitter enemies, the Mohammedans, but against the members of all alien creeds and non-conforming Sikh sects, of which several had arisen. But the Mohammedans were the chief objects of Sikh hatred. To salute one of the accursed race was a crime worthy of hell, and the life-long duty of the Sikh was to slay Mohammedans and wage constant war upon them. The results of this teaching and practice turned the Punjâb, for a hundred years, into an arena of bloodshed. Mohammedan conquerors from Central Asia and Afghânistân swooped down upon the dying Mogul empire, and occupied the northern capital, Lahore, and established Viceroys and Governors. But, with varying fortunes, the conflict with the Sikhs always continued, until it was finally decided by the gradual conquest of the Punjab by Mâharâja Runjit Singh.

Of all the men who carved principalities out of the inheritance of the Emperors of Delhi, the most remarkable was Runjit Singh. He possessed the genius both of war and of government. The son of the chief of one of the smaller Sikh military confederacies, he attacked and overcame all rivals and competitors of his own faith, and then turned his sword against the Mohammedans, annexing in turn the Afghân provinces of Multân, Kashmîr, Peshâwur and the Derajât, which is the name of the long strip of plain country that lies between the Indus and the mountains on the northwestern frontier of Hindostan. In the Afghâns he met an enemy equal to the Sikhs in bravery and fanaticism; the contest was for many years undecided, and cost the Mâharâja heavily, both in men and treasure. But the discipline and arms of the Sikhs gave Runjit Singh the final advantage; and, at his death in 1839, he was the undisputed ruler of the Punjâb and Kashmir.

Those who care to know in more detail my estimate of Runjit Singh, his character, his mode of government, his counsellors, his army and his conquests, may find it in his biography, which I wrote in 1892, for the University of Oxford. There is only space here to note the influence of his reign on the religious side of Sikhism. This was partly good and partly evil. The fierce intolerance of Govind Singh was abandoned by the Mâharâja for an absolute indifference to religion, further than was necessary to retain the allegiance of the Sikhs and secure the personal

adherence of their religious guides, Bábás and Bhais, whom he largely subsidized and treated with every outward mark of respect. But in his eyes the creed of his servants mattered nothing, so long as they served him well. Several of his most trusted and capable Ministers were Mohammedans, and many were Brâhmans, whose employment Govind Singh had distinctly forbidden. The Sikhs, chiefs and people, were plain soldiers, utterly illiterate; and no place could be found for them in a system of government so complicated as that of the Mâharâja, where Brâhmans and Mohammedans of education, experienced through long generations in all the arts of government, were necessary to the maintenance of his position. Even in the army, the same spirit of tolerance was found. Diwân Mokham Chand, a Khattri Hindu, was probably his best general; and Irish, Italian and French officers trained and led important divisions of his forces.

This tolerance in matters of religious belief removed the darkest blot from the ferocious creed of Govind, and allowed the Sikhs to enter the community of reasonable and civilized men; for, during the eighteenth century, their hand was against every man, and plunder and slaughter were the law of their being. This reform, selfish though it was in its origin, so modified and elevated the Sikh polity and character that its advantage far outweighed the injury to public decency and morality which may have resulted from the violent and treacherous character of the monarch or the drunkenness and profligacy of his life. Morality is conventional, and conduct must be judged by the standard of the age and the environment of the individual. Mâharâja Runjit Singh, in spite of his faults, was a really great monarch, and, like Peter the Great of Russia, who was far more coarse and cruel, he created a State and a nation. The ignorant and brutal Sikh peasants became, by the inspiration of his genius, the most formidable armed force that India had seen during the nineteenth century. Every adult male was a soldier; and, if the religious fervor was not so keen as in the days of Govind Singh, a strong national spirit, almost unknown in India before, had succeeded and supplemented it. Had the great Mâharâja lived in other days, the warlike Sikhs, with such a leader and inspired by so high a spirit, might well have founded an empire co-extensive with that of the Moguls. But the time was inauspicious; the Mâ-

harâja died prematurely, exhausted by excesses, and the kingdom which he had so laboriously built up collapsed.

It was but a short time after his death, in 1839, that the folly and weakness of his successors brought about a collision with the British Power, which, in a hundred years, with the irresistible force and sureness of a rising tide, had spread over Hindostân from Calcutta to the river Sutlej, and in whose advance the Mâharâja had clearly foreseen and predicted the overthrow of the Sikh monarchy. During his lifetime he had anxiously and consistently maintained friendship with England, and though at times his ambitious schemes led to friction and complaint, yet the loyal determination of the two Governments to preserve peace was effectual. But at his death, the powerful army he had perfected, trained and placed under the command of French and Italian generals of repute, restrained no longer by fear and loyalty, broke into mutiny, seized the supreme power in the state, and at last crossed the frontier and declared war against the British Government. The campaign which followed was exceptionally severe and bloody. Never before in India had the English met an enemy so formidable—a disciplined army with weapons equal to their own, and an artillery more numerous and powerful. After a series of hotly contested battles, in which more than once victory was perilously near defeat, the English entered Lahore in triumph, and commenced the experiment, always doubtful and dangerous in the East, of a puppet monarch and a necessarily ineffective control. This sure receipt for disaffection and intrigue brought about a fresh revolt of the Sikh army, which had no desire to beat its swords into ploughshares before it had made another trial of strength with the English. The ensuing campaign, as severe as but briefer than the first, was decisive, and the whole of the Punjab was annexed to the British Dominions in 1849. The Sikhs, like gallant soldiers, accepted the inevitable without bitterness. Their national sentiment was not outraged by the result of a contest in which they had honorably striven, on almost equal terms, with the Power which had successively overthrown all the great military organizations of Hindostân, and which was careful to allow them as free and full expression of Sikh teaching and practice as the Mâharâja himself; which willingly enrolled their disbanded soldiers in its own armies, and renewed and confirmed the endowments of their beloved religion. From that day to this, the

Sikhs have shown themselves the most loyal and devoted subjects of the Queen. When the Bengal army, in 1857, was driven into mutiny by the crass stupidity and criminal carelessness of the military authorities, the Sikh Mâharâjas, chiefs and people, sprang again to arms, and fought with the utmost gallantry by the side of the British, whom they had learned to respect.

Fifty years have passed since the annexation of the Punjab, and it will be interesting to know what kind of men are the Sikhs of to-day; how far civilization and education and orderly government have affected or modified their characteristics, and how the later phase of their religion, as taught by Govind Singh, has fared in the uncongenial atmosphere of peace. I have long lived among the Sikhs, and was Chief Magistrate of their principal districts of Lahore and Amritsar; and during several years I was officially employed in writing the histories of the independent chiefs and nobles of the Punjab. Indeed, at one time, there was scarcely a single Sikh of position with whom I was not personally acquainted. My experience is that no one can live in intimate relations with the Sikh people, chiefs or peasants, with any other feeling than confidence, respect and affection. They are a singularly sincere, simple and warm-hearted race, susceptible tc kindness and giving a most loyal service to those whom they trust. This description applies not to Sikhs alone, but to the great agricultural tribe of Jats, from which the Sikhs were mostly drawn, and in which they are often re-absorbed. The Jats are the most important people in the Punjab, and are widely spread from Delhi to the Indus. Nearly connected with the Râjpûts in origin, they have many characteristics which separate them from that noble stock, for they are almost universally employed in agriculture, which the Râjpûts, as a rule, dislike or despise. But the Jats are the backbone of the revenue-paying population, peaceful, when not excited by fanaticism or oppression, self-restrained, sober, industrious and independent. Their love of freedom and independence is their most striking characteristic, giving them an open and manly frankness which invites the sympathy of Englishmen with whom they have so much in common.

The value of the Sikhs as soldiers has an important bearing on the future of the British Empire in the East, not in India alone, but in all other regions in which native troops can be profitably employed; and it is an interesting question to determine

how far the modern conditions of the Punjab affect the military qualities of the Sikhs and the adherence of new disciples to the Sikh creed. For it must be remembered that Sikhism is a matter of profession and election, not of hereditary necessity, like the caste system of Brâhmanism. The baptism of initiation is not ordinarily administered to the sons of a Sikh until they are adult, never before the age of seven years, while to women, except in rare cases, it is not given at all. It will be obvious that there no longer exist the same strong impulse and attraction to Sikhism as in the time of Govind Singh, or still more during the reign of Runjit Singh, when every Sikh was a favored member of a dominant class. The change of tendency was very marked in the first census taken in the Punjab after annexation, when the number of recorded Sikhs was small; though too great stress should not be laid on statistics at such a time, when concealment of creed may have been due to doubt as to the treatment the Sikhs would receive from their new rulers. When it was found that the British bore no animosity toward them, and that, on the contrary, they were anxious to utilize so admirable a fighting race, the numbers who presented themselves for initiation rapidly increased; and, in the five districts where Sikhs most abound, the numbers recorded in 1868 and 1881 were three times as great as in the first census. Other causes assisted to stimulate the religious impulse. The Indian mutiny, during which all Sikh recruits were welcomed to the British army, gave an impetus to the creed, and the *Pax Britannica* which has been observed for so many years within the borders of Hindostân has not prevented the Sikhs from enjoying plenty of fighting in other parts of the world. In Afghânistân and on the North-West Frontier, in China and the Soudan, the Sikhs have always been in the van and have covered themselves with glory; while in Burmah, Singapore and Hongkong they form an admirable body of military police. Among the fighting races of the world, the Sikh holds a very high place, nor do I believe that for the highest qualities of a soldier there is any one his superior. Led by British officers, I believe Sikhs to be far better troops, steadier and more intelligent, than the majority of those found in European armies. The Gûrkhas are equally good, but of these the number of recruits is limited. The value of the Sikh is increased by his freedom from caste prejudice, which permits his employment beyond the sea or in conditions where

the Brâhman, the Râjpût or the ordinary Hindu would find it impossible to live without incurring social ostracism. The Sikh is as gallant and impetuous in attack as he is imperturbable in defense or reverse. Exceedingly temperate and enduring, the severest hardships are borne cheerfully and without complaint, and he is always ready to risk or sacrifice his life, without a thought, when led by officers who are worthy of him. No praise which can be given to this incomparable soldier is above his deserts. At the same time, it must not be supposed that the Sikhs collectively are such a fighting race as in the days of the great Mâharâja. Soon after annexation, the Punjab was disarmed in the interests of public order, and the men who had been accustomed to redress their own wrongs with the sword which hung ever at their side were compelled to carry their complaints to the courts of law, and to find in the discipline of the regular army the only safety-valve for their martial enthusiasm. So it happened that a very large number of the Sikhs, peasants and landholders, gave up their fighting habits, and became again peaceful agriculturists, one or two members of the family taking the *pâhul* and joining the army, with the warlike affix of Singh to their name, the others remaining Hindus and not to be distinguished by dress or mode of life from their Jat kinsmen, among whom they lived. But the Sikh fighting quality has in no way deteriorated, although the available quantity has become less.

The religious ardor of the Sikhs, under the discipline of the regular army and the orderly progress of civil life, has become an almost burthensome encumbrance and in no way enhances their value as soldiers. Its decline is only to be regretted in that it diminishes the number of recruits to the military caste, for the Hindu Jat peasant, although equally staunch with the Sikh, has not the same inclination to warlike pursuits and prefers to cultivate his ancestral fields. Day by day, the new faith of Govind loses its hold over the people, and the old creed of Hinduism, with its Brâhmanical sacerdotalism and its worship of strange gods, is taking its place. The Sikh still, from time to time, visits the temple to listen to the reading of the Granth; he abstains from tobacco and leaves his hair and beard unshorn, while his observance of caste restrictions is lax, and he is content to take food from even the hands of a Mohammedan. But the Brâhman has now again become an object of reverence and is called to officiate

at births and marriages; the men, and especially the women, always most superstitious and most ready to accept priestly control, visit the idol temples and local shrines; and, in those districts of the Punjab most distant from the religious centre, there is little to distinguish the Sikh of to-day from the ordinary Hindu. This laxity in faith gave rise, some thirty years ago, to a movement which caused some anxiety to the Government, when a carpenter, named Ram Singh, founded a new sect, the Kûkas, and attempted to draw his co-religionists back into the path of orthodoxy. He preached Govind Singh as the only true Guru, and insisted upon the abolition of caste, abstinence from animal food, tobacco and intoxicating liquors, free intermarriage and the neglect of Hindu priests and temples with all their idolatrous symbolism. So long as the Kûka teaching only aimed at religious reform, the Government did not interfere, although respectable citizens were scandalized at the debauchery which prevailed in the Kûka mixed assemblies. But when, like Govind Singh, they changed religion into a political propaganda, proclaimed the restoration of the Khâlsâ and the overthrow of the British Government, and proceeded to insurrection and murder, the sect was suppressed with a heavy hand; the leaders, arrested in one night throughout the province, were deported to Burmah, Aden and the Andamans, and the Kûka revival, after a short time, was heard of no more. But, although religious fanaticism always contains the germs of possible danger, it is a matter of regret that Sikhism, which, as taught by its first prophet Nânak, was so full of promise, and was inspired by a pure morality and a high conception of the Deity, should fall back again into the idolatrous materialism from which for a time he had raised it. But the recuperative and absorbing power of Brâhmanism is very great. History records how it overthrew and expelled the creed of Buddhism from Hindostân, and it seems about to repeat the process with Sikhism.

For the British Government of India it is desirable, so far as may be practicable, to stimulate and encourage the life and growth of a martial spirit in the fighting races of India. They form an invaluable reserve of military power, which may be counted upon with confidence so long as the administration is popular and commends itself to the conscience of the people as just and beneficent. But it is difficult to take any steps which might seem to favor a sentiment so closely interwoven with re-

ligious principle and practice, when the declared basis of British policy is a strict religious neutrality. This has not, it is true, prevented the continuance of ancient endowments to the temples and shrines of the Sikh, Hindu and Mohammedan religions; but the tendency has been to reduce and terminate these wherever possible, and to withdraw from the state the management of all religious institutions. The endowments of the Golden Temple at Amritsar are now but scanty, and it has lost in great part the rich offerings which were made freely by Râjas and Mâharâjas when they paid their annual visits to the shrine around which their Bungas or hostels still stand. The policy of the old East India Company was more sympathetic and encouraged the endowment of the several religions of India—a practice to be logically defended on the ground that the people who paid the taxes and furnished the state revenue should have a portion thereof devoted to the maintenance of the public worship of the national creeds, such as Brâhmanism, Mohammedanism and Sikhism. But, as the tendency of higher statesmanship grows more agnostic, the less does it seem able or disposed to oppose the pressure of an aggressive proselytizing spirit, which seems to grow in fervor with the absence of resistance; which has caused serious evil in China, which threatens trouble in the Soudan, and which will be the cause of future danger throughout the Eastern World. There can be little doubt that a purely secular education is, for the great mass of the people, inconsistent with the highest realization of the duties of citizenship, and that ethical teaching cannot be altogether divorced from religious sanctions. All the scientific and philosophical religions have a satisfactory ethical basis, and a Government like that of India, which professes to evenly hold the balance between competing creeds, and which has solemnly promised to abstain from pressing Christianity upon its Indian subjects, should endeavor, by the liberal, judicious and impartial endowment of all religions accepted by large sections of the community, to conciliate the priestly class, which now stands aloof, unfriendly or hostile, and thus promote not only loyalty to the ruling power, but the growth of a higher morality which finds no sufficient sustenance in the dry and barren teaching of Western literature and science.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

MARK TWAIN: AN INQUIRY.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

Two recent events have concurred to offer criticism a fresh excuse, if not a fresh occasion, for examining the literary work of Mr. Samuel L. Clemens, better known to the human family by his pseudonym of Mark Twain. One of these events is the publication of his writings in a uniform edition,* which it is to be hoped will remain indefinitely incomplete; the other is his return to his own country after an absence so long as to form a psychological perspective in which his characteristics make a new appeal.

I.

The uniform edition of Mr. Clemens's writings is of that dignified presence which most of us have thought their due in moments of high pleasure with their quality, and high dudgeon with their keeping in the matchlessly ugly subscription volumes of the earlier issues. Yet now that we have them in this fine shape, fit every one, in its elect binding, paper and print, to be set on the shelf of a gentleman's library, and not taken from it without some fear of personal demerit, I will own a furtive regret for the hideous blocks and bricks of which the visible temple of the humorist's fame was first builded. It was an advantage to meet the author in a guise reflecting the accidental and provisional moods of a unique talent finding itself out; and the pictures which originally illustrated the process were helps to the imagination such as the new uniform edition does not afford. In great part it could not retain them, for reasons which the recollection of their uncouth vigor will suggest, but these reasons do not hold in all cases, and especially in the case of Mr. Dan Beard's extraordinarily sympathetic and interpretative pictures for "The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court." The illustrations of the uni-

*"The Royal Edition of Mark Twain's Works," published by the American Publishing Company, Hartford, Conn.

form edition, in fact, are its weak side, but it can be said that they do not detract from one's delight in the literature; no illustrations could do that; and, in compensation for their defect, the reader has the singularly intelligent and agreeable essay of Mr. Brander Matthews on Mr. Clemens's work, by way of introduction to the collection. For the rest one may acquit one's self of one's whole duty to the uniform edition by reminding the reader that in the rich variety of its inclusion are those renowning books, "The Innocents Abroad" and "Roughing It;" the first constructive fiction on the larger scale, "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn;" the later books of travel, "A Tramp Abroad" and "Following the Equator," the multiplicity of tales, sketches, burlesques, satires and speeches, together with the spoil of Mr. Clemens's courageous forays in the region of literary criticism, and his later romances, "The Connecticut Yankee," "The American Claimant," and the "Joan of Arc." These complete an array of volumes which the most unconventional reviewer can hardly keep from calling goodly, and which is responsive to the spirit of the literature in a certain desultory and insuccessive arrangement.

II.

So far as I know Mr. Clemens is the first writer to use in extended writing the fashion we all use in thinking, and to set down the thing that comes into his mind without fear or favor of the thing that went before, or the thing that may be about to follow. I, for instance, in putting this paper together, am anxious to observe some sort of logical order, to discipline such impressions and notions as I have of the subject into a coherent body which shall march column-wise to a conclusion obvious if not inevitable from the start. But Mr. Clemens, if he were writing it, would not be anxious to do any such thing. He would take whatever offered itself to his hand out of that mystical chaos, that divine ragbag, which we call the mind, and leave the reader to look after relevancies and sequences for himself. These there might be, but not of that hard and fast sort which I am eager to lay hold of, and the result would at least be satisfactory to the author, who would have shifted the whole responsibility to the reader, with whom it belongs, at least as much as with the author. In other words, Mr. Clemens uses in work on the larger scale the method of the elder essayists, and you know no more where you are going

to bring up in "The Innocents Abroad" or "Following the Equator" than in an essay of Montaigne. The end you arrive at is the end of the book, and you reach it amused but edified, and sorry for nothing but to be there. You have noted the author's thoughts, but not his order of thinking; he has not attempted to trace the threads of association between the things that have followed one another; his reason, not his logic, has convinced you, or rather it has persuaded you, for you have not been brought under conviction. It is not certain that this method is of design with Mr. Clemens; that might spoil it; and possibly he will be as much surprised as any one to know that it is his method. It is imaginable that he pursues it from no wish but to have pleasure of his work, and not to fatigue either himself or his reader; and his method may be the secret of his vast popularity, but it cannot be the whole secret of it. Any one may compose a scrap-book, and offer it to the public with nothing of Mark Twain's good fortune. Everything seems to depend upon the nature of the scraps, after all; his scraps might have been consecutively arranged, in a studied order, and still have immensely pleased; but there is no doubt that people like things that have at least the appearance of not having been drilled into line. Life itself has that sort of appearance as it goes on; it is an essay with moments of drama in it, rather than a drama; it is a lesson, with the precepts appearing haphazard, and not precept upon precept; it is a school, but not always a school-room; it is a temple, but the priests are not always in their sacerdotal robes; sometimes they are eating the sacrifice behind the altar and pouring the libations for the god through the channels of their dusty old throats. An instinct of something chaotic, ironic, empiric in the order of experience seems to have been the inspiration of our humorist's art, and what finally remains with the reader, after all the joking and laughing, is not merely the feeling of having had a mighty good time, but the conviction that he has got the worth of his money. He has not gone through the six hundred pages of "The Innocents Abroad," or "Following the Equator," without having learned more of the world as the writer saw it than any but the rarest traveller is able to show for his travel; and possibly with his average, practical American public, which was his first tribunal, and must always be his court of final appeal, Mark Twain justified himself for being so in-

structive. If this bold notion is admissible it seems the moment to say that no writer ever imparted information more inoffensively.

But his great charm is his absolute freedom in a region where most of us are fettered and shackled by immemorial convention. He saunters out into the trim world of letters, and lounges across its neatly kept paths, and walks about on the grass at will, in spite of all the signs that have been put up from the beginning of literature, warning people of dangers and penalties for the slightest trespass.

One of the characteristics I observe in him is his single-minded use of words, which he employs as Grant did to express the plain, straight meaning their common acceptance has given them with no regard to their structural significance or their philological implications. He writes English as if it were a primitive and not a derivative language, without Gothic or Latin or Greek behind it, or German and French beside it. The result is the English in which the most vital works of English literature are cast, rather than the English of Milton, and Thackeray, and Mr. Henry James. I do not say that the English of the authors last named is less than vital, but only that it is not the most vital. It is scholarly and conscious; it knows who its grandfather was; it has the refinement and subtlety of an old patriciate. You will not have with it the widest suggestion, the largest human feeling, or perhaps the loftiest reach of imagination, but you will have the keen joy that exquisite artistry in words can alone impart, and that you will not have in Mark Twain. What you will have in him is a style which is as personal, as biographical as the style of any one who has written, and expresses a civilization whose courage of the chances, the preferences, the duties, is not the measure of its essential modesty. It has a thing to say, and it says it in the word that may be the first, or second, or third choice, but will not be the instrument of the most fastidious ear, the most delicate and exacting sense, though it will be the word that surely and strongly conveys intention from the author's mind to the reader's. It is the Abraham Lincolnian word, not the Charles Sumnerian; it is American, Western.

III.

Now that Mark Twain has become a fame so world-wide, we should be in some danger of forgetting, but for his help, how en-

tirely American he is, and we have already forgotten, perhaps, how truly Western he is, though his work, from first to last, is always reminding us of the fact. But here I should like to distinguish. It is not alone in its generous humor, with more honest laughter in it than humor ever had in the world till now, that his work is so Western. Any one who has really known the West (and really to know it one must have lived it), is aware of the profoundly serious, the almost tragical strain which is the fundamental tone in the movement of such music as it has. Up to a certain point, in the presence of the mystery which we call life, it trusts and hopes and laughs; beyond that it doubts and fears, but it does not cry. It is more likely to laugh again, and in the work of Mark Twain there is little of the pathos which is supposed to be the ally of humor, little suffusion of apt tears from the smiling eyes. It is too sincere for that sort of play; and if after the doubting and the fearing it laughs again, it is with a suggestion of that resentment which youth feels when the disillusion from its trust and hope comes, and which is the grim second-mind of the West in the presence of the mystery. It is not so much the race-effect as the region-effect; it is not the Anglo-American finding expression, it is the Westerner, who is not more thoroughly the creature of circumstances, of conditions, but far more dramatically their creature, than any prior man. He found himself placed in them and under them, so near to a world in which the natural and primitive was obsolete, that while he could not escape them, neither could he help challenging them. The inventions, the appliances, the improvements of the modern world invaded the hoary eld of his rivers and forests and prairies, and while he was still a pioneer, a hunter, a trapper, he found himself confronted with the financier, the scholar, the gentleman. They seemed to him, with the world they represented, at first very droll, and he laughed. Then they set him thinking, and as he never was afraid of anything, he thought over the whole field, and demanded explanations of all his prepossessions, of equality, of humanity, of representative government and revealed religion. When they had not their answers ready, without accepting the conventions of the modern world as solutions or in any manner final, he laughed again, not mockingly, but patiently, compassionately. Such, or somewhat like this, was the genesis and evolution of Mark Twain.

Missouri was Western, but it was also Southern, not only in the institution of slavery, to the custom and acceptance of which Mark Twain was born and bred without any applied doubt of its divinity, but in the peculiar social civilization of the older South from which his native State was settled. It would be reaching too far out to claim that American humor, of the now prevailing Western type, is of Southern origin, but without staying to attempt it I will say that I think the fact could be established; and I think one of the most notably Southern traits of Mark Twain's humor is its power of seeing the fun of Southern seriousness, but this vision did not come to him till after his liberation from neighborhood in the vaster far West. He was the first, if not the only man of his section, to betray a consciousness of the grotesque absurdities in the Southern inversion of the civilized ideals in behalf of slavery, which must have them upside down in order to walk over them safely. No American of Northern birth or breeding could have imagined the spiritual struggle of Huck Finn in deciding to help the negro Jim to his freedom, even though he should be forever despised as a negro thief in his native town, and perhaps eternally lost through the blackness of his sin. No Northerner could have come so close to the heart of a Kentucky feud, and revealed it so perfectly, with the whimsicality playing through its carnage, or could have so brought us into the presence of the sardonic comi-tragedy of the squalid little river town where the store-keeping magnate shoots down his drunken tormentor in the arms of the drunkard's daughter, and then cows with bitter mockery the mob that comes to lynch him. The strict religiosity compatible in the Southwest with savage precepts of conduct is something that could make itself known in its amusing contrast only to the native Southwesterner, and the revolt against it is as constant in Mark Twain as the enmity to New England orthodoxy is in Dr. Holmes. But he does not take it with such serious resentment as Dr. Holmes is apt to take his inherited Puritanism, and it may be therefore that he is able to do it more perfect justice, and impart it more absolutely. At any rate there are no more vital passages in his fiction than those which embody character as it is affected for good as well as evil by the severity of the local Sunday-schooling and church-going.

IV.

I find myself, in spite of the discipline I intend for this paper, speaking first of the fiction, which by no means came first in Mark Twain's literary development. It is true that his beginnings were in short sketches, more or less inventive, and studies of life in which he let his imagination play freely; but it was not till he had written "Tom Sawyer" that he could be called a novelist. Even now I think he should rather be called a romancer, though such a book as "Huckleberry Finn" takes itself out of the order of romance and places itself with the great things in picaresque fiction. Still it is more poetic than picaresque, and of a deeper psychology. The probable and credible soul that the author divines in the son of the town drunkard is one which we might each own brother, and the art which portrays this nature at first hand in the person and language of the hero, without pose or affectation, is fine art. In the boy's history the author's fancy works realistically to an end as high as it has reached elsewhere, if not higher; and I who like "The Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court" so much, have half a mind to give my whole heart to "Huckleberry Finn."

Both "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer" wander in episodes loosely related to the main story, but they are of a closer and more logical advance from the beginning to the end than the fiction which preceded them, and which I had almost forgotten to name before them. We owe to "The Gilded Age" a type in Colonel Mulberry Sellers which is as likely to endure as any fictitious character of our time. It embodies the sort of Americanism which survived through the civil war, and characterized in its boundlessly credulous, fearlessly adventurous, unconsciously burlesque excess the period of political and economic expansion which followed the war. Colonel Sellers was, in some rough sort, the America of that day, which already seems so remote, and is best imaginable through him. Yet the story itself was of the fortuitous structure of what may be called the autobiographical books, such as "The Innocents Abroad" and "Roughing It." Its desultory and accidental character was heightened by the co-operation of Mr. Clemens's fellow humorist, Charles Dudley Warner, and such coherence as it had was weakened by the diverse qualities of their minds and their irreconcilable ideals in lit-

erature. These never combined to a sole effect or to any variety of effects that left the reader very clear what the story was all about; and yet from the cloudy solution was precipitated at least one character which, as I have said, seems of as lasting substance and lasting significance as any which the American imagination has evolved from the American environment.

If Colonel Sellers is Mr. Clemens's supreme invention, as it seems to me, I think that his "The Connecticut Yankee" is his greatest achievement in the way of a greatly imagined and symmetrically developed romance. Of all the fanciful schemes in fiction it pleases me most, and I give myself with absolute delight to its notion of a keen East Hartford Yankee finding himself, by a retroactionary spell, at the court of King Arthur of Britain, and becoming part of the sixth century with all the customs and ideas of the nineteenth in him and about him. The field for humanizing satire which this scheme opens is illimitable; but the ultimate achievement, the last poignant touch, the most exquisite triumph of the book, is the return of the Yankee to his own century, with his look across the gulf of the ages at the period of which he had been a part and his vision of the sixth century woman he had loved holding their child in her arms.

It is a great fancy, transcending in æsthetic beauty the invention in "The Prince and Pauper," with all the delightful and affecting implications of that charming fable, and excelling the heartrending story in which Joan of Arc lives and prophesies and triumphs and suffers. She is indeed realized to the modern sense as few figures of the past have been realized in fiction; and is none the less of her time and of all time because her supposititious historian is so recurrently of ours. After Sellers, and Huck Finn, and Tom Sawyer, and the Connecticut Yankee she is the author's finest creation; and if he had succeeded in portraying no other woman nature, he would have approved himself its fit interpreter in her. I do not think he succeeds so often with that nature as with the boy nature or the man nature, apparently because it does not interest him so much. He will not trouble himself to make women talk like women at all times; oftentimes they talk too much like him, though the simple, homely sort express themselves after their kind; and Mark Twain does not always write men's dialogue so well as he might. He is apt to burlesque the lighter colloquiality, and it is only in the more serious and most tragical

junctures that his people utter themselves with veracious simplicity and dignity. That great, burly fancy of his is always tempting him to the exaggeration which is the condition of so much of his personal humor, but which when it invades the drama spoils the illusion. The illusion renews itself in the great moments, but I wish it could be kept infract in the small, and I blame him that he does not rule his fancy better. His imagination is always dramatic in its conceptions, but not always in its expressions; the talk of his people is often inadequate caricature in the ordinary exigencies, and his art contents itself with makeshift in the minor action. Even in "Huck Finn," so admirably proportioned and honestly studied, you find a piece of lawless extravagance hurled in, like the episode of the two strolling actors in the flatboat; their broad burlesque is redeemed by their final tragedy—a prodigiously real and moving passage—but the friend of the book cannot help wishing the burlesque was not there. One laughs, and then despises oneself for laughing, and this is not what Mark Twain often makes you do. There are things in him that shock, and more things that we think shocking, but this may not be so much because of their nature, as because of our want of naturalness; they wound our conventions rather than our convictions. As most women are more the subjects of convention than men, his humor is not for most women; but I have a theory that when women like it they like it far beyond men. Its very excess must satisfy that demand of their insatiate nerves for something that there is enough of; but I offer this conjecture with instant readiness to withdraw it under correction. What I feel rather surer of is that there is something finally feminine in the inconsequence of his ratiocination, and his beautiful confidence that we shall be able to follow him to his conclusion in all those turnings and twistings and leaps and bounds, by which his mind carries itself to any point but that he seems aiming at. Men, in fact, are born of women, and possibly Mark Twain owes his literary method to the colloquial style of some far ancestress who was more concerned in getting there, and amusing herself on the way, than in ordering her steps.

Possibly also it is to this ancestress that he owes the instinct of right and wrong which keeps him clear as to the conditions that formed him, and their injustice. Slavery in a small Missouri river town could not have been the dignified and patriarchal in-

stitution which Southerners of the older South are fond of remembering or imagining. In the second generation from Virginia ancestry of this sort, Mark Twain was born to the common necessity of looking out for himself, and while making himself practically of another order of things he felt whatever was fine in the old and could regard whatever was ugly and absurd more tolerantly, more humorously than those who bequeathed him their enmity to it. Fortunately for him, and for us who were to enjoy his humor, he came to his intellectual consciousness in a world so large and free and safe that he could be fair to any wrong while seeing the right so unfailingly; and nothing is finer in him than his gentleness with the error which is simply passive and negative. He gets fun out of it, of course, but he deals almost tenderly with it, and hoards his violence for the superstitions and traditions which are arrogant and active. His pictures of that old river-town, Southwestern life, with its faded and tattered aristocratic ideals and its squalid democratic realities, are pathetic, while they are so unsparingly true and so inapologetically and unaffectedly faithful.

The West, when it began to put itself into literature, could do so without the sense, or the apparent sense, of any older or politer world outside of it; whereas the East was always looking fearfully over its shoulder at Europe, and anxious to account for itself as well as represent itself. No such anxiety as this entered Mark Twain's mind, and it is not claiming too much for the Western influence upon American literature to say that the final liberation of the East from this anxiety is due to the West, and to its ignorant courage or its indifference to its difference from the rest of the world. It would not claim to be superior, as the South did, but it could claim to be humanly equal, or rather it would make no claim at all, but would simply be, and what it was, show itself without holding itself responsible for not being something else.

The Western boy of forty or fifty years ago grew up so close to the primeval woods or fields that their inarticulate poetry became part of his being, and he was apt to deal simply and uncritically with literature when he turned to it, as he dealt with nature. He took what he wanted, and left what he did not like; he used it for the playground, not the workshop of his spirit. Something like this I find true of Mark Twain in peculiar and

uncommon measure. I do not see any proof in his books that he wished at any time to produce literature, or that he wished to reproduce life. When filled up with an experience that deeply interested him, or when provoked by some injustice or absurdity that intensely moved him, he burst forth, and the outbreak might be altogether humorous, but it was more likely to be humorous with a groundswell of seriousness carrying it profoundly forward. In all there is something curiously, not very definably, elemental, which again seems to me Western. He behaves himself as if he were the first man who was ever up against the proposition in hand. He deals as newly, for instance, with the relations of Shelley to his wife, and with as personal and direct an indignation as if they had never attracted critical attention before; and this is the mind or the mood which he brings to all literature. Life is another affair with him; it is not a discovery, not a surprise; every one else knows how it is; but here is a new world, and he explores it with a ramping joy, and shouts for the reader to come on and see how, in spite of all the lies about it, it is the same old world of men and women, with really nothing in it but their passions and prejudices and hypocrisies. At heart he was always deeply and essentially romantic, and once must have expected life itself to be a fairy dream. When it did not turn out so he found it tremendously amusing still, and his expectation not the least amusing thing in it, but without rancour, without grudge or bitterness in his disillusion, so that his latest word is as sweet as his first. He is deeply and essentially romantic in his literary conceptions, but when it comes to working them out he is helplessly literal and real; he is the impassioned lover, the helpless slave of the concrete. For this reason, for his wish, his necessity, first to ascertain his facts, his logic is as irresistible as his laugh.

V.

All life seems, when he began to find it out, to have the look of a vast joke, whether the joke was on him or on his fellow beings, or if it may be expressed without any irreverence, on their common creator. But it was never wholly a joke, and it was not long before his literature began to own its pathos. The sense of this is not very apparent in "Innocents Abroad," but in "Roughing It" we began to be distinctly aware of it, and in the successive books it is constantly imminent, not as a clutch at the heart-

strings, but as a demand of common justice, common sense, the feeling of proportion. It is not sympathy with the under dog merely as under dog that moves Mark Twain; for the under dog is sometimes rightfully under. But the probability is that it is wrongfully under, and has a claim to your inquiry into the case which you cannot ignore without atrocity. Mark Twain never ignores it; I know nothing finer in him than his perception that in this curiously contrived mechanism men suffer for their sorrows rather oftener than they suffer for their sins; and when they suffer for their sorrows they have a right not only to our pity but to our help. He always gives his help, even when he seems to leave the pity to others, and it may be safely said that no writer has dealt with so many phases of life with more unfailing justice. There is no real telling how any one comes to be what he is; all speculation concerning the fact is more or less impudent or futile conjecture; but it is conceivable that Mark Twain took from his early environment the custom of clairvoyance in things in which most humorists are purblind, and that being always in the presence of the under dog, he came to feel for him as under with him. If the knowledge and vision of slavery did not tinge all life with potential tragedy, perhaps it was this which lighted in the future humorist the indignation at injustice which glows in his page. His indignation relieves itself as often as not in a laugh; injustice is the most ridiculous thing in the world, after all, and indignation with it feels its own absurdity.

It is supposable, if not more than supposable, that the ludicrous incongruity of a slaveholding democracy nurtured upon the Declaration of Independence, and the comical spectacle of white labor owning black labor, had something to do in quickening the sense of contrast which is the mountain of humor, or is said to be so. But not to drive too hard a conjecture which must remain conjecture, we may reasonably hope to find in the untrammelled, the almost unconditional life of the later and farther West, with its individualism limited by nothing but individualism, the outside causes of the first overflow of the spring. We are so fond of classification, which we think is somehow interpretation, that one cannot resist the temptation it holds out in the case of the most unclassifiable things; and I must yield so far as to note that the earliest form of Mark Twain's work is characteristic of the greater part of it. The method used in "Innocents Abroad"

and in "Roughing It" is the method used in "Life on the Mississippi," in "A Tramp Abroad" and in "Following the Equator," which constitute in bulk a good half of all his writings, as they express his dominant æsthetics. If he had written the fictions alone, we should have had to recognize a rare inventive talent, a great imagination and dramatic force; but I think it must be allowed that the personal books named overshadow the fictions. They have the qualities that give character to the fictions, and they have advantages that the fictions have not and that no fiction can have. In them, under cover of his pseudonym, we come directly into the presence of the author, which is what the reader is always longing and seeking to do; but unless the novelist is a conscienceless and tasteless recreant to the terms of his art, he cannot admit the reader to his intimacy. The personal books of Mark Twain have not only the charm of the essay's inconsequent and desultory method, in which invention, fact, reflection and philosophy wander in after one another in any following that happens, but they are of an immediate and most informal hospitality which admits you at once to the author's confidence, and makes you frankly welcome not only to his thought but to his way of thinking. He takes no trouble in the matter, and he asks you to take none. All that he requires is that you will have common sense, and be able to tell a joke when you see it. Otherwise the whole furnishing of his mental mansion is at your service, to make such use as you can of it, but he will not be always directing your course, or requiring you to enjoy yourself in this or that order.

In the case of the fictions, he conceives that his first affair is to tell a story, and a story when you are once launched upon it does not admit of deviation without some hurt to itself. In Mark Twain's novels, whether they are for boys or for men, the episodes are only those that illustrate the main narrative or relate to it, though he might have allowed himself somewhat larger latitude in the old-fashioned tradition which he has oftenest observed in them. When it comes to the critical writings, which again are personal, and which, whether they are criticisms of literature or of life, are always so striking, he is quite relentlessly logical and coherent. Here there is no lounging or sauntering, with entertaining or edifying digressions. The object is in view from the first, and the reasoning is straightforwardly to it throughout. This is

as notable in the admirable paper on the Jews, or on the Austrian situation, as in that on Harriet Shelley, or that on Cooper's novels. The facts are first ascertained with a conscience uncommon in critical writing of any kind, and then they are handled with vigor and precision till the polemic is over. It does not so much matter whether you agree with the critic or not; what you have to own is that here is a man of strong convictions, clear ideas and ardent sentiments, based mainly upon common sense of extraordinary depth and breadth.

VI.

In fact, what finally appeals to you in Mark Twain, and what may hereafter be his peril with his readers, is his common sense. It is well to eat humble pie when one comes to it at the *table d'hôte* of life, and I wish here to offer my brother literary men a piece of it that I never refuse myself. It is true that other men do not really expect much common sense of us, whether we are poets or novelists or humorists. They may enjoy our company, and they may like us or pity us, but they do not take us very seriously, and they would as soon we were fools as not if we will only divert or comfort or inspire them. Especially if we are humorists do they doubt our practical wisdom; they are apt at first sight to take our sense for a part of the joke, and the humorist who convinces them that he is a man of as much sense as any of them, and possibly more, is in the parlous case of having given them hostages for seriousness which he may not finally be able to redeem.

I should say in the haste to which every inquiry of this sort seems subject, that this was precisely the case with Mark Twain. The exceptional observer must have known from the beginning that he was a thinker of courageous originality and penetrating sagacity, even when he seemed to be joking; but in the process of time it has come to such a pass with him that the wayfaring man can hardly shirk knowledge of the fact. The fact is thrown into sudden and picturesque relief by his return to his country after the lapse of time long enough to have let a new generation grow up in knowledge of him. The projection of his reputation against a background of foreign appreciation, more or less luminous, such as no other American author has enjoyed, has little or nothing to do with his acceptance on the new terms. Those

poor Germans, Austrians, Englishmen and Frenchmen who have been, from time to time in the last ten years, trying to show their esteem for his peculiar gifts could never come as close to the heart of his humor as we could; we might well doubt if they could fathom all his wisdom, which begins and ends in his humor; and if ever they seemed to chance upon his full significance, we naturally felt a kind of grudge, when we could not call it their luck, and suspected him of being less significant in the given instances than they supposed. The danger which he now runs with us is neither heightened nor lessened by the spread of his fame, but is an effect from intrinsic causes. Possibly it might not have been so great if he had come back comparatively forgotten; it is certain only that in coming back more remembered than ever, he confronts a generation which began to know him not merely by his personal books and his fiction, but by those criticisms of life and literature which have more recently attested his interest in the graver and weightier things.

Graver and weightier, people call them, but whether they are really more important than the lighter things, I am by no means sure. What I am amused with, independently of the final truth, is the possibility that his newer audience will exact this serious mood of Mr. Clemens, whereas we of his older world only suffered it, and were of a high conceit with our liberality in allowing a humorist sometimes to be a philosopher. Some of us indeed, not to be invidiously specific as to whom, were always aware of potentialities in him, which he seemed to hold in check, or to trust doubtfully to his reader as if he thought they might be thought part of the joke. Looking back over his work now, the later reader would probably be able to point out to earlier readers the evidence of a constant growth in the direction of something like recognized authority in matters of public import, especially those that were subject to the action of the public conscience as well as the public interest, until now hardly any man writing upon such matters is heard so willingly by all sorts of men. All of us, for instance, have read somewhat of the conditions in South Africa which have eventuated in the present effort of certain British politicians to destroy two free Republics in the interest of certain British speculators; but I doubt if we have found the case anywhere so well stated as in the closing chapters of Mark Twain's "Following the Equator." His esti-

mate of the military character of the belligerents on either side is of the prophetic cast which can come only from the thorough assimilation of accomplished facts; and in those passages the student of the actual war can spell its anticipative history. It is by such handling of such questions, unpremeditated and almost casual as it seems, that Mark Twain has won his claim to be heard on any public matter, and achieved the odd sort of primacy which he now enjoys.

But it would be rather awful if the general recognition of his prophetic function should implicate the renunciation of the humor that has endeared him to mankind. It would be well for his younger following to beware of reversing the error of the elder, and taking everything in earnest, as these once took nothing in earnest from him. To reverse that error would not be always to find his true meaning, and perhaps we shall best arrive at this by shunning each other's mistakes. In the light of the more modern appreciation, we elders may be able to see some things seriously that we once thought pure drolling, and from our experience his younger admirers may learn to receive as drolling some things that they might otherwise accept as preaching. What we all should wish to do is to keep Mark Twain what he has always been: a comic force unique in the power of charming us out of our cares and troubles, united with as potent an ethic sense of the duties, public and private, which no man denies in himself without being false to other men. I think we may hope for the best he can do to help us deserve our self-respect, without forming Mark Twain societies to read philanthropic meanings into his jokes, or studying the Jumping Frog as the allegory of an imperializing Republic. I trust the time may be far distant when the Meditation at the Tomb of Adam shall be memorized and declaimed by ingenuous youth as a mystical appeal for human solidarity.

W. D. HOWELLS.

VICTORIA AND HER REIGN.

BY LADY JEUNE.

It was in the early morning dawn of January the 20th, 1837, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham, the Lord Chamberlain, left Windsor for Kensington to convey the news to Princess Victoria that King William the Fourth had passed away, and that she was the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. The King's death had been expected for some weeks, and the Princess was therefore not unprepared for the news.

The Princess was the only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George the Third, and her mother was the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg Saalfeld. The Duchess of Kent had formerly been married to the Prince of Leiningen, which had been an unhappy union; and her second marriage, though a happy one, was of short duration, for the Duke died two years after its celebration from the effects of a sudden chill.

Most simple and unostentatious were the life and upbringing of the young Princess. She and her mother lived in Kensington Palace; and for many years the Duchess of Kent was in straitened circumstances, owing to the debts which her husband had contracted and which she endeavored to pay, but which were not finally cleared off until the accession of his daughter.

Kensington Palace, where the Princess spent her childhood, was one of the largest and most imposing of all the royal residences in England; but it was not a very cheerful house, and the early life of the little girl was perhaps a sad time, as her rank placed her in a position of isolation, and she was unable to enjoy the society of young people of her own age. Great attention was paid to the development of her physical and mental qualities. She was made to ride and walk and take plenty of outdoor exercise, and there are some alive now who remember the little carriage

in which she rode, and later the sunny, bright-haired child who careered by her mother's side, playing with her dogs, in the shady walks of Kensington Gardens.

The early education of the Princess was undertaken by the Duchess of Kent, who supervised her governesses and teachers with great care. She received her religious training largely at the hands of Dr. Davis, afterward Bishop of Peterborough; but, undoubtedly, the person who exercised most influence over the Princess in her early years was her governess, Baroness Lehnzen, who retained her influence in a great measure as long as she lived. For many years, the Princess was kept by her mother in complete ignorance of her future; and the story of how it first dawned on her is quite true and so touching that it bears constant repetition. The King's age and bad health made it necessary to provide for a Regency, and a bill for the purpose was laid before Parliament. Baroness Lehnzen thought the Princess should be told and received the Duchess of Kent's permission to tell her. The genealogical paper of the family was put into the Princess's History Book, and when the Princess's lesson was over she observed the paper, and said: "I never saw that before." "It was not thought necessary that you should, Princess," was the reply. "Then I am nearer the Throne than I thought." "It is so, madam." The child was very quiet for some moments, and then said: "How many a child would boast, but they do not know the difficulty; there is much splendor but much responsibility;" and, putting her little hand into that of the governess, she said: "I will be good, dear Lehnzen; I will be good."

The girl's earnestness of purpose, and the settled determination of her mind that she would make herself worthy of the high position to which she would some day be called, were the keynote of the whole of the life of Queen Victoria, and in every way she endeavored to subordinate her life to the welfare of the great empire over which she reigned. She was fortunate enough, at the most critical moment of her life, to be able to command the services of Lord Melbourne, who, while being a wise counsellor, was a most devoted friend, whose affection and care for her knew no bounds, and who, in the years when her inexperience and youthful impulsiveness might have created great difficulties, steered the ship of state with the utmost wisdom and discretion. To him the Queen gave her unbounded confidence, and on him

she leaned with perfect safety. He was never absent from her side, and in the smallest details of every-day life she consulted him, even so far as asking him to read books so as to tell her whether they were desirable or instructive.

To a girl brought up as the Queen had been, in a quiet and unostentatious way, the change to a position of great dignity and magnificence must have been almost insupportable; yet she conducted herself as if she had been born on the throne. Nothing more surprised all those with whom she came into contact than the calm dignity of her manner, and the remarkable ease with which she at once took up the duties of her exalted position. She sent for all the great officials connected with the preparations for the Proclamation and supervised the programme of her Coronation, attended to state business with the strictest regularity and amazed every one by the capacity she showed for the work of which she had had no experience hitherto. Her day was mapped out on a plan which was followed with the greatest faithfulness, and her pleasures and relaxations were never allowed to interfere with the dispatch of state business. The exalted rank of her daughter necessarily put the Duchess of Kent into a somewhat subordinate position; and the Queen, from all accounts, allowed little if any interference from her mother in state matters. Up to the time of her accession, she had always slept in a little bed in her mother's room, but when she became Queen she ordered her bed to be removed into a room which she occupied alone. This self-assertion showed every one that no ordinary woman would be developed from the young Queen. She had a strong opinion on every point, great self-reliance and determination. She showed, at the same time, the utmost consideration for the feelings of others. One or two incidents in her relations with the Queen Dowager are very touching, especially the readiness with which she agreed to the Queen Dowager's request that her personal attendants might be provided for, and her instructions to Lord Melbourne, on the occasion of her first visit to Windsor to see the Queen Dowager, to give orders that the flag which flew at half-mast should not be raised upon her arrival.

The first public appearance of the Queen was at St. James's Palace, when the Proclamation was read, and she appeared at one of the windows with her mother and the great officers of state, where her appearance called forth the greatest acclamation and

enthusiasm. At that early age of eighteen, she was a pretty English girl; she had a very fresh complexion, a quantity of fair hair, bright blue eyes, though her face was not perfect, and she was short of stature and inclined to be plump. Whatever defects she had were, however, forgotten in the great air of dignity which she possessed and, above all, in the charm of her voice and smile, which once seen and heard were never forgotten.

The next ceremonial in which the Queen took part was the prorogation of Parliament. Not having been crowned, she wore only a magnificent tiara of diamonds, and her stomacher and dress were blazing with brilliants. She was dressed in white satin; and, after ascending the throne, the purple robes were fastened on her shoulders by her lords-in-waiting. Later in the year, she paid her first visit to the City and dined at the Guildhall. On passing Temple Bar, which was then the City Boundary, the keys of the City were given to her; and it was a curious coincidence that on that occasion she knighted the first Jewish Sheriff, the late Sir Moses Montefiore, who, to the last day of his life, described with rapturous admiration the graceful and gracious way in which, her face wreathed in smiles, the Queen rose and bowed her acknowledgment to her health, the toast of the evening.

It is not necessary to dwell on the incidents of the Coronation. One can well imagine the fatigue and solemnity of the day to the young girl. The day was fine, fortunately for the myriads of people who flocked the streets, anxious to catch a glimpse of the gorgeous procession and, perchance, of the principal figure in it. Inside the sacred fane of England were gathered all that was great and glorious in the land, and the brilliancy of the scene baffles description. The Peers and Peeresses of England, all attired in their robes, formed a gorgeous background, with ambassadors and great officers of state in brilliant uniforms, among whom Prince Esterhazy is said to have been the most conspicuous on account of the diamonds he wore. The Queen drove from Buckingham Palace in the state coach, attended by the Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes; and, to those who saw her, the slight, pale, agitated girl, dressed in simple white, was a more touching figure than that of the Queen in her crown and royal robes after the Coronation, as she returned bowing her acknowledgments on her way to the Palace.

The strength of character shown by the Queen in the early

days of her reign, no doubt fostered by Lord Melbourne's wise companionship, grew as her experience and knowledge of affairs increased, and she gave many proofs of her power of will and determination, even in political matters. The first indication of her strength of purpose regarding a political matter was given in connection with the celebrated question of the Bedchamber difficulty, when, Lord Melbourne's Government having been defeated on the Jamaica Bill, he resigned and Sir Robert Peel took office. Sir Robert Peel and the Tories had long viewed the supremacy of Lord Melbourne with jealousy, as well as the whole of the Queen's Whig entourage. Sir Robert told the Queen that she must regard her ladies-in-waiting in the same light as lords-in-waiting, who change with each Government. The Queen's indignation and anger knew no bounds, nor could the Duke of Wellington influence her in the smallest degree. In the end Sir Robert Peel had to give way, and the Queen retained her Whig Prime Minister and her ladies. It is said that the Queen exclaimed to Lord Melbourne, on describing the encounter with Sir Robert Peel: "Do not fear that I was not calm and composed. They wanted to deprive me of my ladies, and I suppose they would deprive me of most of my dresses and my housemaids. They wish to treat me like a girl, but I will show them that I am Queen of England." The probability was that the Queen feared, if she gave way on this one point, that an attempt might be made to deprive her of Baroness Lehnzen, her old governess, to whom she was deeply attached; while Peel, on his part, dreaded the difficulties which a Tory minister might encounter at the hands of a high spirited girl of nineteen entirely surrounded by women opposed to him in politics.

The Queen's marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe Gotha was for long the dream of her uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, and of the faithful Baron Holzman, the Prince's tutor and devoted friend. The cousins had met during some of the Princess's visits abroad, and the Prince paid a visit to England with his brother, in 1836, as a guest of his aunt, the Duchess of Kent. It was then that King Leopold decided that Albert would be a fitting husband for the future Queen; and, though he was not sure of the young man's feelings, he very soon discovered that the Princess shared his own. The position was a very difficult and delicate one for both the young people, for the time which elapsed before the

matter was settled was full of rumors of the engagement. It was at first thought that it would be better that the marriage should not take place for four years after the accession of the Queen; but the visit of the two brothers in the autumn of 1839 put an end to all such intentions, for the Queen found that she could not let Prince Albert leave England except as her affianced husband. It was a trying situation for the young girl (whose rank made it imperative that the initiative should come from her) to be placed in, but it was arranged that the giving the Prince a certain flower was to be taken as an indication that he might declare his love. Many years afterwards, a very amusing story was told of the Queen's having said to some one who, in course of conversation on a like subject, alluded to the difficulty of the woman's position: "Oh! that was nothing in comparison to what I had to undergo; for I had to propose to Albert." The little episode was settled in the Queen's sitting room on the evening of the 15th of October, 1839; and her own words are truly touching, which she writes to her uncle Leopold: "These last few days have passed like a dream to me. I am so bewildered by it all that I hardly know how to write; but I do feel very happy." The union thus arranged proved happy in the highest and best sense of the word. To say that they were united is but a faint way of expressing the sympathy, trust and affection that existed between them.

The Queen wished to wait for the opening of Parliament to make the public and formal announcement of her engagement to Prince Albert; but it was thought desirable to call a meeting of the Privy Council, at which, with Prince Albert's bracelet on her arm, which, she said, "seemed to give her courage," she made the eventful statement. The marriage ceremony at St. James's Palace was solemnized in the morning, and the crowds which thronged the streets were greater than those which had witnessed the visit of the allied sovereigns in 1814. The Queen drove with the Duchess of Kent and the Duchess of Sutherland, her first mistress of the Robes and her life-long friend, to the Chapel. She was attended by twelve bridesmaids, and on arriving at the Palace she was conducted to the Royal Closet, where she was robed by her maids of honor, and, preceded by the great officers of state, she entered the Chapel. Her uncle, the Duke of Sussex, gave her away, and the newly married couple proceeded hand in hand to the Throne Room to sign the register, and returned to Buck-

ingham Palace. An old custom was revived on the occasion of the marriage, by the giving of presentation wedding rings to a few favored friends and distinguished people; these were composed of tiny gold profile portraits of the young couple, set in a true lover's knot.

The years that passed from that time till the Prince's death in 1861 were full of stirring incidents and much political strife. The Crimean war, the Indian mutiny, the Chinese and Afghan wars and the Canadian rebellion took place, and there were the constantly recurring disagreements with the United States. At home, there was a great discontent, a great deal of poverty among the working classes caused by the depression of trade, and much public disquiet. But whatever political troubles and anxieties existed during these years, they were more than compensated for by the happiness of the Queen's home life and her increasing domestic interests. The birth of her children, all strong and healthy; the opening of the great exhibition of 1857, which seemed to mark a new era in national prosperity; the friendship of the Emperor Napoleon, which destroyed so much of the bitterness, the inevitable heritage of long wars, between England and France; and the victories of her armies in the Crimea and in India—all helped to fill the cup of her prosperity.

The first break in the happy family circle took place when Prince Frederick William of Prussia wedded the Princess Royal. There is a great deal to be read about their courtship and marriage from the Queen's own pen. Very soon afterward, another break was to be made by the engagement of Princess Alice to the Crown-Prince Louis of Hesse. These partings, though they made a blank in the home circle, were so satisfactory in their circumstances, and the prospects of the future happiness of her daughters so well assured, that the Queen and mother could only rejoice; and, under the shadow of the dark cloud which was so soon to wreck her own happy life, she prepared herself to say farewell to her dear ones. The Prince Consort, whose constitution even as a young man had never been robust, had, with increasing years, become a stronger man, and was able to take an active part in every sport and occupation enjoyed by Englishmen. No illness had ever caused the Queen any anxiety until the typhoid fever which proved fatal developed itself. The fever, which was not of a severe kind, ran its normal course; but there was not vitality

enough left to enable him to throw off the effects, and suddenly the nation, which was watching the reports from the sick room with deep and anxious attention, was shocked and stunned at the intelligence that the Prince Consort was dying. The death of the Duchess of Kent early in the year had been the first bereavement that the Queen had experienced in her life; but, much as she sorrowed for her mother, it had been expected that that parting must soon come in the course of nature. The Prince had passed a somewhat busy autumn and he was overtired; and, as extracts from his journal tell us, he had for a long time been feeling very ill, and his nervous system was exhausted. The Queen, with the hopefulness of her nature, did not realize how ill he was, nor till the 11th of November did the doctors tell her of his serious condition, and on the 14th the end came. No words can ever describe the overwhelming sorrow of that bereavement, or the grief which hallowed that deathbed.

The country awoke to its sense of bereavement with a feeling of remorse, for the Prince during his life had never been appreciated as he deserved. His complete self-abnegation, his unselfishness and the way in which he merged his life in that of the Queen, living only for her and appearing only through her, had given an impression that the work he did and his influence were comparatively small; and it was only when he died that the country realized how, with every temptation to lead a life of pleasure, he had lived one of unceasing devotion to duty and of unstinted labor for the welfare of others. A most touching story was told by one of the Queen's ladies of how deeply the Queen deplored that the untimely death of the Prince had deprived her and the country of the opportunity of understanding during his life how much they owed to his great and noble unselfishness. With tears streaming down her cheeks, she said: "Oh! if I could only call my people together and say to them before him: 'Here is the fountainhead of every good desire, every noble aspiration I have ever had. Here is the guiding hand and heart that has lived only for me and my people, and when I hear you say I am good or wise or a great Queen, I long to tell you that what I am he has made me, and that without him I should have been unworthy in every way.'" But it was all too late, the true heart was still, the busy brain at rest, and all he had loved and worked for left alone to weep for him. How truly she felt her desolation, the

Queen well described when she said: "There is no one left now to call me by my Christian name."

The marriage of Princess Alice was postponed, and her time was entirely given up to her mother. She had nursed her father during his long illness, and after his death she stood almost alone with her mother in those dark hours, seeing Ministers and having all official communications to the Queen made through her. When the marriage took place it was solemnized quietly in the drawing-room at Osborne, all members of the Royal Family being present. The Queen was present at the marriage of the Prince of Wales in St. George's Chapel, witnessing it from the royal pew. In 1866, when she opened Parliament in person, the procession from the Palace to Westminster was watched by dense crowds, and the House of Lords was thronged by Peers eager to see the Queen again take part in that brilliant pageant; but nothing could be sadder or more touching than the sight of the widowed Queen, wearing the cap of mourning, as she walked slowly to the throne covered by the purple robes she could not be induced to wear. She looked neither to the right nor left, but sitting down she remained motionless, with eyes fixed on the ground, and listened to the reading of the royal speech by the Lord Chancellor. When it was finished, she slowly rose, kissed the Prince of Wales, who led her by the hand to the great door, through which, with a flourish of trumpets, she disappeared.

After that period, the Queen more frequently appeared in public, though not often enough to please some of her subjects, whose unfeeling criticisms provoked the indignation of some of the most radical of her people, and by none was she more warmly defended than by Mr. John Bright. In justification of her retirement, the Queen wrote a most touching letter to the people which appeared in *The Times,* appealing to their sympathy and assuring them that, while the material interests of the country would never suffer from any neglect of duty on her part, it was impossible for her to recover from her ever abiding desolation which had taken the place of her former happiness. No one looking back on her long reign can honestly say that the Queen has ever shirked or evaded any work that she was told was good for the interests of her subjects; and that all she did was appreciated, the enthusiasm her appearances in public have called forth sufficiently guarantee.

During the last years of her reign, the Queen became im-

mensely popular, her personal qualities having greatly endeared her to the people. In her reign and by her life, she set the loftiest standard of morality and showed her keen sense of responsibility. Though not often seen in public, her people knew that their welfare was her highest and deepest interest, and that she labored for it unceasingly. The isolation of her position, with all its grandeur, appealed to their finest sense of chivalry, and the domestic virtues of the Queen and her family represented all that was best and most sacred in English life. The virtues which she so nobly illustrated are repeated in the lives of her children, and their devotion and that of her grandchildren have always been among the most significant proofs of her goodness.

To no other sovereign have the united acclamation and voice of the people ever spoken as they did to her in the jubilee years. None who witnessed the streets of London, the processions and all the attendant splendors of those wonderful and never-to-be-forgotten days could doubt that the love of her people for Queen Victoria was of the deepest and truest nature. No one who saw the wondrous procession of Princes, all related by blood or marriage to the little old lady in the carriage, with her gracious smile and her eyes brimful of tears, could ever forget the scene. Men, women and children came from all corners of the Empire, and from among all the races that owned her sway, to raise their voices in the chorus of congratulation and gratitude to her, to whose beneficent reign they owed so much of their prosperity. Those who witnessed the home side of the picture, tell of the joyous and affectionate embraces and caresses which were lavished on her by her children on her return home from these bewildering demonstrations of loyalty.

The Queen's life was up to the last a very busy one, almost too busy for her age and strength, and she occupied herself with state affairs and work for her country without sparing herself. To the end she led an almost monotonous daily life. She rose and breakfasted early, and gave all her morning to the transaction of state work. In the summer, when the weather permitted it, she breakfasted at Frogmore in the garden there. After luncheon she drove, and returning late did what work had arrived during the day, dining at 9 o'clock, a meal which she accomplished with extraordinary rapidity, never being more than half an hour at table. The household complained of the shortness of the time

allowed for the meal on account of the rapidity with which the Queen ate. The Queen rose first from the table, followed by the members of her family into the corridor, where coffee was served. In the days when she was able to move about, she walked from one guest to another, saying a few words to each; in late years, when she was obliged to sit, they were sent for in turn to speak to her. After remaining for about an hour, the Queen would retire to her private apartments, where she would either write or be read to by one of her ladies, and she rarely went to bed before midnight. There is no doubt that the Queen inherited the strength and vitality of her race to an extraordinary degree, for she never had an illness in her life, and her power of endurance was marvellous. The etiquette which prevented any one from sitting down in her presence was often a great load on her daughters and her ladies, and she often kindly sent her pages to some of her guests, who were suffering discomfort in following that rule, to say that she hoped they would go into the next room and rest; but she seemed never to feel the necessity for rest herself. After she had the fall downstairs which partially crippled her in later life, she found sitting down or being wheeled in a chair very irksome; and the increase of her blindness toward the end of her life was a very great trial to her, which she bore, however, with great cheerfulness.

The Queen had the greatest belief in and affection for those she liked, and was the warmest champion and friend. To those around her immediate person she was affectionate, and most kind and considerate to her servants. She was fond of those who amused her, and she listened to social news most intently. She was of a deeply sympathetic nature, the joys and sorrows of life appealing to her strongly. She was a most devoted mother, but not perhaps a tender one, for her children, loving her as they did, were always in awe of her and only her grandchildren were ever able quite to speak their minds in her presence. The Prince Consort and she paid every attention to the education of their family, selecting their teachers with the greatest care, the principal responsibility falling on the Prince, as the Queen's time was too much occupied with state affairs to allow her to devote much of it to her family; but she always saw her children morning and evening when they were small, and as soon as they were old enough they took their meals with her. Few lives could be more

simple and unpretentious than theirs, and they were brought up without any extravagance in dress or surroundings, the result of which is that her daughters have made excellent wives for poor men. The relations between the Queen and the Prince of Wales have always been of the most intimate and tender character, and, for the first time for many reigns, we have seen a sovereign and the Heir Apparent on the most affectionate terms. Nothing could be more touching than the Prince's respectful and devoted manner to the Queen in public, or the sweet, frank smile which always brightened up her otherwise sad face when she turned to welcome or to thank him.

The Queen was always a most vehement opponent of every movement that had for its ultimate object the higher education and development of women. She disliked the idea of women's education being placed on the same basis as that of men. With women like Mrs. Fawcett or Mrs. Garrett Anderson she had no sympathy, and the idea of female suffrage was abhorrent to her. She had the strongest prejudices against public men with whom she differed in politics; and though she was far too constitutional a Queen ever to allow her feelings to interfere with public business, she had her likes and dislikes strongly defined. Her favorite Prime Ministers were Lord Melbourne, Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Salisbury. She never was on easy terms with Mr. Gladstone or any of the Liberal Party, except, perhaps, Lord Rosebery at the beginning of his administration. As to Mr. Chamberlain, she had long a great fear that he would prove a dangerous factor in English politics; but, when the question of the union broke up the Liberal Party, she showed in the most unmistakable manner her approbation of the Liberal Unionist leaders. On the occasion of the opening of the Imperial Institute, it was remarked by every one that she placed strong emphasis on the words, "the union of my Empire." It was always said that Lord Beaconsfield, who was a thorough courtier, gained his influence over her by giving way to her opinions on nearly every point, or, at any rate, by persuading her that he did so. There is a little story to the effect that, in discussing literary matters with her, he used to speak of "we authors." Her affection for him, at any rate, was very deep and sincere, and she mourned for him not only on national but personal grounds.

In general society for the last few years the Queen had but

few friends, and her hospitality generally consisted of a few dinners when at Windsor to the members of the Government and the Opposition and one or two leading people in society. During the long years after the Prince Consort's death, she gave up every kind of evening amusement, such as the theatre or opera, but lately she had representations from time to time of the popular plays and operas. St. George's Hall at Windsor was for the time transformed into a theatre, and the Queen attended, always enjoying herself very much; but, as she never led the applause, and no one dared to give the signal, the effect on the actors and audience was most depressing. She always received the *corps dramatique* after the performance, charming them by her winning smile and gracious approval, as well as by the little mementoes she presented them with. After the marriage of Princess Beatrice, the Queen was surrounded by younger people; and the younger members of the Royal Family being very fond of acting, and there being one or two good performers among the court attendants, theatricals and tableaux in which every one took part were a constant source of amusement to her.

It was pathetic to see, as her weakness and blindness increased, the resignation and cheerfulness with which she bore her troubles. She had always a strong dislike to being waited on and liked doing things for herself, and her growing dependence was a great trial to her. Her children and grandchildren were ever ready to do all they could to solace and comfort her, and her motherly gratitude and affection deepened as her life advanced.

With all the splendors of the Court of England, the Queen had little or no sympathy. She loved the quiet, simple life of an Englishwoman more than all the grandeur of one of the greatest and richest courts of Europe. Her own personal wants were very small, and her tastes very simple. She never dressed extravagantly nor lived luxuriously, and she died a poor woman. The Civil List of the Queen was £385,000 a year, out of which the salaries of all the court officials and one or two outside offices were paid, the Queen paying, besides, for all her own entourage; the offices of Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward and Master of the Horse being defrayed by the Government. The income which was granted by the country to the Queen sounds large and more than ample; and yet, measured by what is expected of the sovereign, is not so. The price paid by the Queen for every article is larger

than that paid by her subjects, and the number of presents which she is expected to give is enormous. The Queen did not die a rich woman, though it was always the custom to talk of her vast fortune. She started in life having to pay her father's debts, which were very heavy; and though she has had small legacies left her they are comparatively insignificant. She gave each of her daughters £100,000 when married, besides providing for the young Duke of Albany and helping her other children in many ways. She purchased Balmoral, Osborne and Claremont out of her savings, so that the residue of her property was small. She gave always generously to charities, and in many ways which no one ever heard of. She was more interested in some charities than others, the sorrows of widows and children, and of those who were bereaved, appealing strongly to her widowed heart. The cause of education when allied to religion interested her; the new development of women's lives only interested her up to a certain point, and she was very chary of giving her support and help to rescue-work among the fallen. Some of the most touching scenes in her life are those connected with visits to hospitals, either in London, the provinces or at her Soldiers' hospital at Netley. There was one public occasion on which she showed her sympathy with the realization of a great scheme, which had for its aim the amelioration of the condition of the poor in the East End of London, when in state she went to open the "People's Palace." The part she went to was, perhaps, the poorest and most squalid of all the East of London, yet the decorations and the joy of the people at welcoming her among them were more varied and more enthusiastic than those of her richer subjects in the West End.

The Queen was a warm-hearted, generous woman, with strong likes and dislikes and a very quick temper, which made her passionate and hasty at times. She took some time to forget an injury or an insult. There is one very touching story told of her and the Prince Consort, which is so generally believed to be true that it may be repeated now without indiscretion. On one occasion when there had been some difference between them and the Queen had expressed herself with some heat, the Prince, as was his custom on such occasions, withdrew to his room and locked the door. Presently, a knock came to his door, and on asking who was there he was told, "The Queen." He answered that he was engaged, and a second knock came, followed by the same question

and the same reply. After a lapse of a few minutes a gentle knock was heard, and on the Prince's inquiring who was there, the Queen answered, "Your wife"; whereupon the door was opened, with the loving assurance that what the Queen demanded might not be possible, but the wife's appeal was unanswerable.

The Queen, as is known, had a great affection for Scotland and her Scotch home. There she enjoyed the perfect freedom she longed for; she lived among a simple people, into whose lives she entered, and whose joys and sorrows she was allowed to share; and the upbuilding of Balmoral as her home was one of her most cherished occupations. She visited the sick and dying, sat at the bedsides of her own people, read to those who needed it, and in the fresh, light air of the Highlands found only pleasure and repose.

The Queen was a great woman in the sense that her age, her vast experience and her knowledge of the world made her quite a unique personage. She had known all the great men of her day, and she had lived to see greater and vaster changes, both politically and socially, than any other sovereign. She saw the practical development of steam and the wonderful changes it has wrought, she saw the great economic laws of the country changed, she lived through what in other countries would have wrought revolutions, she has seen institutions on which the stability of her Empire was supposed to depend swept away, and the Government of the country transferred from the aristocracy to the toiling multitude of working men; but she also lived to see the stability of her throne stronger and more firmly established through her own constitutional conduct of affairs. Last of all, she lived to see the largest Empire the world has ever known welded together under her sceptre by unbreakable bonds, and in a federation of which her name was the watchword.

The Victorian Era has been one of the most glorious in the history of England, and to no one does it owe its brilliancy more than to Queen Victoria. Had she been more intellectual, she would have lacked that homely common sense and that sympathy with the sorrows and joys of her people which distinguished her. Under the royal purple and the diamond crown, her people discovered the heart not of the Queen, but of the woman who understood and entered into the smaller interests and occupations of life which form the strongest bond of human sympathy.

M. JEUNE.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXXII.

MARCH, 1901.

THE POPE'S CIVIL PRINCEDOM.

BY THE MOST REVEREND JOHN IRELAND, ARCHBISHOP OF ST. PAUL.

Two notable addresses made recently in Rome, one by His Holiness, Leo XIII., in solemn consistory, the other by His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, as the spokesman of some hundreds of English pilgrims, give evidence that the lapse of thirty years since the old Aurelian wall of Rome near the Porta Pia crumbled beneath the shot and shell of Italian artillery has not put out of sight the question of the Pope's civil princedom, that this question clamors to-day for a solution as imperiously as at any moment since 1870, and that the one solution to it which will satisfy the Pontiff and the faithful of the Catholic Church is the restoration of the Papacy to its temporal power.

I quote from the address of Leo XIII.:

"Many matters, both disagreeable and sad, press upon us. * * * A source of grief in particular is, that the same force which deprived the Pontiff of his just and legitimate temporal sovereignty, with which was bound up the freedom of his sacred office, still persecutes and continues to hold him subject to an alien domination. Our sense of the bitterness of this injustice was recently renewed by what we saw taking place in the Italian state—that is, when the government of the city, which had been wrongfully secured, was passed on from one to another, as if it had been justly obtained. We complain of the

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continuance of the grievance; we desire the rights of the Holy See to be safe and intact; we declare they can nowise be interfered with or diminished by a lapse of time or a succession of possessors."

And from the address of the Duke of Norfolk:

"We look forward with hope to this new century, which you, Holy Father, have ushered in with prayer and sacrifice, upholding the claim of Jesus Christ to the allegiance of mankind. * * * We pray and we trust that it may witness the restoration of the Roman Pontiff to that position of temporal independence which Your Holiness has declared necessary for the effective fulfilment of the duties of his world-wide charge."

It will be remarked that both Pope and Duke base the claim of the civil princedom of the Head of the Church upon the exigencies of his spiritual mission. Leo deplores the loss of the temporal sovereignty "with which was bound up the freedom of his sacred office;" and the Duke of Norfolk prays for the restoration of the Pontiff to the position of temporal independence "necessary for the effective fulfilment of his world-wide charge." It is, therefore, the connection between the Pope's possession of temporal power and the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction that we must consider, if we are to have a correct apprehension of the Roman question, and understand why it is that this question lives, and demands from the twentieth century the solution which it failed to receive from the closing decades of the nineteenth.

I.

The Pope is the sovereign chieftain of a church which its members hold to have been founded by Christ, the Incarnate God, to teach all peoples until the end of time. The Church is a complete organism, possessing in itself the elements of life and the potencies of action, and invested with inherent rights to all means, natural as well as supernatural, that are needed to secure for it dignity before men and liberty for the work with which it is charged. It is a Catholic, a world-church, having humanity as the object of its mission and its operations. It has as its head the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, in whom is centered the supreme consciousness of its powers and rights, and to whom is entrusted the supreme duty of interpreting its mind and guiding its destinies.

The mission of the Church, both in its purpose and in the forces of which it disposes, is spiritual. It reaches out to souls; proffering to them salvation through divine truth and grace.

Spiritual, too, is the mission of the Pope, for it is no other than that of the Church. This mission, however, the Pope exercises upon earth, among men, he himself a man; and thus he is at once brought into contact with human interests and human methods, upon which his mission, spiritual as it is in its primary purport, must in some degree be dependent. The spiritual, to live on earth, must have a foothold on earth. As long as religion works in humanity, the spiritual needs the temporal.

When, therefore, the Pope's civil princedom is brought under discussion, the question really is whether such civil princedom is in a manner necessary to his spiritual mission. So far as it is shown to be necessary to the spiritual, we shall hold that the Church may claim it by right divine. Else, Christ's mission to His church is vain and illusory.

Civil independence, it is urged, is necessary to the Papacy for the fulfilment of its mission. Here, however, a distinction is to be made. No one maintains that civil independence is so essential that without it the Papacy cannot have existence, or cannot in some way, though it be under the stress of most unpropitious circumstances, do its appointed work. In other words, civil independence is not a vital element in the being of the Papacy. It is necessary only in the sense that, without it, the Papacy does not possess the dignity and the freedom which should belong to it as the representative of Christ and the teacher of nations. But will any one assert that it is merely a right to what is vitally essential to its life and its work that the Papacy, the chieftaincy of Christ's Church, received from its Author, or that it was not the intention of its Founder that it should also have that integrity of outward form and the freedom of action required for the exercise of its ministry with dignity and efficiency? Christ was not an unwise or impotent builder. It was, indeed, in the Catacombs of Rome that, in the first ages of Christianity, the Papacy accomplished its work. But it is not in the days of persecution that we expect to behold in the Papacy the normal form which it should bear, or the normal rights which it has received from Christ.

II.

The Pope, all, of course, concede, must have absolute freedom of action in the work of governing the Church and of teaching faith and morals. No hindrance must come to him from human

agencies; his action, whether in governing or in teaching, must be purely his own, or rather that of the Church, which he represents. Now, to secure such freedom is the purpose of the civil independence of the Pope. Suppose the Pope were to be in subjection to a civil ruler. His freedom, at most, would be a concession from this ruler; nor would there be any certainty that the concession would not be withdrawn. Such ruler would have the power to stay the action of the Pope, to throw countless obstacles in his way, to strive, by threats or promises, to influence him. And who will say that a civil ruler would not often make use of such power? The action of the Pope might be of a nature to offend him; it might mean the repudiation of laws which he had enacted in violation of justice; or the condemnation of iniquitous courses which he followed in his private or public life. The word of the Pope is potent with men and nations, and the control of it, real or seeming, would give valuable aid to a ruler's ambitions. The temptation, either to reduce the Pope to silence, or to give direction to his speech, is so great that, were the opportunity given, many rulers would yield to it. To such a temptation Napoleon yielded, when Pius VII. was temporarily under his dominion; and history tells how, at Savona and Fontainebleau, neither fraud, nor flattery, nor physical violence, was spared to compel the Pontiff to issue, in matters purely ecclesiastical, such edicts as the conqueror's pride and covetousness of supremacy exacted. In the course of centuries, the monarchs had not been few who, if unequal to Napoleon in genius, were equal to him in pride and ambition. What if Popes had been the subjects of such monarchs? What if Clement VII. had been the subject of the King of England, when Henry VIII. called for the annulment of his marriage with Queen Catherine? Or if Gregory VII. had been under the sway of the Emperor of Germany, when Henry IV. undertook to dispose of the crozier of the bishop, as he disposed of the estate of the vassal?

National antipathies and jealousies, so strong and so persistent in the life of humanity, make it imperative that the Head of the Church be not the subject of a civil ruler. Inasmuch as the Catholic Church is a universal church, it is vitally differentiated from other religious societies, and has exigencies to which those of none other can be compared. Because it is the Church of all nations, its supreme chieftain must be of no nation; he must have a ter-

ritory of his own, where all nations are at home, where no nation is master. In virtue of his office the Pope is supra-national; for this reason, he must be extra-national. As the subject of one nation, he would be viewed askance by subjects of other nations, who would deny his impartiality or doubt his freedom from undue influence. If war were declared between his master and a foreign sovereign, his own ruler would demand from him active aid, and the foreigner would refuse communication with him. It is to no purpose to draw an abstract line between the spiritual and the temporal, and to expect that nations shall hearken to the Pope as a father in one sphere of action, and repel him as an enemy in another. When minds are inflamed, the aims and objects of the spiritual and of the temporal are easily confounded. If to-day Leo XIII. were the subject of France, how weak would be his moral power in Germany! Had he, by recognizing the sovereignty of the Italian King over Rome, made himself a subject of the Quirinal, he would be bound, as a loyal Italian, to the obligations of the Dreibund, and ineffectual would be his letters to the people of France, whom the Dreibund fain would crush.

The subjection of the Pope to a civil ruler could not but result in the formation of national churches. Humanly speaking, had not the Pope in past ages safeguarded his spiritual authority by civil independence, the Church could not have survived as a Catholic or universal church. History bears witness to the injury done to Catholic unity, towards the close of the Middle Ages, by the prolonged sojourn of the Popes at Avignon. Although at Avignon the Pope was not absolutely deprived of sovereignty, yet the period during which the Papacy was, to a certain extent, under the influence of a French sovereign was commonly styled by German writers "the Captivity of Babylon." As a consequence of the residence of the Popes at Avignon, there sprang up in Western Europe the idea of national churches, opening the way for the Great Schism of the Occident, and, perhaps, for the Protestant Reformation itself.

An independent conscience is the gift of the Christian religion to the world. The day when Christ said: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's," there arose in the world a power that could say to the despot who would fain pass the border of the spiritual world: "Thus far, and no farther!" The despot quickly understood that, in presence

of such a power, there were limits set to pride and to passion. Again and again was fierce war made upon the Church of Christ because it stood for an independent conscience. Now it was the Byzantine or the German, now the Englishman or the Frenchman, that coveted spiritual power, so as to be absolute master in his dominion. Napoleon writhed in anger before a captive Pope, who held firmly by his spiritual prerogatives. Before Napoleon's time Henry VIII., thwarted in his base courses by the spiritual ruler, declared himself to be the head of the church, at least in his own kingdom. It has been, as it were, an innate passion of civil rulers to be, as the Cæsars of old, supreme in the realm of the spiritual as well as in that of the temporal; they coveted, if not always the name, certainly the power, of the *Pontifex Maximus*. Had resistance not been made to the encroachments of kingly power upon spiritual rights, liberty had perished, not only the liberty of conscience, but, also, the liberty of civil society.

And it is the Pope who, as Head of Christ's Church, withstood during the ages the assaults of the temporal upon the spiritual. Had there been no Pope, it is plain to the student of history that independence of conscience would have been destroyed beneath the fell blows of despotic rulers. Whenever a monarch, drunk with power, undertook to sacrifice family purity to lust, or the welfare of the people to pride and greed, a Pope—a Gregory, an Innocent, an Alexander, an Urban—rose up in the name of conscience and drove back the aggressor.

But could Popes have wielded freely and successfully their moral power, in defense of right against tyrants, if they had been civil subjects of such monarchs, or of their friends, or of their enemies? The Popes were strong because, in virtue of their civil independence, they were supra-national, above all nations, above all monarchs. If to-day in the world, Catholic and non-Catholic, there is respect for conscience, it is due to the Papacy, which in past times fought so nobly the battles of conscience, and to the civil independence of the Papacy, which enabled the Popes to fight these battles with success. Will this respect for conscience always and everywhere survive, if its defense be left to the individual, and no general representative of its rights be enthroned so high above all combatants that he may speak and act with fullest liberty? This is a question upon which thinking men may well ponder. How far imperialism might go, or might wish to go,

towards the enslavement of the spiritual, we can judge from Prussia under Bismarck's May laws, or from Russia under the workings of the Holy Synod. In the future, as in the past, for the defense of conscience the world will need the Pope; and the Pope, to defend the supremacy of conscience, will need civil independence. It was considerations such as these that one day brought Monsieur Thiers to speak to France a truth most profound, however paradoxical the form under which he clothed it: "In order that the spiritual and the temporal remain separated elsewhere in the world, in Rome they must be united."

III.

The history of churches other than the Catholic Church shows that, when hierarchs fall under subjection to the civil power, they lose their freedom in the exercise of their spiritual ministry, and that they never could extend their authority so as to become world-bishops. After his separation from Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople sank rapidly to the low estate of a mere instrument of political power in the hands of the Emperor, and the Emperor ruled the church as despotically as he ruled the state. The extension of the Patriarch's spiritual domain would have been construed by other nations as an attempt to extend the temporal domain of the Emperor. At first, Moscow acknowledged the spiritual jurisdiction of Constantinople; but, as Russia grew into consciousness of nationhood, it threw off its allegiance to a foreign Pontiff.

Separated from Constantinople, the Patriarch of Moscow was, in name, at least, the ruler of the Russian Orthodox Church. But, in turn, he became the creature of the civil power. The Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, with its mixed membership of laymen and ecclesiastics, as much dependent on the Czar as the Department of War, or that of Foreign Affairs, governs the church in European and Asiatic Russia, appointing and dismissing bishops and priests, regulating rites and ceremonies, and tracing out lines of demarcation betwen orthodoxy and heresy. Imagine the Patriarch of Moscow striving for a world-episcopate, coveting spiritual jurisdiction over Slavic populations in Austria and Turkey, where governments are already so jealous of Russophile tendencies!

No less striking is the example of the Church of England. Of that church the Archbishop of Canterbury is the primate. What

authority did the Archbishop of Canterbury have under Henry, under Elizabeth, or under any of their successors? The Church of England is governed by the King, the Privy Council, the Parliament. In spite of occasional protests from High-Churchman or from Ritualist, the Church of England has been and remains essentially Erastian—as so clearly witness, for instance, the decisions in the Gorham case, and in that of the authors of the "Essays and Reviews." The dream, if ever such a dream could be entertained, of making the primate of the Church of England a world-bishop is at once seen to be ludicrous. A Pan-Anglican church could not hope to embrace in its fold even the Episcopalians of Ireland, or of America.

Historians and statesmen rise from the study of human interests and of international politics, with the conviction that the Pope, representing a world-church and a universal religion, cannot, with due respect for his own office, or consistently with the peace of nations, be the subject of a civil ruler. "I was once of opinion," writes Ranke, the Protestant historian of the Papacy, "that it would be good to separate the spiritual wholly from the temporal power; but I have learned that the Pope, without the patrimony of Peter, would be nothing more than the slave of kings and princes." In 1849 Lord Lansdowne, addressing the British House of Lords, did not hesitate to maintain that, "There was no country with Catholic subjects and Catholic possessions, which had not a deep interest in the Pope being so placed as to be able to exercise his authority unfettered and unshackled by any temporal influence which might affect his spiritual authority." In the same year, and before the same exalted assembly, Lord Brougham declared: "My opinion is that it will not do to say that the Pope is all very well as a spiritual prince, but that we ought not to restore his temporal power. For, what would be the consequence? Stripped of that secular dominion he would become the slave, now of one Power, then of another. * * * His temporal power is a European, not a local one; and the Pope's authority should be maintained for the sake of peace and of the interest of Europe." And, in 1864, when not yet bound by the imaginary logic of accomplished facts, Signor Crispi himself, who has recently been Prime Minister of Italy, announced in open Parliament in Florence: "The Roman Pontiff cannot be the citizen of a great state, descending from the throne on which the

Catholic world pays him homage. He must be prince and master in his own domain, second to none."

More emphatically still than historians and statesmen does the Church itself, with its intimate consciousness of its needs, and its paramount claim to be heard in its own defense, proclaim the necessity of the civil independence of its supreme Pontiff, and his right to this independence. Every Pope would re-echo the words, which, in 1887, Leo XIII. addressed to Cardinal Rampolla, his secretary of state: "We have ever, as in duty bound, claimed a real sovereignty for the Roman Pontiff, not from ambition, or for worldly glory, but as a true and efficacious guarantee of his independence and freedom." And every bishop would subscribe to the declaration made to Pius IX. by the hundreds of prelates, assembled in Rome, in 1862: "We recognize the civil princedom of the Holy See as a necessary institution and as manifestly founded by the Providence of God; and we do not hesitate to declare that, in the present condition of human things, this civil princedom is altogether requisite to the salutary and free government of the Church and of souls. For, the head of the whole Church must be subject to no sovereign, the honored guest of none; but be established in his own domain and his own princedom, and be in every respect his own master."

IV.

Hence, in the political occurrences which, in the days when modern Christendom was being built upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, led to the civil sovereignty of the Pope, Catholics have seen the guiding hand of Providence.

From the Roman Forum there went out the highways which led to the remotest frontiers of a mighty empire, universal in its scope, and almost universal in its extent. Over them marched with the Roman legions, the learning, the art, the commerce of Rome. The milestones, whose numerals the wayfarer read in his progress, proclaimed the distance of cities and tribes from Rome, and measured their importance and their culture. Rome's "royal nobleness" marked her out as the worthy seat of the mighty empire that began on the plains of Judea and Galilee—an empire which, though in an entirely different order, was destined to be greater than the empire of the Cæsars had ever been—to be, in fact, what Rome's temporal empire had striven in vain to be, an

empire universal and eternal. Of this new empire, Peter held the sceptre; and in Rome he placed the seat of its power. "As in the designs of Providence," writes Leo XIII., "all human events have been ordered towards Christ and his Church, so ancient Rome and its empire were founded for the sake of Christian Rome." Rome's empire appeared in Daniel's vision the greatest, as it was the last of the five great empires which were to precede and emblematize the Empire of Christ. The city of Rome itself had been declared by its seers and poets the *"Urbs Aeterna,"* the Eternal City; the fated destiny of whose sons was to rule the universe:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

What was seen in vision by Hebrew prophet, and foretold by Roman seer, was to be fulfilled in the Fisherman of Galilee.

And so did it come to pass that, when the Church had attained its normal form and stature, its Supreme Pontiff, the successor of Peter, was found to be dowered with civil independence and civil sovereignty.

From the days of Pepin—indeed, from a much earlier date—the Pope was the ruler of Rome. On the twentieth day of September, 1870, the armies of Victor Emmanuel took forcible possession of the city and made it the capital of Italy.

The occupation of Rome took place despite Victor Emmanuel's solemn assurance that he would respect the city of the Popes, and without the concurrence of the Roman people. When, in 1860, Victor Emmanuel was invading Umbria and the Marches, he recognized that all law, divine and civil, forbade his going to Rome, and in a public proclamation he made the statement: "I intend to respect the seat of the chief of the Church, to whom I am willing to give, together with the allied and friendly Powers, all the guarantees of independence and security." That the Italian occupation of Rome took place without the concurrence of the Roman people, is freely admitted even by those who are no advocates of the Pope's temporal power. "Rome had been won," writes Mr. Bolton King, in his "History of Italian Unity," "but not as they would have wished it; it was not through the great rising of a people, or because Europe and the Papacy had bowed of free will to the principle of nationality. The accident of European policies had brought the Italians there." The Roman plebiscite by which the Italian Government afterwards endeavored

to give to its conquest the appearance of popular approval, has never been regarded otherwise than as a daring political farce.

V.

Against the Italian occupation of Rome the Pope unceasingly protests. As Supreme Head of the Church the Pope cannot do otherwise. The question of the civil independence of the Holy See is a question of principle. The civil independence of the Pope is an inherent need, and, consequently, an inherent right of the Church. The enjoyment of this, as of other rights of the Church, may, through stress of circumstances and the interference of men, be interrupted, for periods of time, more or less prolonged. But the right itself, no series of events, no power of men takes away; and the Pope, as the Church's ruler and guardian, must defend it. Were he to remain silent, while despoiled of his civil independence, he would implicitly acquiesce in the violation of principle; he would sacrifice a sacred right of the Church, and would become an unwise and unjust steward.

Moreover, in the present condition of the Papacy, the sole safeguard of the Pope's spiritual independence is continuous protest. As long as he protests, so long is he free and independent; as long as he does not become a subject of the Italian kingdom, so long is he the unfettered world-bishop, with dignity unimpaired. No jealousies are aroused in other nations; no fears are entertained that he be constrained or influenced. Had the Pope accepted the proffered annuity of three million lire, had he consented to pass, escorted by royal dragoons through the streets of Rome, to render a subject's fealty at the court of the Quirinal, he would have become in the eyes of the world the salaried official of Italy, the court-chaplain of Italy's sovereign. His moral influence as Pontiff would have been at an end. The *"Vatican intransigenza,"* as his enemies term Leo's attitude towards the Quirinal, is now the only possible safeguard to the independence and dignity of the Pope.

No doubt, during Leo's pontificate, the prestige of the Papacy has been greater than it had been at any other period of the nineteenth century. From this, the adversaries of Papal civil independence infer that the Papacy has received from the Italian Government all the concessions of liberty which it needs, and that it prospers best when liberated from temporal responsiblities. This

is a conclusion without foundation in fact. It is Leo's personal character that has reflected new lustre upon the Papacy in these later years; it is his greatness of mind and heart, which, in face of all obstacles, has won the homage of the world. The Papacy to-day is more illustrious than before, not because of, but in spite of, the loss of temporal power.

They who counsel reconciliation between the Vatican and the Quirinal, on the basis of the Pope's recognition of the sovereignty of the King over Rome, overlook the vital point at issue—the principle which, as Head of the Church, Leo can never yield—namely, that the spiritual independence of the Pope, to be effective and enduring, requires, as its guarantee, civil independence.

The situation with which the Pope is now confronted is intolerable. In the streets of Rome, insult has been offered to the cortege conveying to its last resting-place in San Lorenzo the dead body of Leo's predecessor. A statue has been erected in one of the public squares in honor of an excommunicated monk, whose sole merit was that in his day he had been the enemy of the Papacy. The head of the municipal government has been dismissed from office by ministerial decree because, on an occasion when the Catholic world was honoring Leo as a man and as a Pontiff, he dared to send to the Vatican the expression of his good will and of that of his colleagues. The charitable institutions of the city, legacies of the Catholic charity of ages, have been wrested from the control of the Church and handed over to the secular authorities. Monasteries and schools have been closed and the buildings confiscated. By veto of the Italian Government, Leo XIII. has been forbidden to send an envoy to an international peace congress, where he would have been welcomed even by non-Catholic sovereigns, and where the Pope, by all the prerogatives of his office and all the traditions of his see, was entitled to be represented. It may, indeed, be urged that a treaty of reconciliation between Pope and King might secure the Pontiff against such violations of justice and public decency. But can a treaty guarantee that concessions so secured will be abiding and irrevocable? "Independence through concession," to quote Leo himself, "may be withdrawn by him who bestowed it; those who yesterday sanctioned it, may annul it to-morrow." How dependent the Pope would be, were his rights secured only by concessions, is un-

derstood from the confession of Signor Ricciotti Garibaldi, in a late number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW: "The Papacy in Italy exists only by the permission of the Italian Parliament." Mere concessions, of their very nature, cannot suffice; for concessions, as such, presuppose that the Head of the Church can be a subject.

The sole solution of the Roman question is the Pope's civil princedom; and, until this is recovered, the Pope's protest will continue.

VI.

The barriers raised against the recovery of the Pope's civil princedom are by no means so insuperable as at first glance they may appear. Italy took from the Pope his civil princedom; why cannot Italy be expected to restore it? To do so would mean for Italy peace, prosperity and glory. No one can fail to sympathize with that love for the beautiful peninsula which, in 1849, drew the hearts of its population to the banners of Charles Albert, as he waved them in defiant hatred of the foreigners who were occupying Italian soil; no one will refuse to wish, with the Italian poet, that Italy had been either *"Meno bella, piu forte,"* so that it might have escaped incursions of Iberian, Gaul, and Teuton, and have been in the past something more than a geographical expression. But the possession of Rome was not necessary to a freed or a united Italy. Italy had no historic claim to Rome; ancient Rome had not belonged to Italy any more than to other lands which ancient Rome had conquered. Moreover, the honor, the welfare of Italy, and above all else, the honor and the welfare of the universal Church, whose rights Italy had graver reasons than other nations to defend, demanded that Rome remain outside the borders of the new commonwealth. Rome should have been deemed "intangible;" the Providential home of the spiritual sovereign should have been respected. Many of Italy's statesmen were of this way of thinking, and wished to retain the seat of government in Florence. Unfortunately, the thoughtless popular passion of the moment triumphed. Justice and religion were trampled under the feet of the Italian soldiery; and an era of hopeless internal suffering and weakness opened for the nation.

The situation is to-day no less intolerable for Italy than it is for the Papacy. The court of the King is obscured by that of

the Pope. Rome persists in being Papal, in deriving its life and grandeur from the Papacy. Throughout the kingdom, Italians are divided. The adherents of the Pope's temporal power are legion. They are, too, the most conservative elements of the population, and as they refrain, in obedience to the Pope's order, from active participation in national politics, the peril daily grows that the socialistic and revolutionary elements in the country may obtain control of public affairs. Through fear of Papal claims, the government is compelled to impose on the country, much against the country's deepest wishes, the burden of an oppressive militarism, and of an unnatural and unhistoric alliance with Austria and Prussia. No country could hope for permanent peace and prosperity under conditions of this nature. All Italians realize this, all clamor for deliverance of one kind or another. Meanwhile, the Papal cause will necessarily be gaining ground for this reason, if for no other, that the Italian people are profoundly Catholic, and will remain Catholic in every fibre of their souls, as long as they are Italians. And once the heat of political passion is cooled, and it is more plainly seen that Papal independence is a religious, not a political, matter, the proper solution to the Roman question will be given by Italy itself. Time may be required; but the Papacy has the patience of an eternal institution.

On higher grounds, however, than a consideration of the conditions of Italy do Catholics rest their hope of a restoration of Papal independence. Were the conditions of Italy ever so adverse, Catholics are calm and strong in their expectations. They have the enduring confidence that, whatever the conditions in Italy are to-day, or may be to-morrow, those conditions will, in Providence's own good time, be so altered as to allow the Papacy to regain its rights.

Since the Church is from Christ, and one of its requirements for the proper fulfilment of its spiritual mission is the civil independence of its Head, the present "Captivity of Babylon" will not continue; the Pope will regain his civil princedom.

Non-Catholic readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW may not admit the premises upon which Catholics are building. They will, however, I believe, concede that once those premises are granted, the Catholic position regarding the temporal power is the only logical one.

And, furthermore, I venture to say that, as they recall what they have read of the conflicts and triumphs of the Church in past ages, they will be slow to reject as impossible, or improbable, the statement that some day, be it sooner or later, the world will again see the Pope in possession of his civil princedom, and Rome once more the free international city of the Christian world.

JOHN IRELAND.

MUSINGS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.—II.

BY BENJAMIN HARRISON, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRITISH ALLIANCE.

THE newspapers, British and American, were much occupied during last winter with a supposed, or proposed, Anglo-American alliance, more or less formal in character. We know that no such convention was signed, and no evidence has been produced to show that the subject was even informally discussed by the representatives of the respective nations. Mr. Chamberlain was premature and incautious in giving out what seemed to be an announcement.

Every one must admit that a close friendship between the United States and Great Britain is quite desirable, and quite in the course of nature. However complex our population may be in the matter of origin, if we have any derived national type it is English. This predisposition to friendship, however, is not because of birth-ties felt by our generation. These tend, perhaps, more strongly in other directions. English nativity, as a direct influence in American life, is now comparatively small. But, as a remote and indirect influence, it has been the preponderating element in the evolution of the American. The thirteen colonies were English colonies, not only in their governmental relations, but in fact. The Scot and the Irishman and the Welshman, for the most part, made their salutations to the New World in the English tongue. They came as English-speaking people. Their accent was, at home, only an unavailing protest against absorption. The accent fell away here; it was not needed. A more effective protest against English political domination was found. As free Americans, they had no quarrel with the English tongue. Whatever has come since to the United States has been grafted

upon the old English root. The fruit has, we think, been improved, but the *genus* is still that of the old root.

The Scot, the Irishman, the Welshman, the German, the Frenchman, the Hollander, the Dane, the Swede, the Norwegian, has each brought a contribution, and the Italian is now offering one. The American is a give-and-take product. But "thy speech bewrayeth thee"—and our speech is wholly, and our derived institutions are chiefly, English. We have pride in the great poets, philosophers, jurists, historians and story-writers who have used the tongue we use, and we are grateful to them. It is a personal debt.

We have fellowship with the stout Britons who sheared the prerogatives of the King, and with the martyrs who died for freedom of worship. We are grateful to *them,* not to the government that persecuted them. But is it logical to derive from such considerations the deduction that our sympathies must be given to every British Ministry that inaugurates a war, without reference to its origin or its justice? We did not take English literature or English law by voluntary conveyance, upon a consideration of love and affection. Will not the argument for a friendly spirit toward Great Britain be stronger, if the plea of gratitude is made less of? For gratitude takes account, not of one incident, but of all; and the average between 1774 and 1898 had better not be struck. There may be found more things that it would be pleasant to forget than to remember!

Prior to the Spanish-American war, can the historian find, in British-American diplomatic intercourse, an instance where friendship for the United States led to any substantial abatement of British pretensions, or to a sympathetic attitude toward us in the times of our stress and agony, or even to the use of any special consideration in presenting a demand for redress? The demand for the release of Mason and Slidell was couched in very harsh and peremptory terms. And it is understood that, but for the kindly intervention of the Queen, an abasement would have been put upon us that we could only have accepted with a time reservation—until our fleets and armies had finished the work in hand.

The attitude of the British Government toward us during our Civil War was hostile and hurtful. Its unfriendliness only stopped short of an open alliance with the Southern Confederacy.

Neither kinship nor a history of ostentatious reprobation of slavery was enough to overbalance the commercial advantage to be derived from trade with a non-manufacturing, cotton-raising nation. The threatening attitude of Great Britain was no small part of the breaking burden that weighted the shoulders of Abraham Lincoln. Only the Lancashire spinners—God bless them to the latest generation!—showed an embodied friendship; though there were notable sporadic cases.

Is it quite logical to use the recent display of friendliness by Great Britain as a sponge with which to wipe from the tablets of memory the decisive intervention of France during the Revolution, and the helpful friendliness of Russia during the Civil War? Or should the sponge only be used to efface any rancorous memory of old manifestations of unfriendliness by Great Britain toward us, or by us toward her, and to give us a clean slate upon which may be recorded an unbroken future of kindliness and good will?

Washington did not allow gratitude to France, for an armed and saving intervention in our behalf, to be used as the basis of an alliance that would bring us into European entanglements; and can we now allow the friendly non-intervention of Great Britain during the Spanish war—which involved no cost to her—to be so used? The French demands upon our gratitude were thought to be excessive, though they did not insist upon a permanent naval base in New York Harbor!

Are not the continuous good and close relations of the two great English-speaking nations—for which I pray—rather imperilled than promoted by this foolish talk of gratitude and of an alliance, which is often made to take on the appearance of a threat, or at least a prophecy, of an Anglo-Saxon "paramountcy?"

The prophetic rôle, also, is being overworked. There is no emotion so susceptible to overwork as gratitude, and no rôle so silly as that of a prophet without an attestation. Is it not wholly illogical to argue that, because the British Ministry, and, to a considerable degree, the British people, gave their sympathy to us during the Spanish war, an American administration and the American people must give their sympathy to the British in the Boer war? The major premise is wanting—namely, that the two wars are of the same quality. The argument we hear so much takes no account of this element; yet it is necessary, to save the

deduction, that both wars should be just or that both should be unjust. There are evidences, however, that this reasoning is accepted by many intelligent persons. I say "reasoning." Perhaps that is not a good word. It certainly is not unless we start with this major premise—"Both wars were righteous wars;" or this—"Both wars were aggressive, for dominion." If our Spanish war was waged to liberate an oppressed people, and the British-Boer war is waged to subjugate a free people, does not the "reasoning" fail? For, to say that we must stand by Great Britain in the wrong because she stood by us in the right is not reasoning—it is the *camaraderie* of brigands. It must be admitted, however, that, should we present a claim of "suzerainty" or "paramountcy" over Cuba, a similitude to the South African situation might be found.

Is not the sympathy of Great Britain robbed of all moral quality, if we allow that it had its origin in any other consideration than a belief in the justice of our cause? It is to disparage the nation whose virtues and civilization we affect to honor, to say that Great Britain stood by us in a war that her conscience did not approve; that she kept off the police, while we effected a robbery. And the depths of moral darkness are sounded when it is suggested that we are to make return in kind.

Does not a flood of gush and unreason rather thwart than promote a good understanding? There will be an ebb. Neither the British people nor the American people will surrender their right of free judgment and criticism of the acts of their own government, much less of the acts and policies of the other. Surely, every American speaker and writer is not now *perforce* either a supporter of Mr. Chamberlain's aggressive colonial policies, or an ingrate. Our freedom of judgment and criticism is surely not smaller than that of a Liberal Member of Parliament. Government in Great Britain, even more than in the United States, is by party, and the control shifts. Is it not too hard a test of friendliness to say that each must shift its sympathies when the majority in the other shifts?

A *quid pro quo* friendship between nations had some promise of permanency, and some value, in the days when kings were rulers and there was an anointed line. But, in these days, must not an international friendship, to have value, unite two peoples? Ministries and Presidents are shifting quantities. A friendship

that comes in with a Ministry or a President may go out with it or him. Only a union of the two peoples is worthy of a statesman's thought; and not incidents of friendliness, but an agreement in matters of principle, in general governmental purposes, is needed for that.

We take our friends on the average, as they must take us. If the liberty to differ is not reserved, I am not a friend, but a toady. A man who is capable of a high friendship will not mention the favor he did you last week, when he solicits your help. Lending to those from whom you expect to receive as much again, is not friendship, but commerce. If friendship is put upon that basis, it becomes open to bids; and account must be taken of the extremity when aid was given or withheld.

I think the great weight of opinion among the English Liberals was that the war with the Dutch Republics could have been, and ought to have been, avoided. Many of them believe that this war is only a supplement of the Jameson raid. Surely an American may hold these opinions without subjecting himself to the charge that he is a hater of Great Britain. Nor can the repression which the British Liberals have imposed upon themselves, pending the war, be exacted of Americans. Nations can only be reached by process from two tribunals—war and public opinion. The Arbitral Tribunal has no process; it assembles upon a stipulation. The Tribunal of Public Opinion, on the other hand, is always in session, and must give a judgment upon all acts of men and nations that affect the public welfare. It would aid the Tribunal greatly if each of the combatants could be compelled to plead, to declare the cause of the war and its objects.

The Continental Congress of 1776 allowed the jurisdiction of this great court. "A decent respect," it said, "for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." The object of the war was stated with equal explicitness: "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states."

In our second war with Great Britain, the messages of President Madison and the resolutions of Congress distinctly catalogue the causes of the war and disclose its objects, and in our Civil War the issue was so clear that neither malice nor sophistry has been able to confuse it. Mr. Lincoln consciously and willingly submitted the cause to "the considerate judgment of mankind."

In the recent Spanish war, Congress declared not only the cause of the war, but put the United States under bond to conduct and conclude it as a war for the liberation of Cuba.

There is no influence for peace so strong (would it were freer and stronger!) as the fear of the enlightened judgment of mankind. And this must put those who influence that judgment upon the exercise of a judicial independence and impartiality. These judgments must not be made matters of exchange. Is it not bad morals, as well as illogical, to say: "We were recently at the bar of public opinion, and Great Britain, as one of the judges, stood by us; now she is at the bar, and we must stand by her?"

There are no two countries in the world where thought and conscience and speech, the elements and the organ of a sound public opinion, are so free or so powerful as in Great Britain and the United States. And no friendship between the nations, that does not take account of and allow these, is a worthy one, or can have endurance. In the case of one's own country, there has been opportunity to influence public policies, and if they have gone wrong there will be an opportunity to set them right; while, in the case of another nation, we are without opportunity.

Is not the inevitable tendency of any attempt to put Great Britain and the United States in the relation of allies, to raise up and to strengthen an anti-British party in the United States and an anti-American party in Great Britain? Buried injuries and grudges are dug up and exploited for a domestic party advantage. There are forces that become destructive if they are pent; and, in this regard, opinions and gunpowder are in the same class. If a friendship between Great Britain and the United States, that will make their immediate relations cordial and unite their influence for peace and human progress, is to be maintained—to become a status—must it not be laid down on a moral instead of a commercial basis? Morals abide; commercial interests shift. It must not involve enmity to the world, or exact an approval by the one of every public act of the other. It must not be put upon grounds too tenuously sentimental, nor must the *quid pro quo* argument be too much pressed. It must be of a sort that tolerates differences of opinions and endures the smart of criticism. The newspapers must not be taken too seriously. The friendship must not be of a party here with a party there. Upon that basis we shall have racking alternations of gush and coldness.

If the nations are to be friends, if they are to live together in amity and work together in their foreign policies, must it not be upon a basis that does not repel but invites the participation of all other nations, in every project for the development and peace of the world—and not upon the pernicious and futile project of an Anglo-Saxon world? The moral quality of public acts must be taken account of; greed of territory and thoughts of political paramountcies enforced by the sword must be eliminated.

Great Britain has pursued aggressively a policy of territorial expansion, in which the consent of the peoples taken over has not been taken account of, as having any application, until after British sovereignty was established. If the Dutch will forego all thoughts of a lost republic and become loyal subjects of Great Britain, she will give back to them a pretty large liberty in local affairs, and take a very large credit for her generosity. She has not regarded the forcible annexation of territory as at all culpable.

Is the friendly co-operation of the two nations to be rested upon the abandonment or modification of her traditional policy, or upon the abandonment of ours? In the prosecution of the "open door" policy—that is, equal commercial privileges to all nations—we have, perhaps, found a common basis of diplomatic action. To us this means, I still think, the recognition of the autonomy of weak nations and their right to regulate their own internal affairs, as opposed to dismemberment or the paramountcy of one of the great Powers. Does Great Britain accept the "open door" policy in that sense? And is it with her a world or only a Chinese policy? Are we agreed that the seizure or dismemberment of a weak state by a stronger is wrong, or only that, in the case of China, an agreed partition would be difficult, or that it might be less advantageous?

Is it not possible that, if suitably urged, Great Britain might come to stand with us against the forcible absorption of weak states and for open doors everywhere? She has lost her monopoly of expansion. She has found that her most loyal colonies buy in the best market. The people of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State will not show favor to a British trade-mark. The increased cost and competition in the business of expansion are suggestive.

The American people gave generously of their love to Queen Victoria. Her death was felt here to be a family sorrow. She

was not associated in the American mind with those aggressive features of the British character and foreign policy that other nations have so much resented. The American love for her as a Queen was largely based upon the belief that her influence was used, as far as it might be, to ameliorate aggression and to promote peace. The qualities we most admired in her were those in which she was most unlike some British statesmen, whose names my readers are left to catalogue. The universal sorrow and sympathy which the death of the Queen evoked in this country, has largely confounded and silenced those who have been saying that America hated Great Britain. It is not so. But will it not be wise to allow the friendship between the nations to rest upon deep and permanent things, and to allow dissent and criticism as to transient things? Irritations of the cuticle must not be confounded with heart failure.

THE BOER WAR.

It is quite possible that the government of a state may so flagrantly abuse its internal powers, may so cruelly treat its subjects, or a class of them, that the intervention of other states will be justified. It is an extreme case that will justify an armed intervention, and the intervention must always be benevolent, both in spirit and purpose. The police must not appropriate the property they recover from the highwayman. The judgment whether the case is one that justifies intervention must not be influenced, or seem to be influenced, by motives of advantage. If the land delivered is taken over, those who reject altogether the idea of an international benevolence or altruism will have another citation.

The insistence of many individuals and of a very large section of the newspaper press that, as matter of "reciprocity," we must give our sympathy to Great Britain in the Boer war, and the frequent references to certain crude and illiberal things in the Dutch administration of the Transvaal as matters justifying an armed intervention by Great Britain, have very naturally turned my vagrant thoughts to the consideration of the question, whether these alleged faults in the internal administration of the Boers furnished a justification for the war made by Great Britain upon the Boers. I put it that way, though I am not ignorant of the fact that the official view in Great Britain is that the Boers

began the war, and that this view is adopted by the "reciprocity" school of Americans. Is it not possible, however, that the Texas view of the matter is more nearly the right one? In Texas, when one of the parties to an acrimonious, oral discussion announces that the discussion is ended and that he will now take such measures as seem to him to be more effective, and accompanies this declaration by a movement of his right hand in the direction of his hip pocket, *he* is accounted to have begun the war. If the other gets out his weapon first and kills the gentleman whose hand is moving toward his hip pocket, it is, not only in the popular judgment, but in law, self-defense.

The Boers did not seek war with Great Britain. They retreated to the wall. Like the Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock, they did not seek, in the great trek of 1835, an Eldorado, but barrenness and remoteness—a region which, as Mr. Prentiss said, "would hold out no temptation to cupidity, no inducement to persecution."

The Pilgrims found, but the Boers missed, their quest. What seemed a barren veldt, on which freemen might live unmolested, was but the lid of a vast treasure-box. Riches are the destruction of the weak. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace." But strong is in the positive; and this scripture tells us what happens when a stronger shall "come upon him."

Taking the case there, however, as one of British armed intervention for the correction of certain alleged evils and oppressions of Transvaal internal administration, what has international law to say about it? But is there an international law? The nations have never subscribed any codification. There are commentators, but no statute book. There are conventions between two or more states, which, in a few specified particulars, regulate rights and conduct. There are the moral law, the Decalogue, the law of nature; but does the "thou" of these address itself to states? There are precedents, but is the nation that made them bound by them, if her interest has shifted? Does the admiral of the strongest fleet write the law of the sea, not only for his antagonist, but for all neutrals? Is there a standard of personal cleanliness and domestic sanitation that is determinative of the right of self-government? Has a strong power the right to appoint itself a "trustee for humanity," and in that character to

take over the lands of such weak nations as fail to make the best use of them? Is the rule that the trustee cannot take a profit inapplicable to "trustees for humanity?" Does a well-grounded fear that another nation is about to appropriate territory to which neither it nor we have any rightful claim, justify us in grabbing it first, or in making an equivalent seizure in some other part of the world? Have we come, in practice, to the view which Phillimore puts into the mouth of those who say there is no international law:

> "The proposition that in their mutual intercourse States are bound to recognize the eternal obligations of justice, apart from considerations of immediate expediency, they deem stupid and ridiculous pedantry. They point triumphantly to the instances in which the law has been broken, in which might has been substituted for right, and ask if Providence is not always on the side of the strongest battalions. Let our strength, they say, be the law of justice, for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth."

That choleric Virginia statesman, John Randolph, in 1800, when the subject of Great Britain's infractions of our neutral rights upon the sea was under discussion, gave voice to the same thought. "What is national law," he said, "but national power guided by national interest?" And a recent Chinese writer says: "International law is a set of precepts laid down by strong Powers to be enforced on weak ones."

Many questions relating to natural rights are now regarded as outside the domain of practical statesmanship. Has the American view changed? When we were feeble, questions that are now rather sneeringly called "academic" were very practical, and the aspirations and sympathies that are now called "sentimental" were the breath of American life. Our diplomacy was sentimental; it had a regard for weakness, for we had not forgotten our own. Never did we fail to let it be known that our people sympathized with every effort, every aspiration, of any civilized people to set up or to defend republican institutions.

The British intervention in South Africa was not a response to any appeal from so much as a fragment of the Boer people. They were not only content with the government they had instituted, but passionately devoted to it—with a readiness to die in its defence that took no account of age or sex. No Boer in the Transvaal desired to become a British subject; but very many British subjects in the Cape Colony were so unappreciative of

the advantages of their condition as such that they passionately desired to throw it off for a citizenship in a Dutch Republic. In other words, the men who were discontented and rebellious were not the citizens of the Transvaal or of the Orange Free State, but those men of Dutch descent whose grandfathers had by conquest become British subjects.

The political conditions in Cuba, when we intervened, were the very opposite of those in the Transvaal. Our intervention was in behalf of the Cubans. We co-operated to free them from the power of a government whose oppressions and cruelties had many times before driven them into rebellion.

Great Britain's intervention in South Africa was against a united people, living in content—an ignorant content, if you please—under a government of their own construction; and the ground of the intervention was ostensibly the interests of British subjects sojourning there.

Many defects, incongruities and crudities in the Boer government and administration have been pointed out by the newspapers and other writers of Great Britain, and these have been faithfully echoed by not a few Americans, and by not a few American newspapers. Now, these faults in Boer administration, in the main, were such as affected only the Boers themselves, and were not infractions of the international rights of aliens. The use made of them was not, openly, as a justification of the war, but rather as a check upon the sympathy of the American people, which, it was feared, might, as it has been in the habit of doing, go over-strongly to the side of a republic fighting for its existence. It was to say: "Don't make too much fuss over the death of the man, or too strict an inquiry into the cause of the quarrel; he was not in all respects an exemplary citizen." The Boers were said to have been favorable to slavery as an institution, and to bear a grudge against the British because they abolished it. Now, the American, whose country, until very recently, was the great slave-holding nation of the world, and the Briton, who gave his sympathy, and much material help besides, to the States that sought by the destruction of the American Union to make slavery perpetual—surely these cannot be expected to respect the autonomy or mourn the demise of a republic that is suspected of having had in the past a desire to hold slaves!

These Boers are not our kind of people; they are not polished;

they neglect the bath; they are rude and primitive; their government is patriarchal and, in some things, arbitrary. To be sure, they like these habits and these institutions; they abandoned old homes, and made new homes in the wilderness, that they might enjoy them; but the homes are not such as we would have made; the Anglo-Saxon model has not been nicely followed. You have the "consent of the governed"—yes; but Great Britain does not approve of you, and she stood by us in the Spanish war.

That any self-respecting government, which was strong enough to make its diplomatic notes express its true emotions, would have answered Great Britain's complaints by a flat refusal to discuss them, on the ground that they related to matters of internal administration. That such would have been the answer of the United States, if we had stood in the place of the Transvaal Republic, cannot be doubted—and there is no more room for doubt that the answer would have terminated the discussion.

If the subject of naturalization is not a matter to be determined by a nation for itself, and solely upon a consideration of its own interests and safety, there is no subject that is free from the meddlesome intervention of other states.

And as to the government monopoly of the dynamite trade, the practice of European governments has certainly placed that question in the schedule of internal affairs, resting, in the judgment of each nation, upon a view of its own interests, unless it has by treaty limited its control of the matter.

The idea of a war waged to enforce, as an international right, the privilege of British subjects to renounce their allegiance to the Queen, and to assume a condition in which they might be obliged to take up arms against her, would be a taking theme for a comic opera. And the interest and amusement would be greatly promoted if the composer should, in the opening act, introduce the "Ruler of the Queen's Navy" overhauling an American merchantman in 1812, and dragging from her decks men who *had* renounced their allegiance to Great Britain to become American citizens, to man the guns of British warships!

"If he produced naturalization papers," says McMaster, "from the country under whose flag he sailed, he was told that England did not admit the right of expatriation."

But, in those days, the "renunciation" was sincere and final. The men who made it meant it—meant to fight the King of Great

Britain, if war came. Did these Transvaal Britons, who were seeking Boer naturalization, mean that? Did Mr. Chamberlain suppose that he was turning over to Mr. Krüger a body of Englishmen skilled in engineering and the use of explosives, upon whose loyalty to the Boer cause Mr. Krüger could rely? The climax of the fun will be reached when the opera composer offers this situation. Most of these men whose naturalization was to be forced upon the Boers were actively and aggressively hostile to the Boer government. No safe occasion to show this hostility was missed.

In a recent book, Mrs. Lionel Phillips, the wife of one of the Englishmen condemned to death for their connection with the Jameson raid, tells of an incident that occurred at Pretoria before the raid. A British Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, came to Pretoria to discuss with President Krüger some British grievances. Mr. Krüger drove in his carriage to receive the Commissioner and take him to his hotel. Mrs. Phillips says:

> "There was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm, thousands being there to welcome the Queen's representative, and when he and Krüger got into the carriage (which also contained Dr. Leyds) to proceed to the hotel some Englishmen took out the horses and dragged it, one irresponsible person jumping on the box-seat and waving a Union Jack over Krüger's head! When the carriage arrived at its destination, Sir Henry, accompanied by Dr. Leyds, entered the hotel, and the President was left sitting in the horseless carriage. The yelling crowd refused to drag the vehicle, and, after some difficulty, a few of his faithful burghers were got together to drag the irate President to his home."

Now, it was for these thousands of Englishmen, who practised this dastardly indignity upon President Krüger, and who, with others, a little later made or promoted the Jameson raid, that Boer naturalization was demanded.

But it has been stated, upon apparently excellent authority, that the British Commission expressly rejected a form of naturalization oath that contained, as our form does, a renunciation of allegiance to all other governments. If, upon the basis of a retained British allegiance, suffrage, whether in local or general affairs, was demanded for the Outlanders, the comic aspect of the situation disappears; the unreason is too great for comedy.

Great Britain cannot, we are told, safely give local government to the Boers when she shall have subjugated them, because she cannot trust their loyalty to the Crown; but she is seeking to

destroy the republics, because the Transvaal refused suffrage and local control to Englishmen who had attempted by arms to overthrow the Boer Government, and who sought suffrage for the same end. Suffrage was only another form of assault in the interest of British domination.

Not long ago, a distinguished Briton (Goldwin Smith) is reported to have said:

"Can history show a more memorable fight for independence than that which is being made by the Boer? Does it yield to that made by Switzerland against Austria and Burgundy; or to that made by the Tyrolese under Hofer? The Boer gets no pay; no comforts and luxuries are provided for him by fashionable society; he can look forward to no medals or pensions; he voluntarily endures the utmost hardships of war; his discipline, though unforced, seems never to fail. Boys of sixteen, a correspondent at the Cape tells me—even of fourteen—take the rifle from the hand of the mother who remains to pray for them in her lonely home, and stand by their grandsires to face the murderous artillery of modern war. * * * Rude, narrow-minded, fanatical in their religion, these men may be. So were the old Scotch Calvinists; so have been some of the noblest wildstocks of humanity—but surely they are not unworthy to guard a nation. * * * * If a gold mine was found in the Boer's territory, was it not his? The Transvaal franchise needed reform; so did that of England within living memory and in a still greater degree. But reform was not the object of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and his political allies. What they wanted was to give the ballot to people who, they knew, would use it to vote away the independence of the state."

He went on to say that, even in monarchical Italy, where he had recently been, the "heart of the people is with the little republic which is fighting for its independence."

There has been, I think, no suggestion that this great Englishman spoke under the stimulus of Transvaal gold. Have we come to a time when a citizen of the Great Republic may not express like views without becoming a "suspect?" Must we turn our pockets inside out to verify our disinterestedness, when we speak for a "little republic which is fighting for its independence?"

We have not long passed the time when the man who spoke against the "little republic" would have been the "suspect." A paper that I read recently head-lined a news despatch, announcing the return of a young American who went to South Africa to fight for Boer independence, thus: "The Return of a Mercenary." Yet the act and the motive of this adventurous young American would, a little while ago, have reminded us of La Fayette or Steuben.

Mr. James Bryce recently said:

"Indeed the struggles for liberty and nationality are almost beginning to be forgotten by the new generation, which has no such enthusiasm for these principles as men had forty years ago."

And, at the moment when two republics are *in articulo mortis*, some of our journals congratulate us over the prospect of an increased trade with the "Crown Colonies" that are to be set up in their stead, and over the increased output of the Johannesburg mines. The Emperor of Germany is reported to have forestalled President Krüger's personal appeal by the statement that Germany's interest would be promoted by the British conquest of the republics. And Bishop Thoburn asks: "Why should people lament the absorption of the small Powers by the large ones?"

Never before has American sympathy failed, or been divided, or failed to find its voice, when a people were fighting for independence. Can we now calculate commercial gains before the breath of a dying republic has quite failed, or the body has quite taken on the *rigor mortis?* If international justice, government by the people, the parity of the nations, have ceased to be workable things, and have become impracticable, shall we part with them with a sneer, or simulate regret, even if we have lost the power to feel it? May not one be allowed to contemplate the heavens with suppressed aspirations, though there are no "consumers" there? Do we need to make a mock of the stars, because we cannot appropriate them—because they do not take our produce? Have we disabled ourselves?

Mr. Hoar says that "by last winter's terrible blunder * * * we have lost the right to offer our sympathy to the Boer in his wonderful and gallant struggle against terrible odds for the republic in Africa." It is a terrible charge.

There was plainly no call for an armed intervention by the United States in South Africa, and perhaps our diplomatic suggestions went as far as usage would justify. But has not public opinion here been somehow strongly perverted, or put under some unwonted repression? If we have lost either the right to denounce aggression, or the capacity to weep when a republic dies, it is a grievous loss.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

MATILDE SERAO.

BY HENRY JAMES.

FEW attentive readers, I take it, would deny that the English novelist—from whom, in this case, there happens to be even less occasion than usual for distinguishing the American—testifies, in his art, much more than his foreign comrade, from whatever quarter, to the rigor of convention. There are whole sides of life about which he has as little to say as possible, about which he observes, indeed, in general, a silence which, for the foreign comrade, has visibly ended by becoming his great characteristic. He strikes the spectator as having, with a misplaced humility, consented, once for all, to be admonished as to what he shall, or shall not, "mention"—and to be admonished, in especial, by an authority altogether indefinite. He subscribes, when his turn comes round, to an agreement in the drawing-up of which he has had no hand; he sits down to his task, in a word, with a certain received canon of the "proper" before his eyes. The critic I am supposing reproaches him, naturally, in this critic's way, with a marked failure ever to challenge, much less to analyze, that conception; with having never, as would appear, so much as put to himself, in regard to most of the matters of which he makes his mystery, the simple question, "Proper to what?" How can any authority, even the most embodied, asks the exponent of other views, decide for us in advance what shall, in any case, be proper —with the consequent implication of impropriety—to our given subject?

The English novelist would, I imagine, even sometimes be led on to finding that he has practically had to meet such an overhauling by a further admission, though an admission still tacit and showing him as not a little shy of the whole discussion—formulas being, in general, as we know, but little his affair.

Would he not, if off his guard, have been in peril of lapsing into the doctrine—suicidal, when reflected upon—that there may be also an *a priori* rule, a "Thou shalt not," if not a "Thou shalt," as to subjects themselves? Then it would be that his alien foe might fairly revel in the sense of having him in a corner, laughing an evil laugh to hear him plead in explanation that it is exactly *most* as to subjects that he feels the need laid upon him to conform. What is he to do when he has an idea to write about, we might suspect him rashly to inquire, unless, frankly, to ask himself, in the first place of *all*, if it be proper? Not indeed —we catch the reservation—that he is consciously often accessible to ideas for which that virtue may not be claimed. Naturally, however, still, such a plea only brings forth, for his interlocutor, a repetition of the original appeal: "Proper to what?" There is only one propriety the painter of life can ask of a subject: Does it, or does it not, belong to life? So, in simplified terms, at any rate, I seem to hear the interchange; to which I need listen no longer than thus to have derived from it a word of support for my position. The question of our possible rejoinder to outland scorn I must leave for some other connection. The point is—if point I may expect to obtain any countenance to its being called—that, in spite of our great Dickens and, in a minor degree, of our great George Eliot, our eccentricity is, elsewhere than among ourselves, pretty well held to have put us out of court. The thing least conceded to us, moreover, is that we handle at all frankly—if we put forward such a claim—even our own life. "Your own is all we want of you, all we should like to see. But that your system really touches your own is exactly what we deny. Never, never!" For what it really comes to is that, practically, we, of all people in the world, are accused of a system. Call it a conspiracy of silence, and the whole charge is upon us.

The fact of the silence is, fortunately, all that at present concerns us. Did this not happen to be the case, nothing could be more interesting, I think, than to follow somewhat further several of the bearings of the matter, which would bring us face to face, verily, with some wonderful and, I hasten to add, by no means, doubtless, merely disconcerting truths about ourselves. It has been given us to read a good deal, in these latter days, about *l'âme Française* and *l'âme Russe*—and with the result, in all prob-

ability, of our being rather less than more penetrated with the desire, in emulation of these opportunities, to deliver ourselves upon the English or the American soul. There would appear to be nothing we are totally conscious of that we are less eager to reduce to writing, to translate, at all events, into current prose, than either of these objects; and yet, incontestably, there are neighborhoods in which we may feel ourselves within scent and sound of them, by something of the same sense that, in thick forests, serves the hunter of great game. He may not quite see it, but he knows when he is near. So, somehow, we know that we are near when we frankly consider the practice of our race—comparatively recent though it be—in taking for granted the "innocence" of literature.

Our simple way of expressing our conception of this innocence, and our desire for it, is, characteristically enough, by taking refuge in another vagueness, by invoking the allowances that we understand works of imagination and of criticism to make to the "young." I know not whether it has ever officially been stated for us that, given the young, given literature, and given, under stress, the need of sacrificing one or other party, it is not, certainly, by our sense of "style" that our choice would be determined: no great art in the reading of signs and symptoms is, at all events, required for a sense of our probable instinct in such a case. That instinct, in its turn, is far too large a matter to be briefly or easily disposed of, and there would be no greater mistake than to give too simple an account of it. The account most likely to be given by a completely detached critic would be that we are, as a race, better equipped for action than for thought, and that to let the art of expression go by the board is, by that fact, to point to the limits of what we mostly have to express. If we accept such a picture, we shall do so, I think, rather from a strong than from a weak sense of what may easily be made of it; but I glance in that direction only as toward a quarter almost too flooded with light, and come back, after my parenthesis, to what more immediately concerns me: which is the plain reflection that, if the element of compromise—compromise with fifty of the "facts of life"—be the common feature of the novel of English speech, so it is mainly indebted for this character to the less logical of the sexes.

Nothing is, at any rate, *a priori* more natural than to trace a

connection between our general mildness, as it may most conveniently be called, and the fact that we are likewise so generally feminine. Is the English novel "proper" because it is so largely written by women, or is it, only, so largely written by women because its propriety has been so massively established? The intimate relation is, however, all that is here pertinent; effect and cause may be left to themselves. What is further pertinent, as it happens, is that, on close observation, the relation is not constant; by which I mean that, though the ladies are always productive, the fashion of mildness is not always the same. Convention, in short, has its ups and its downs, and the ladies have, of late years, I think, been as often seen weltering in the hollow of the wave as borne aloft on its crest. Some of them even, incontestably, have been held positively to have distinguished themselves most—whether or no in veils of anonymity—on the occasion of the downward movement; making us really wonder if their number might not fairly, under any permanence of such a movement, be counted on to increase. All sorts of inquiries are suggested, in truth, by the spectacle. "Emancipations" are in the air, and may it not possibly be that we shall see two of the most striking coincide? If convention has, to the tune to which I just invited an ear, blighted our fiction, what shall we say of its admitted, its still more deprecated and, in so many quarters, even deplored, effect upon the great body under the special encouragement of which this fiction has none the less insisted on becoming incomparably copious? Since the general inaptitude of women appears by this time triumphantly to have been proved an assumption particularly hollow, despoiled more and more each day of the last tatters of its credit, why should not the new force thus liberated really, in the connection I indicate, give something of its measure?

It is, at any rate, keeping within bounds to say that the novel will surely not become less free in proportion as the condition of women becomes more easy. It is more or less in deference to their constant concern with it that we have seen it, among ourselves, pick its steps so carefully; but there are indications that the future may reserve us the surprise of having to thank the very class whose supposed sensibilities have most oppressed us for teaching it not only a longer stride, but a healthy indifference to an occasional splash. It is, for instance, only of quite recent

years that the type of fiction known as the "sexual" has created for itself—for purposes of reference, so far as notices in newspapers may be held to constitute reference—an identity variously valued. Now, therefore, though it be early to say that all "imaginative work" from the female hand is subject to this description, there is assuredly none so subject that is *not* from the female hand. The female mind, in fact, in the constant competition, has, on the whole, quite carried off the prize in the familiar game, known to us all from childhood's hour, of trying to be serious—finding thus its opportunity, with no small acuteness, in the more and more marked tendency of the mind of the other gender to revert, alike in the grave and the gay, to extreme simplicities. It is the ladies, in a word, who would lately seem to have done most to remind us of man's relations with himself—that is with woman. His relations with the pistol, the pirate, the police, the wild and the tame beast—are not these, prevailingly, what the gentlemen have given us? And does not the difference sufficiently point my moral?

Let me, however, not appear to have gone too far afield to seek it; for my reflections—general, perhaps, to excess—closely connect themselves with a subject to which they are quite ready to yield in interest. I have lately been giving a happy extension to an old acquaintance, dating from early in the eighties, with the striking romantic work of Matilde Serao; a writer who, apart from other successes, has the excellent effect, the sign of the stronger few, that the end of her story is, for her reader, never the end of her work. On thus recently returning to her, I have found in her something much more to my present purpose than the mere appearance of power and ease. If she is interesting largely because she is, in the light of her free, her extraordinary Neapolitan temperament, a vivid painter and a rich register of sensations and impressions, she is still more so as an exceptionally compact and suggestive *case*, a case exempt from interference and presenting itself with a beautiful unconsciousness. She has had the good—if it be, after all, not the ill—fortune to develop in an air in which convention, in our invidious sense, has had as little to say to her as possible; and she is accordingly a precious example of the possibilities of free exercise. The questions of the proper and the improper are comfortably far from her; and, though, more than in the case of her sisters of English speech,

she may have to reckon with prescriptions as to form—a burden at which, in truth, she snaps her fingers with an approach to impertinence—she moves in a circle practically void of all prejudgment as to subject and matter. Conscious enough, doubtless, of a literary law to be offended, and caring little in fact, I repeat—for it is her weakness—what wrong it may suffer, she has not even the agreeable incentive of an ability to calculate the "moral" shocks she may administer.

Practically chartered, then, she is further happy—since they both minister to ease—in two substantial facts: she is a daughter of the veritable South and a product of the contemporary newspaper. A Neapolitan by birth and a journalist by circumstance, by marriage and in some degree doubtless also by inclination, she strikes for us, from the first, the note of facility and spontaneity and the note of initiation and practice. Concerned, through her husband, in the conduct of a Neapolitan morning paper, of a large circulation and a radical color, she has, as I infer, produced her novels and tales mainly in such snatches of time and of inspiration as have been left her by urgent day-to-day journalism. They distinctly betray, throughout, the conditions of their birth—so little are they, to the literary sense, children of maturity and leisure. On the question of style, in a foreign writer, it takes a great general intimacy to make us sure of our ground; but I feel myself on the safe side in conceiving that this lady, full of perception and vibration, cannot only not pass for a purist, but must be considered, throughout, in spite of an explosive eloquence, to pretend but little to distinction of form: which, for an Italian, is a much graver predicament than for one of our shapeless selves. That, however, would perhaps pass for a small quarrel with a writer, or rather with a talker and—for it is what one must most insist on—a *feeler,* of Matilde Serao's remarkable spontaneity. Her mere Neapolitanism is a value, to whatever literary lapses it may minister. Truly, it is a rare privilege, to which it may be said that this lady thoroughly "lives up." Loud, loquacious, abundant, natural, happy, with luxurious insistences on the handsome, the costly and the fleshly, the fine persons and fine clothes of her characters, their satin and velvet, their bracelets, rings, white waistcoats, general appointments and bedroom furniture, with almost as many repetitions and as free a tongue, in short, as Juliet's nurse, she reflects at every turn the wonderful mixture

that surrounds her—the beauty, the misery, the history, the light and noise and dust, the prolonged paganism and the renewed reactions, the great style of the distant and the past, and the generally compromised state of the immediate and the near. These things were all in the germ—they have only, since, gathered volume and assurance—for the reader of her earlier novels; so that I well remember the impression made on me, when the book was new—my copy, apparently of the first edition, bears the date of 1885—by the rare energy, the immense *disinvoltura,* of *"La Conquista di Roma."* This was my introduction to the author, in consequence of which I immediately read *"Fantasia"* and the *"Vita e Avventure di Riccardo Joanna,"* with some smaller pieces; after which, interrupted but not detached, I knew nothing more till, in the course of time, I renewed acquaintance on the ground of *"Il Paese di Cuccagna,"* then, however, no longer in its first freshness. That work set me straightway to reading everything else I could lay hands on, and I think, therefore, that, save *"Il Ventre di Napoli"* and two or three quite recent productions that I have not met, there is nothing from our author that I have not mastered. Such as I find her in everything, she remains above all things the signal "case."

If, however, she appears, as I am bound to note, not to have kept the full promise of her early energy, this is because it has suited her to move less in the direction—where so much might have awaited her—of *"Riccardo Joanna"* and *"La Conquista"* than in that, on the whole less happily symptomatic, of *"Fantasia."* *"Fantasia"* is, before all else, a study of "passion," or rather of the intenser form of that mystery which the Italian *"passione"* better expresses; and I hasten to confess that, had she not so marked herself as an interpreter of this specialty, I should probably not now be writing of her. I conceive, none the less, that it would have been open to her to favor more that side of her great talent of which the so powerful *"Paese di Cuccagna"* is the strongest example. There is, for good luck, in this large, miscellaneous picture of Neapolitan life, no *passione* save that of the observer curiously and pityingly intent upon it, that of the artist resolute, at any cost, to embrace and reproduce it. Admirably, easily, convincingly objective, the thing is a sustained panorama, a chronicle of manners, finding its unity in one recurrent note, that of the consuming lottery-hunger which consti-

tutes the joy, the curse, the obsession and the ruin, according to Matilde Serao, of her fellow-citizens. Her productions divide themselves thus into two rather unequal portions, one of which the critic is tempted to accuse her of having, not altogether happily, sacrificed to the other. When, for the most part, she invokes, under the name of *passione,* the main explanation of the human muddle, she follows the windings of this clue in the upper walks of life, haunts the aristocracy, re-echoes with the nobility, overflows with clothes, jewels and promiscuous intercourse, to the proportionate eclipse of her strong, full vision of common life. *"La Conquista"* is the story of a young deputy who comes up to the Chamber, from the Basilicata, with a touching candor of ambition and a perilous ignorance of the complexity of things. His dream is to conquer Rome, but it is by Rome, naturally, that he is conquered. He alights on his political twig with a flutter of wings, but he has reckoned, in his innocence, without the strong taste, in many quarters, for sport; and it is with a charge of shot in his breast and a drag of his pinions in the dust that he takes his way back to mediocrity, obscurity and the parent nest. It is from the ladies—as was, indeed, even from the first, to be expected with Serao—that he receives his doom; *passione* is, in these pages, already at the door and soon arrives; *passione* rapidly enough passes its sponge over everything not itself.

In *"Cuore Infermo,"* in *"Addio Amore,"* in *"Il Castigo,"* in the two volumes of *"Gli Amanti,"* and in various other places, this effacement is so complete that we see the persons concerned but in the one relation, with every other circumstance, those of concurrent profession, possession, occupation, connection, interest, amusement, kinship, utterly superseded and obscured. Save in the three or four books I have named as exceptional, the figures evoked are, literally, professional lovers, "available," as the term is, for *passione* alone: which is the striking sign, as I shall presently indicate, of the extremity in which her enjoyment of the freedom we so often have to envy has strangely landed her. *"Riccardo Joanna,"* which, like *"La Conquista,"* has force, humor and charm, sounding with freshness the note of general life, is such a picture of certain of the sordid conditions of Italian journalism as, if I may trust my memory without re-perusal, sharply and pathetically imposes itself. I recall *"Fantasia,"* on the other hand, as wholly *passione*—all concentration and erotics, the latter

practiced in this instance, as in *"Addio Amore,"* with extreme cruelty to the "good heroine," the person innocent and sacrificed; yet this volume, too, contributes its part, in the retrospect, to that appearance of marked discipleship which was one of the original sources of my interest. Nothing could more have engaged one's attention, in these matters, at that moment, than the fresh phenomenon of a lady-novelist so confessedly flushed with the influence of Emile Zola. Passing among ourselves as a lurid warning even to workers of his own sex, he drew a new grace from the candid homage—all implied and indirect, but, as I refigure my impression, not the less unmistakable—of that half of humanity which, let alone attempting to follow in his footsteps, was not supposed even to turn his pages. There is an episode in *"Fantasia"*—a scene in which the relations of the hero and the "bad" heroine are strangely consolidated by a visit together to a cattle-show—in which the courage of the pupil has but little to envy the courage of the master. The hot day and hot hour, the heavy air and the strong smells, the great and small beasts, the eloquence—for the sensibilities of the lady and the gentleman—of the rich animal life, the collapse, indeed, of the lady in the presence of the prize bull: all these are touches for which, luckily, our author has the warrant of a greater name. The general picture, in *"Fantasia,"* of the agricultural exhibition at Caserta is, in fact, not the worse at any point for a perceptible echo of more than one French model. Would the author have found so full an occasion in it without a fond memory of the immortal *"Comices"* of *Madame Bovary?*

These, however, are minor questions—pertinent only as connecting themselves with the more solid side of her talent. I delight in such a specimen of it as is offered by the too brief series of episodes of *"The Romance of the Maiden."* These things, dealing mainly with the small miseries of small folk, have a palpable truth, and it is striking that, to put the matter simply, she is at her best almost in direct proportion as her characters are poor. By poor I mean, literally, the reverse of rich; for directly they *are* rich and do, as the phrase is, keep their carriage, her taste totters and lapses, her style approximates at moments to that of the ladies who do the fashions and the letters from the watering-places in the "society" papers. She has, acutely, and she renders it with excellent breadth, the sense of benighted lives, of small,

sordid troubles, of the general unhappy youthful (on the part of her own sex at least), and the general more or less starved plebeian, consciousness. The degree to which it testifies to all this is one of the great beauties of *"Il Paese di Cuccagna";* though, indeed, the moral of that dire picture be that, in respect to the gaming-passion, the madness of "numbers," no walk of life, at Naples, is too high or too low to be ravaged. Beautiful, in *"Il Romanzo della Fanciulla,"* are the exhibitions of grinding girl-life in the big telegraph office and in the State normal school. The gem of *"Gli Amanti"* is the tiny tale of *"Vicenzella,"* a masterpiece in twenty small pages—the vision of what three or four afternoon hours could contain for a slip of a creature of the Naples waterside, a poor girl who picks up a living by the cookery and sale, on the edge of a parapet, of various rank, dismembered polyps of the southern sea, and who is, from stage to stage, despoiled of the pence she patiently pockets for them by the successive small emissaries of her artful, absent lover, constantly faithless, occupied, not too far off, in regaling a lady of his temporary preference, and proportionately clamorous for fresh remittances. The moment and the picture are but a scrap; yet they are as large as life.

"Canituccia," in *"Piccole Anime,"* may happily pair with *"Vicenzella,"* Canituccia being simply the humble rustic guardian, in field and wood—scarce more than a child—of the still more tender Ciccotto; and Ciccotto being a fine young pink-and-white pig, an animal of endowments that lead, after he has had time to endear himself to his otherwise quite solitary and joyless friend, to his premature conversion into bacon. She assists, helplessly silent, staring, almost idiotic, from a corner of the cabin-yard, by night and lamplight, in the presence of gleaming knives and steaming pots and bloody tubs, at the sacrifice that deprives her of all company, and nothing can exceed the homely truth of the touch that finally rounds off the scene, and for which I must refer my reader to the volume. Let me, further, not fail to register my admiration for the curious cluster of scenes that, in *"Il Romanzo,"* bears the title of *"Nella Lava."* Here frankly, I take it, we have the real principle of "naturalism"—a consistent presentment of the famous "slice of life." The slices given us—slices of shabby, hungry maidenhood in small cockney circles—are but sketchily related to the volcanic catastrophe we hear rumbling

behind them, the undertone of all the noise of Naples; but they have the real artistic importance of showing us how little "story" is required to hold us when we get, before the object evoked and in the air created, the impression of the real thing. The thing—interesting inference—has but effectively to *be* real to constitute in itself story enough. There is no story without it, none that is not rank humbug; whereas with it the very desert blooms.

This last-named phenomenon takes place, I fear, but in a minor degree in such of our author's productions as *"Cuore Infermo," "Addio Amore," "Il Castigo"* and the double series of *"Gli Amanti"*; and for a reason that I the more promptly indicate, as it not only explains, I think, the comparative inanity of these pictures, but does more than anything else to reward our inquiry. The very first reflection suggested by Serao's novels of "passion" is that they perfectly meet our speculation as to what might, with a little time, become of our own fiction were our particular convention suspended. We see so what, on its actual lines, does, what *has,* become of it, and are so sated with the vision that a little consideration of the latent other chance will surely but refresh us. The effect, then, we discover, of the commission to give *passione* its whole place is that, by the operation of a singular law, no place, speedily, appears to be left for anything else; and the effect of that, in turn, is greatly to modify, first, the truth of things, and second, with small delay, what may be left them of their beauty. We find ourselves wondering after a little whether there may not really be more truth in the world misrepresented according to our own familiar fashion, than in such a world as that of Matilde Serao's exuberant victims of Venus. It is not only that, if Venus herself is notoriously beautiful, her altar, as it happens, is by no means always proportionately august; it is that we draw, in the long run, small comfort from the virtual suppression, by any painter, of whatever skill—and the skill of this particular one fails to rise to the height—of every relation in life but that over which Venus presides. In *"Fior di Passione,"* in *"Addio Amore,"* in *"Il Castigo,"* in *"Gli Amanti,"* the suppression is really complete; the common humanities and sociabilities are wholly absent from the picture.

The effect of this is extraordinarily to falsify the total show, and to present the particular affair—the intimacy in hand for the moment, though the moment be but brief—as taking place in a

strange, false perspective, a denuded desert which experience surely fails ever to give us the like of, and the action of which on the faculty of observation in the painter is anything but favorable. It strikes at the root, in the impression producible and produced, of discrimination and irony, of humor and pathos. The writer before us would, doubtless, contend, on behalf of the works I have mentioned, that pathos, at least, does abound in them—the particular bitterness, the inevitable despair that she again and again shows to be the final savour of the cup of *passione*. It would be quite open to her to urge—and she would be sure to do so with eloquence—that if we pusillanimously pant for a moral, no moral, really, can have the force of her almost inveterate evocation of the absolute ravage of Venus—the desolation that, in nine cases out of ten, Venus may be perceived to leave behind her. That, however, but half meets our argument—which bears by no means merely on the desolation behind, but on the desolation before, beside and, generally, round about. It is not, in short, at all the moral, but the fable itself that, in the exclusively sexual light, is wanting. Love, at Naples and in Rome, as Serao exhibits it, is simply unaccompanied with any reflection of our usual manners—with affection, with duration, with circumstances or consequences, with friends, enemies, husbands, wives, children, parents, interests, occupations, the manifestation of tastes. Who are these people, we presently ask ourselves, who love indeed with fury—though, for the most part, with astonishing brevity—but who are so without any suggested situation in life that they can only strike us as loving for and, more especially, through and in, nothing? We know them by nothing but their convulsions and spasms, and we feel once again that it is not the passion of hero and heroine that gives, that can ever give, the heroine and the hero interest, but that it is they themselves, with the ground they stand on and the air they breathe, who give interest to their passion. This element touches us just in proportion as we see it mixed with other things, with all the things with which it has to reckon and struggle. There is, moreover, another reflection with which pathos, in this connection, has to count, even though it undermine not a little the whole of the tragic effect of the agitations of *passione*. Is the effect most consonant, for the spectator, with truth, really (ruthlessly speaking,) half as tragic as it is something else? Should not the moral be sought in the very

different quarter where the muse of comedy, rather, would have the last word? The ambiguity and the difficulty are, it strikes me, of a new growth, and spring from a perverse desire on the part of the erotic novelist to secure for the adventures he depicts a dignity that is not of the essence. To compass this dignity he has to be serious, has to be sad and solemn, and to be, sufficiently, these things, he has, as it strikes us, to be sufficiently false. He has made, in fine, of his erotic a matter of tears and imprecations, and in so doing has rendered a poor service both to pleasure and to pain. Since, by his own free showing, it is pre-eminently a matter of folly, let us at least have folly with her bells, or, when they must—since they must—sound knells and dirges, leave them only to the light hand of the lyric poet, who turns them, at all events, to music. Signora Serao is, in this direction, constantly lugubrious; even in the little so-called pastels of *"Gli Amanti,"* she manages, with an ingenuity worthy of a better cause, to expunge the note of gaiety.

This dismal *parti pris,* indeed, will inevitably, it is to be feared, when all the emancipations shall have said their last word, be that of the ladies. Yet, perhaps, too, whatever such a probability, the tone scarce signifies—in the presence, I mean, of the fundamental mistake from which the author before us warns us off. That mistake, we gather from her warning, would be to encourage, after all, any considerable lowering of the level of our precious fund of reserve. When we come to analyze, we arrive at a final impression of what we pay, as lovers of the novel, for such a chartered state as we have here a glimpse of; and we find it to be an exposure—on the intervention, at least, of such a literary temperament—to a new kind of vulgarity. We have surely already kinds enough. The absence of the convention throws the writer back on tact, taste, delicacy, discretion, subjecting these principles to a strain from which the happy office of its presence is, in a considerable degree and for performers of the mere usual endowment, to relieve him. When we have not a very fine sense, it appears in a manner to have it on our behalf. And how frequent, to-day, in the hurrying herd of brothers and sisters of the pen, *is* a very fine sense? Do we not approach the truth in divining that only an eminent individual, here and there, may be trusted for it? Here—for the case is our very lesson—is this robust and wonderful Serao who is yet not to be trusted at all. Does not

the dim religious light with which we surround its shrine do more, on the whole, for the poetry of *passione* than the flood of flaring gas with which, in her pages, and at her touch, it is drenched? Does it not shrink, as a subject, from such expert recognitions and easy discussions, from so pitiless a reduction to the category of the familiar? It issues from the ordeal with the aspect with which it might escape from a noisy family party or alight from a crowded omnibus. It is at the category of the familiar that vulgarity begins. There may be a cool virtue, therefore, even for "art," and an appreciable distinction, even for truth, in reticences and gaps, in the inspired, inconsistent, indefensible superficial. A feeling revives at last, after a timed intermission, that we may not immediately be quite able, quite assured enough, to name, but which, gradually clearing up, soon defines itself almost as a yearning. We turn round, in obedience to it—unmistakably we turn round again—to the opposite pole, and there, before we know it, we have positively laid a clinging hand on dear old Jane Austen.

HENRY JAMES.

BUSINESS SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

BY CHARLES R. FLINT.

In considering the business situation in the United States, our foreign commerce is of striking importance. Its bearing on our total business is much greater than its relative volume. As a controlling factor, it has an influence on the general industrial situation similar to that which the surplus reserve held by the Clearing House Banks has on the financial situation. A change in the surplus reserve, although it represents only one-hundredth of one per cent. of the total wealth of the United States, may establish a new rate of interest throughout the country.

The balance of trade between this country and the world represents the "surplus reserve" of the United States. The balance of trade is the difference between our imports and our exports, between what we buy of the world and what we sell. Since the year ending June 30th, 1873, the balance of trade has been in our favor each year, with four exceptions. During the year ending June 30th, 1875, we bought of the world nineteen millions in round numbers more than we sold it. During the year ending June 30th, 1888, the balance of trade against us was twenty-eight millions; during 1889, it was three millions, and during 1893 it was eighteen millions. These years, and the years when the balance of trade in our favor was small, were the years of poor business and hard times. In 1873, when the balance of trade was one hundred and nineteen millions against us, we had the great panic. We were spending abroad more than we were making at home. We were realizing the truth of the homely philosophy of Micawber, who summed up the situation presented by the balance of trade very clearly, when he told David Copperfield: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen six, result

happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds ought and six, result misery."

In the light of Micawber's wisdom, the hopefulness of our present business situation is clearly made manifest, when we see, by the United States Treasury Reports, that for 1900 the balance of trade in our favor is nearly $649,000,000. In other words, we are paying our way as we go, living on the best, spending all the money we want for luxuries as well as necessities, and still "laying by," like the thrifty Yankees we are, at the rate of $54,000,000 a month, $13,000,000 a week, nearly $2,000,000 a day, $80,000 an hour. Every time the minute hand ticks, a "surplus reserve" of $1,300 is posted to Uncle Sam's credit on the books of the world, after he has paid everything he owes in trade.

No wonder Europe is alarmed. No wonder the London *Times* says that it is "a question of paramount interest among all others"; while Paul Leroy Beaulieu, in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*, proposes a "European Economical Alliance" against the United States, and alleges that the United States "may henceforth be regarded as the first industrial nation, and their superiority will become strikingly more evident year by year."

Lord Rosebery, one of the keenest observers in the world, and one of the most conservative, gave a very clear idea of the situation in a speech he delivered recently before the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce. He said:

"The war I fear is not a military war, * * * the war I regard with apprehension is the war of trade which is unmistakably upon us. I cannot blind my eyes to the fact that so far as we can predict anything of the twentieth century on which we have now entered it is that it will be one of acutest international conflict in point of trade. * * * There are two nations which are obviously our rivals and our opponents in this commercial warfare to come—I do not intend by any means to put others out of that category, but I do say that it is to America and to Germany that we have to look in the future for an acute and increasing competition with regard to our trade. * * * The alertness of the Americans, their incalculable natural resources, their acuteness, their enterprise, their vast population, which will in all probability within the next twenty years reach 100,000,000, will make them very formidable competitors with ourselves."

It certainly will, and he is a bold prophet who will forecast the end, if we only keep our head. Nothing can stop or impede our progress, except the success of such a movement as Mr. Bryan has tried to force on us with his free silver absurdity. But political parties are not fond of suicide, and, having tried free silver twice, the Democracy, I believe, may be safely relied upon not to force this issue again. So our decks are clear, and we can safely steer our course, the controlling factor in the world's commerce.

As for a "European Economical Alliance" to check our growing industrial power in the world, that is the dream of a visionary. Such an alliance, even if it could be formed and maintained, would hurt Europe far more than it would hurt us. The Europeans are too wise and too advanced to immure themselves behind a Chinese wall. Europe needs us much more than we need her. The table of exports and imports shows this very plainly. Last year, Europe bought of us one billion one hundred and eleven million dollars' worth of goods. During the same period, we bought of Europe only four hundred and thirty-nine millions. This gave us against Europe alone a balance of trade amounting to $672,000,000. They bought from us more than two and a half times as much as we bought of them. For every dollar invested by us in European productions, they invested over two dollars and a half in American productions. Ten years ago, in 1890, we exported to Europe only $682,000,000, while we imported $474,000,000. In these few years, therefore, our exports have almost doubled, while our imports have decreased by thirty-five millions.

Striking as they are, as showing the dependence on us that binds Europe, these figures do not tell the whole story. Practically, everything we send across the water is a necessity. Our purchases from Europe, on the other hand, are largely luxuries, things we could do very well without if we care to. We send them one hundred pounds of produce, and they give us in return a few ounces of fizz and feathers. This gives us control of the situation.

A nation's commercial supremacy, as the world is regulated to-day, lies in its manufactures. It is here we are strong; for our exports of manufactured products have grown by leaps and bounds, and are forging ahead at a rate that must appall the

European student of industrial economics. During the past two years, our exports of manufactured goods have been forty per cent. more than during the previous two years. During the past four years, our balance of trade in manufactures has amounted to more than it did during the entire existence of the Republic before that period.

For the ten months ending October 31st, 1900, we imported $71,786,358 worth of articles "wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in the manufactures and mechanics arts," and $111,736,745 worth "manufactured ready for consumption," a total of $183,523,103. Our exports of manufactures for the same period amounted to $376,247,618, leaving a balance of trade in our favor of $192,724,515 for manufactures alone. It is difficult to add to the force of these figures. They mean that, for every dollar's worth of goods imported by us and produced by the cheap labor of the world, we are selling to these cheap laborers themselves two dollars' worth. And this state of affairs has existed less than four years; it has grown up during a time when the general increase of wages in America has been greater than ever before in our history, with the exception of the period of our Civil War, when the scarcity of men outside the two armies was so great that wages in peace pursuits were abnormally stimulated. Europe is awaking to a realization of what is happening to her. The Hamburg *Fremdenblatt,* in a recent editorial that has attracted national attention, declares that:

"The Union is marching with gigantic strides toward conversion from an agricultural to an industrial nation. The steel manufactures of the United States, which two decades ago were in their infancy, to-day control the markets of the world, dictate either directly or indirectly the prices of iron and steel in all countries, and, partly through the richness of their supply of iron ores and coal, partly by the use of labor-saving machinery and skilful, effective means of transportation, have attained a position to not only compete with the older iron and steel producing countries, but even to profitably export their products to England."

After pointing out that American tools, American shoes, American sewing-machines, bicycles and agricultural implements, American stoves and everything else American, are driving European goods out of the foreign markets, the *Fremdenblatt* points out that Europe is no longer able to compete with our manufactures in her own great centres, adding:

"Incidentally, it may be remarked that the typewriting machine

with which this article is written, as well as the thousands—nay, hundreds of thousands—of others that are in use throughout the world, was made in America, that it stands on an American table, in an office furnished with American desks, bookcases and chairs, which cannot be made in Europe of equal quality, so practical and convenient, for a similar price."

What has brought about this wonderful change in so short a period, a change without precedent on earth?

Our great natural resources, our intelligent and industrious people, working under the most modern methods, availing themselves of the highest development of labor-saving machinery, a development made possible through centralized manufacturing. And these conditions are going to make the change even more pronounced next year, and the year thereafter, than it has been in the past two years. We are living in an age of industrial evolution, and here in the United States the most perfect results of this evolution have been attained.

The system of centralized manufacture, that has found so firm a place with us, permits for numerous reasons the highest perfection of special machinery and processes. The factory running on full time, on large volume, reduces the percentage of working charges. Direct sales on a large scale minimize the cost of handling. There is an improved system of distribution which reduces aggregate stocks, and thereby saves shop-wear, storage, insurance and interest. Consolidated management results in fixing the standards of quality, the best standards being adopted; in avoiding waste and financial embarrassment through overproduction; in minimizing loss by bad debts through comparisons of credit, and in securing the advantages of comparative accounting and comparative administration. We are to-day shipping manufactured goods to countries where the rate of wages averages forty per cent. less than our wage-earners are receiving. The European wage-earner, instead of welcoming labor-saving machinery, as our workmen have done, has persistently tried to retard its general use; and the result has been that wages have been lower in Europe. The American workman has received more because he has produced more, and this is the great reason why, notwithstanding our high wages, we are so rapidly extending our trade with foreign markets.

In view of the fact that the maintenance of high wages in the United States is largely dependent upon our increasing ex-

ports, the question is often asked, whether we could maintain them in competition with the cheap labor of China, were China to become a manufacturing country. The best answer is that, in 1899, among our other exports, we shipped two hundred million yards of cotton cloth to the Chinese. The average rate of wages paid by us in its manufacture was seven times the average rate of wages prevailing in China.

It is not, however, in the Chinese markets nor in comparison with China that the most instructive and satisfactory facts are to be ascertained. It is rather in comparison with our most important competitor, the United Kingdom. Heretofore, the United Kingdom has held first place as an exporting nation. In 1875, the exports of the United Kingdom were twice as much as our own. In figures, our exports amounted to $513,442,711, while the exports of the United Kingdom were $1,029,897,310. Our exports from that year until 1896, when we took our position definitely as a manufacturing nation, fluctuated enormously. The volume depended entirely upon our crops. In 1892, it ran up to one billion, only to drop again the next year to eight hundred and forty-seven millions. The election in 1896 stimulated our manufactures enormously. We jumped from eight hundred and eighty-two millions in 1896 to one billion and fifty millions in 1897. In 1898, we passed the Englishmen for the first time in our history and theirs, as an exporting nation. In 1899, they regained their lead, their exports exceeding ours by a few millions. But for the year just closed we are again in advance, this time by the substantial sum of ten millions, and at the rate at which we are progressing, we will probably lead the United Kingdom for 1901 by four or five times ten million dollars. These figures show that we are, indeed, the leading nation of the world. But even they tell the story only in part, for we are not only the leading exporting nation, but the only nation in the world that shows any considerable trade balance on the right side. The United Kingdom, for ten months in 1900, imported $2,081,000,000 worth of merchandise against exportations amounting to $1,183,000,000, leaving a trade balance against her of $897,539,819. Germany, which ranks next among the industrial nations, imported $952,-919,000 for nine months in 1900, and exported merchandise valued at $714,060,000, leaving a trade balance against her for nine months of $237,959,000. France for nine months imported

$638,996,000 and exported $580,471,000, a difference of $58,525,000 against her.

While, therefore, the United States is piling up a credit balance of over $600,000,000 a year, our three chief competitors for the trade of the world are writing a total of over one billion on the wrong side of the ledger. That the full significance of these may be appreciated, they must be studied and analyzed. It is as though four houses were doing business side by side; one of these houses—the United States—after paying all its running expenses, has a balance in the bank of six hundred millions in round numbers; while the other three houses have an aggregate loss to write up at the end of each year amounting to one thousand million dollars. This condition is all the more remarkable, in view of the fact that the domination of the United States really began only in 1897, when the trade balance in our favor jumped from $102,882,264 for 1896 to $286,263,144 in 1897. The next year, 1898, the increase was even more amazing, for, on June 30th, 1898, we showed a favorable trade balance of $615,432,676. In other words, in twelve months we trebled our credits on the world's books.

And now we are forging ahead at a rate that promises to make all records small by comparison. For the last quarter of 1900, the trade balance in our favor was two hundred and forty-one million dollars. If this rate is maintained through 1901, as the indications promise, our balance of trade will amount to more than the entire exports of Germany for a year.

As if this were not sufficient, we have also become the chief gold-producing country of the world. Our output of the yellow metal for 1900 was over a million and a half a week. The Director of the United States Mint estimates that we have made a considerable gain over 1899, when we produced seventy-one millions of gold. Australasia in 1899 produced seventy-nine millions, and Africa seventy-three millions. Australasia remained stationary and the United States and Canada gained in round numbers twelve millions. The final figures may show that Australasia leads us slightly for 1900; but, if such is the case, the difference will be so small as practically to give us first place, in view of the fact that our increase was pronounced in the past year, while Australasia stood still. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that, in the year to come, we shall take the first rank among the gold-producing nations of the earth by a pronounced margin.

Figures are ordinarily not sensational, but certainly such figures as these must be more startling to the average citizen than whole reams of flaming headlines in the newspapers. They show, as nothing else in the world shows, that the Yankee stands so high that the citizen of no other nationality is in the same class with him.

It is this state of affairs that has reversed the old order of things; that has made us lenders instead of borrowers of money, has changed us from a debtor to a creditor nation. For the first time in our history, we have taken up the loans of other governments instead of offering ours to them. England, Russia, Germany, Sweden and Mexico have all in turn been accommodated in the last two years. These facts, together with the fact that our currency has been established on a stable basis, have put the business of the United States on a footing of soundness such as it has never known before. The people of enterprise and ability, feeling assured of the stability of our financial condition, are everywhere doing a great amount of construction work. Business is developing with us in every direction, and there is every reason to believe that it will continue to develop for a long time to come. Twenty-five years ago, if such conditions had prevailed as prevail to-day in London financial circles, and as prevailed in Africa when the mines were shut down by the war, there would have been a panic in the United States, caused by a withdrawal of funds by foreign holders of securities. The Englishman and the German and the Frenchman would have called for their money, and returned to us our stocks and bonds. But so distinctly have we progressed that we have been unaffected by the foreign conditions. In fact, the period of our greatest prosperity has been since these conditions have prevailed on the other side.

It was one of the peculiarities of our prosperous eras in years past that the balance of trade in our favor was generally reduced when we were making money fastest. This was due to the fact that, when times became prosperous, we were treating ourselves to luxuries on an increased scale, and sending our produce to Europe in return for them. Now we are manufacturing many of our own luxuries, supplying the domestic market and sending them into neutral foreign markets as well.

If, at the very outset of our career as a great manufacturing

nation, this satisfactory state of affairs prevails, what may we expect of the future, in view of the fact that our resources have hardly been tapped? Our great forests, our inexhaustible deposits of metal and coal, assure us an expanding greatness under our growing system of centralized manufacture and economic production. The balance of trade in our favor will increase steadily, and only one factor prevents our dominating the rest of the world so thoroughly as to take from England immediately the position of the financial centre of the world. This factor is that England has such prodigious investments in the United States that her people are reaping with us the advantage of our prosperity. The English, and the other foreigners who brought their money to us to invest in our railroads, in our factories, and in our enterprises generally, are drawing substantial dividends; and this, in a measure, restores the balance which otherwise would overwhelm Europe. They are partners with us to the extent of their investments in our prosperity, and our favored commercial condition. The English, for instance, are our largest underwriters in the insurance field. I once pointed out to Mr. Blaine that, if the war-clause was removed from our fire policies, England would be the greatest sufferer were New York to be bombarded. It is this interweaving of interests, and the fact that we are paying about one hundred millions a year for ocean freight to foreign ships, and sending about one hundred millions a year abroad with our American tourists, that alone preserves England's status as the financial centre of the world. She gets from these sources, in a measure, what she loses in the balance of trade.

Of course, the era of prosperity with which we are now blessed will not continue in its present form forever. History will repeat itself, and periods of contraction will come again. There always have been cycles of contraction and expansion in peace, and these cycles will continue to recur. There are periods of expansion when the mills are running full, and there are periods of contraction when the number of unemployed is large. Confidence is at the foundation of expanding business activity. The amount of business transacted on credit is over two thousand times that transacted in exchange for gold or silver. If there is confidence, the manufacturer employs many hands, the laborers purchase more, the retailers send more orders, the jobber orders more from the manufacturer, the manufacturer employs more

hands, and all who want work can find it. This produces the condition that brings prosperity.

Contraction is caused by lack of confidence. Then the manufacturer is afraid to produce goods. He discharges some of his employees, and they in turn must purchase less. This affects the retailer, who cancels his orders with the jobber. In turn, the manufacturer must still further reduce his output and his pay-roll. Hard times result.

These processes are as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun; but whereas in the past the United States was among the first to be affected by these cycles of contraction, she will in the future be among the last to be affected. This means that the good times we are now enjoying will last longer than any period of prosperity heretofore known in America. It cannot fail to be otherwise with the great balance of trade in our favor, with our great accumulated wealth, and with the rapidly growing development of our vast resources. Long after all the other nations are in the throes of hard times, prosperity will continue here. This is so well understood abroad that the foreigners are everywhere eager seekers for our securities. Since the last election, there has been a rush for American investments unparalleled in history. Both the New York and London Stock Exchanges have broken all records in the sales of our stocks and bonds. All over the world, capital is anxious to go into partnership with American industrial enterprises. The foreigners feel, as we do, that, after years of agitation, the stability of our currency has been finally established.

Heretofore, we have always been more or less erratic in the matter of currency. Our promises to pay have been so little prized that, at the first sign of trouble at home or abroad, immense quantities of our securities held by foreigners were flung upon the market, and the shipments of money demanded drained our financial resources. It was this fact that hurt us so seriously in November, 1890, when the Baring embarrassment occurred in London. Situated as we are to-day, such an occurrence would have little or no effect upon us. In fact, the failure of investments in such countries as the Argentine Republic, Peru and elsewhere, would simply help to emphasize the soundness of our securities.

Few people realize how far back the spectre of silver coinage served to unsettle conditions and values here. So thorough an

American as Samuel J. Tilden shipped a million and a half of gold to London in 1884, for fear of the passage of a free coinage act. From that time until the passage of the Currency Act, we have, at different times, gone on a series of financial debauches. These resulted in the panic of 1893 and the era of depression in 1894, 1895 and 1896, culminating in Bryan's free-silver plank, which demoralized everything. After the election of 1896, confidence increased and continued to grow so steadily that the reopening of the old question last year had comparatively little effect. People felt so assured of the triumph of sound money that, despite the uncertainty that always lurks in national elections, they were on the whole willing to risk investment. Now that we are free from the silver nightmare, the only stumbling block that remained in the way of our progress is removed. The banker and the merchant are relieved from the condition of suspense. They know that the foundation of trade is firm and solid. They no longer dread that the dollar, which is the medium of trade, will be changed over night to fifty cents. Naturally, they are prepared to take advantage of every trade opening, and to invest liberally in the great fields of industry.

It is our great good fortune that our prosperity is built on lines that place us beyond the competition of the world, thanks to the fact that our mechanical processes are so highly developed. We have cheaper steel, cheaper coal and cheaper lumber than any other nation. With our modern machinery, we are constantly going into virgin fields, and in an incredibly short time are building up industries that only a few years ago were impossible. Only recently, a business combination was effected for the production of lumber in South Carolina, as a result of which over one hundred and fifty million feet a year are being sent out of the great saw-mills in that State, where formerly the production was unimportant. I know no better illustration of the far-reaching control of our mechanical perfection than the fact that we are to-day shipping lumber from this country to South America, transporting it to the seaport by rail, reloading on vessels and carrying it through one thousand miles of forest along the Amazon, to lay it down finally in an interior town of Brazil cheaper than it can be manufactured at the very doors of this town by the crude processes employed there.

I have laid great stress on the importance of our foreign

trade; but to reach an adequate understanding of our true situation, attention must be given to the condition of our domestic trade.

Our interstate commerce to-day is the largest trade carried on anywhere in the world under conditions of absolute free trade. Therefore, even if Europe were in a position to form an "Economical Alliance" against the United States, our mills and factories would still be kept busy supplying the needs of our own people.

And we are also being called on, more extensively each day, to supply the needs of that vast region on the other side of the Pacific which has just been opened up to our trade. China, Japan, Corea, Asiatic Russia, are fields for our enterprise on a scale until recently undreamed of. China alone has 400,000,000 people—more than the whole of Europe. The same conditions that have made us supreme in trade across the Atlantic will give us control across the Pacific. We will overcome both European and Asiatic competition, thanks to our mechanical genius.

It is my firm belief that the time is not far distant when our commerce across the Pacific will be as heavy as it is to-day across the Atlantic. This condition will be enormously facilitated by the construction of an Isthmian Canal.

A promise of what the future has in store for us in this direction has already begun to manifest itself. In less than seven years, our trade with the East has been trebled. In 1893, we sold China, Japan and the other countries comprising Asia and Oceanica, thirty million dollars' worth of goods. In 1899, we sold them ninety-one millions' worth. As soon as China is pacified and normal conditions are restored there and elsewhere in the East, our trade will progress at a rate that will make even this startling increase seem insignificant. A factor that will help us materially in the development of this trade is the trans-Siberian railroad. With the completion of that road, there will be open to us a vast new territory, to which we will have access under conditions that favor us in every respect. For all practical purposes, this railroad is a continuation of our transcontinental lines, the Pacific steamers serving as ferries. We will be nearer the markets through which this route runs than any country of Europe. The country traversed by the trans-Siberian road is purely agricultural. Its manufactures, like the manufactures of Russia herself, are unimportant. Already, we have supplied

Russia with most of the material used in building the railroad; and, as the country settles up, and the demands of the people for manufactured goods grow, they must look to us to supply them. From 1898 to 1900, our exports to Asiatic Russia were practically doubled. During the same period, our exports to Japan, the other Asiatic country where development is being rapidly pushed, also increased enormously, growing from sixteen millions for the ten months ending October 31st, 1898, to twenty-three millions for the same period in 1900.

The whole world is adding to our wealth, and here in America all the people are sharing in the prosperity that has come. Any one who doubts this, and who pays heed to the oft-repeated outcry against the centralization of wealth, need only study the statistics of the savings banks. In New York State, the people have deposited in the savings banks over one billion dollars, a growth in two and a half years of two hundred and fifty millions, in round numbers. These deposits are earning for their owners more than thirty million dollars a year. There were, in round numbers, over two hundred thousand depositors who had accounts with savings banks. Their average deposits were $452.89. Great Britain's average was only $96.57, Prussia's average was $155.91, while Austria-Hungary, which ranks next to the United States, averaged but $220.47 to each depositor.

Surely the American people have cause to be satisfied.

CHARLES R. FLINT.

PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONS; A RETROSPECT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. JUDSON SMITH, D. D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE nineteenth century has gone into history with an imperishable name and glory. During its progress, our knowledge of the world and of the people who live in it has been vastly expanded. The whole domain of physical science, if it has not been discovered, has certainly been explored and mapped out in the most comprehensive way. Inventions, and those of the greatest importance, have multiplied beyond all precedent. Steam and electricity have been applied to human needs in manifold forms, have revolutionized modes of travel and have brought the ends of the world together. Solid gains have been made in the possession of civil and religious liberty; the leading nations are coming to a mutual understanding and combining in a league for perpetual peace. Time would fail to tell of the gains in Education, Literature, the Arts and Social Forces, which enrich life and enhance personal power. But if the nineteenth century is the *saeculum mirabile* in these respects, it is quite as much so in the development of the Foreign Missionary enterprise. There are but two other periods in the history of Christianity that can compare with it in this respect—the first three centuries, including the Apostolic Age, and the three centuries at the opening of the Middle Ages. In the former, the Church was founded, the nations taught and the Roman Empire Christianized; in the latter, the peoples of central and northern Europe were converted and brought into the circle of Latin Christendom. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were a few societies, scantily manned and equipped, prosecuting their work far apart, not

without spirit and promise, but with very meager results. At the end of the century, we see an enterprise of wide reach, conscious of itself, experienced, wisely drilled and led, attempting great things and winning splendid victories. It is like the Parliamentary army in the Puritan Revolution, at first not without merit, of high purpose, but not united, not effective, which at last became the Ironsides that won at Naseby and Dunbar and Worcester, sweeping everything before it, entering no battle but to conquer.

The Modern Era of Protestant Foreign Missions set in decisively with William Carey and the formation in 1792 of the English Baptist Missionary Society under his leadership. The London Missionary Society, in which many Dissenting Churches united, followed in 1795; a Scotch Society, and one in the Netherlands, in 1797; the Church Missionary Society, within the Anglican Church, in 1799. One fact should be premised. As there were heroes before Agamemnon, so there were Protestant missions before Carey's time; and foreign missionary work had been done on this side of the sea before the days of Mills and Judson and Hall. In some proper sense, the discovery of this western world was in the interest of the wider spread of the gospel; Columbus sought to enlarge the jurisdiction and blessings of the Roman Church. Plymouth Colony was designed to gain a free field for the reformed faith and a foothold whence to spread the gospel into new parts of the world. John Eliot's work among the Indians to the west of Roxbury from 1646 was a fine instance of foreign missionary enterprise; and it was only one among many. The Mayhews and Sargents wrought on the same plan. The great work of the Moravians from 1732, in Southern Africa, in Labrador, in the West Indies, is a noble instance of pioneer effort in hard places.

Let us take a brief survey of the state of Foreign Missions one hundred years ago. Carey is just beginning his wonderful work as translator at Serampore; the first laborers of the London Missionary Society are enduring the "night of toil" on Tahiti before any fruit appears; the Moravians are bearing the Word to darkened souls in remote parts of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. The churches are scarcely awake to the call, or to their privilege in responding to it; the enterprise is known by few and believed in by fewer still. There are few converts on foreign soil, here and there a feeble band; no schools for training native

laborers; the Bible speaks as yet in few vernaculars. Goodly beginnings have been made, the church is awakening, and all is hopeful; but it is the gray dawn of the day, and it is faith only that can take in the greater things that are at hand. Scarcely a dozen missionary societies, all in Great Britain and Germany, a few scores of missionaries scattered through many lands, a handful of converts and pupils, a total expenditure of a few thousands a year—this is the scene which presents itself at the opening of the century. From this point the growth has been slow, but continuous and accelerating through the successive decades; until we reach the facts with which all are familiar to-day.

The expansion of the fields occupied by foreign missions is one of the most striking facts of the century. Where Carey stood alone at its opening, more than two thousand missionaries, representing fifty different Societies, now occupy nearly every strategic point in the vast peninsula of India and in Ceylon. And Burma and Siam and China and Japan, not even explored as missionary ground at that time, are studded with mission stations and teem with a vast volume of missionary labors. Africa was then touched only by the Moravians in a few points; to-day thousands of missionaries, from nearly fifty Societies, are at work around all its vast seaboard, and among many tribes in the interior, then wholly unexplored. The pioneers of the London Missionary Society had just arrived among the islands of the Pacific, where now well nigh every group has its missionaries, and not a few have become active centers of a wider Christian propagandism. And, in short, there is scarcely a country, or tribe, or island on the earth where missionaries are not at work, and where the Christian church does not already exert its uplifting influence. There is no recorded march of military conquest that is more resistless, significant or inspiring, than this steady expansion of the foreign missionary enterprise.

The most reliable statistics enumerate 449 different Protestant Foreign Missionary organizations to-day, 249 of them directly devoted to missionary work, 92 indirectly co-operating in such work, and 102 engaged in special lines of work. There is scarcely a Protestant denomination that does not have its Society, its field, and its laborers. This is a new and significant fact in Christian history. For the few scores of missionaries at work in 1800, at

the close of the century we have 13,607, with an army of 73,615 native helpers by their side, distributed in over five thousand central stations through all the unevangelized peoples of the earth. In this single fact we have the promise of final victory. In these fields are 10,993 organized churches, with a membership of 1,289,289 souls, increasing at the rate of 83,895 each year. The annual income of the major Societies has reached the noble sum of $17,161,092, and the yearly gifts from native Christians aggregate $1,833,981. The educational work presents like noble proportions. There are 93 colleges on mission fields, with 35,414 students, of whom 2,275 are women: of theological and training schools 385 are reported, with 11,905 students. Boarding and high schools number 857 and 83,148 pupils; industrial and medical classes count 197, and enroll 6,998 pupils; while in common or day schools the pupils reach the number of 904,442. The grand total of those under instruction is 1,046,309, one-third of them girls. The Bible, entire or in portions, has been translated into 421 different languages or dialects; a work of incalculable labor and value, of itself alone sufficient to challenge for this great enterprise the profound respect of the civilized world. Add to this the products of mission presses—364,904,399 pages of Christian literature annually, and 297,435 copies of periodical literature—and the significance of this fact becomes majestic in proportions and influence. Besides all this, bear in mind the 355 hospitals and 753 dispensaries, with 2,579,650 patients treated every year, to every one of whom the gospel is preached, many hearing it for the first time; and the Foreign Missionary enterprise that includes all these varied agencies assumes the dimensions and character of the greatest single force for the uplifting and regeneration of the world which we know or of which we can conceive. All this is the achievement of the century which lies behind us, and is a just index, but by no means the full proof, of the progress of missions in this period. And when we consider that the rate of advance has been accelerating with every decade, that this century has been marked by pioneer work, and that now the forces that co-operate here are working at their best, who can measure the significance of the animating scene that rises before us in the new century, or fail to exult in the nearing prospect of Christ's universal sway among the nations of the earth!

It is instructive to note the great names that mark these decades, and lift the service they represent above all petty criticism and thoughtless ridicule. Among them are such as Carey, Marshman, Duff, Hall and Ballantine in India; Judson and Vinton in Burma; Moffatt, Livingstone and Lindley in Africa; Dwight, Hamlin and Riggs in Turkey; Morrison, Bridgman and Parker in China; Pattison, Williams, Bingham and Gulick in the Pacific Islands. And what shall we say more of Ashmore and Griffith, John and Blodget, of Davis and Verbeck and Hepburn, of Chamberlain and Clough, of Logan and Paton, who through faith have "subdued Kingdoms, wrought righteousness and obtained a good report."

There are many particular facts included in this general description of progress, which may well detain our thoughts for a time. Note first the growing enlistment of the church in this great work. How difficult Carey found it to draw the Baptist churches of England into the effort of supporting a mission in India! Recall the indifference which the London Missionary Society had to encounter, the animosity which missionary proposals evoked in Scotland, the opposition which the chartering of the American Board called out. But, little by little, the atmosphere changed, the trickling streams became rills, and rills deepened and multiplied and formed brooks and rivers; till now the winter is vanished and it is springtime everywhere. It is no longer good form for any Protestant church, or for any Protestant church members, to have no share in mission work. The Woman's Boards, which began their work only thirty years ago and now number 120, with an annual income of $2,500,000, are both cause and effect of the widening hold of this enterprise; the Student Volunteer Movement, with an organization which reaches thousands of Colleges and Seminaries and belts the globe, with its grand apparatus for the study of missions and the awakening of enthusiasm for missionary work, is a noble proof of its deepening sway in all the schools for higher education. And, though we are still far from what is ideal in condition, the progress is so prodigious as to call for the deepest gratitude.

The dimensions and influence of the native agency in the field constitute another fact of peculiar significance and glorious hope. It is all the product of the nineteenth century; and no part of mission work is of greater value. Every native pastor becomes

an apostle to his own people, and does more to make the gospel permanent in the land than any missionary can do. Multiply them sufficiently, and the missionary is needed no longer; they themselves become the leaders and bulwark of the native church. It is by them that every land is to be evangelized. And the fact that to-day 73,000 native helpers are co-operating with the 13,000 foreign laborers, that there are as many native pastors as there are ordained men from all Christian lands, is a noble proof how far the work has advanced, a glorious promise that it is presently to be complete.

A notable evidence of the progress which Missions have made is found in the character and deeds of the native Christian communities in many lands. This is a demonstration beyond all question or cavil. Instances may be brought from many fields; I mention but three.

After a period of remarkable growth, the Christians of Madagascar were subjected to the fiercest of persecutions under the wicked Ranalavona through a series of years, with their foreign leaders all expelled from the Island. They perished by the score and by the hundred, till they wearied out their persecutors, but kept their faith and enriched the martyr hosts of the Christian church.

When missionaries went to the Fiji Islands, in 1835, the people were heathen and cannibals, the terror of their neighbors and of all mariners. After a period of fifty years, cannibalism had ceased; all idols had vanished; Christianity was in possession of the islands; as many people, in proportion to the population, attended church there as in Massachusetts; and their gifts for religious purposes ranked with the most generous in the world.

Until very recently China has been deemed one of the most difficult of missionary fields, the converts being few and progress slow. Morrison began in 1808; in 1840 there were but six converts; in 1860 they hardly reached a thousand. To-day they exceed a hundred thousand, and, until the recent anti-foreign disturbance broke out, they were doubling in less than ten years. And now their character has been tested in the fierce flame of persecution; hundreds and thousands, for their faith, "have not loved their lives to the death." And the Chinese church is the martyr church, Christian faith and love casting a celestial radiance upon the horrors that have filled the land. By the side of

Polycarp, Ignatius, Cyprian, whom we sing and praise forevermore, stand now these Chinese believers who have renewed the deeds and heroism of those early martyrs before our very eyes. And in a thousand homes in many climes, the virtues that bespeak Christ's transforming power even more clearly than a martyr's death, blossom in beauty and fill the land with a glorious light.

When the century opened, the great religions of the East seemed to stand untouched and strong, firm in their hold upon the people, stout in the opposition they offered to the entrance of a new faith. This was one of the serious obstacles which missions had to encounter as each new field was entered. Many things, doubtless, have contributed to the change which we witness: the extension of commerce; the wider reach of England's influence; the internal decay of the old faiths; the demonstrated power of Christianity to give comfort, courage, an aggressive spirit, a noble style of life and thought. To-day, these religions have ceased to be formidable opponents of the Christian faith. Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, are but the shadows of their former strength, and seem on the point of extinction. In nothing have we a surer proof of the progress of missions, the resistless growth of the Kingdom of Christ. What Milton saw, in poetic vision, of the power of Christ in the presence of the ancient faiths, is becoming reality:

> "The oracles are dumb;
> No voice or hideous hum
> Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving;
> Apollo from his shrine
> Can no more divine,
> With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving."

The message of the missionary has not changed; indeed, it cannot change until the errand of Christianity in the earth is finished. Differences of methods there have been; variations in the place of emphasis may be noted; diversities of gifts will always exist. But the vital message of the missionary is the same to-day as that of St. Paul in Macedonia and Athens, the same as when Carey and Judson began; the same in China and Japan as it is in India and Africa. Its great theme is the living God, Maker of heaven and earth, revealed in Jesus Christ for the redemption of man, speaking to the conscience and heart of man through his

written word, and supremely by the Holy Spirit, and opening the Kingdom of heaven with peace on earth and a glorious immortality to all believers. The missionary proclaims the God of love and salvation, and opens the door of hope to all the children of men. This message can never change, while sin exists and human nature remains the same. It is redemption that men need, it is redemption that Christ brings, it is redemption that the missionary preaches wherever he goes. This is his single theme, his ample message, his persuasive story. All else may change; tongues may cease, knowledge may vanish away; but this remains the supreme word of life to a hopeless world. Civilized nations, refined peoples, these later days, need it, wait for it, will perish without it, as truly as barbarous nations and savage peoples and the ancient days.

The century has been a period of beginnings, of pioneer work in many lines. It is not reasonable to demand completed results. Much time has necessarily been given to exploration, to the discovery of lands and peoples and opportunities for work. This has already been carried so far that it is a simple statement of fact to say that the unevangelized world is fully opened and accessible to missionary labor. It is the first time in the history of the world when this could be truthfully said. This work will not need to be repeated. The mastery of the vernaculars of the people among whom the work is to be done, was an imperative prerequisite to the success of the enterprise. In many cases, the languages had never been reduced to written form, and this was the first duty awaiting the missionary. To-day, this herculean task is far advanced toward completion, and the fruits of this vast labor are the inheritance of the new century.

Like permanent foundations have been laid in many other ways. The good will of the people has been won; schools have been organized and are in successful operation; churches have been gathered and are in training under native pastors for an increasing share in the work; the Bible, wholly or in parts, has been translated into hundreds of languages or dialects, and is accessible to the vast majority of the unevangelized peoples of the earth; text books for schools and a Christian literature are provided in large measure, to aid in the development of the Christian body. These things will not need to be done again, but they stand ready for continued and more effective use—the splen-

did apparatus of a vigorous and world-wide campaign. There is in many lands a strong, well-trained and experienced body of missionaries, surrounded and aided by seven times their own number of native helpers, prepared to take advantage of all these vast facilities, and push the work of Christianizing the world in the most energetic and effective way. We have already observed a constant acceleration in the rate of increase in the positive results of mission work; and we have every reason to expect that this rate of increase will steadily rise throughout the coming century. Probably, in no respect is the progress of this work during the nineteenth century more marked or significant than in the accomplishment of all this vast preliminary and pioneer work. It took three years to marshal and train the armies of the Union; but when that had been done, it required but another year to bring the war to a victorious end. But the progress in those years of preparation was as real and significant as in that one year of resistless advance.

But even the nineteenth century has recorded signal successes, foretastes of the final victory. Witness the conversion of Tahiti, of the Society Islands, of Samoa, of the Friendly Islands, of the New Hebrides, of the Sandwich Islands and so many other islands of the Pacific. Recall, also, the inspiring progress in Madagascar and Uganda, among the Telugus and the Karens, in Japan and in the older missions in China. Enough has been achieved to prove the possibility of universal success. It is no experiment in which we are engaged; it is a supremely successful work. There are no backward steps in Christ's march down the centuries and across the nations to universal victory. This imposing work, with its impregnable foundations, its powerful and growing array, is beyond the reach of cavil or sneer, is confessedly the one resistless, triumphant force in the enlightenment of the nations and in the uplifting of the world. We do not now celebrate the triumph, but we are on the march; every foe flees before us, every year makes the cause more resistless; and the end is both certain and near at hand.

JUDSON SMITH.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CUBA.

BY FRANK D. PAVEY.

By the joint resolution demanding the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, Congress declared that the people of Cuba were free and independent; disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over the island, except for its pacification; and asserted the determination of the United States, when that was accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

On January 1st, 1899, the United States began its military occupation of Cuba. As early as January 1st, 1900, the opinion became widespread in Cuba that the United States would never withdraw from the island. This opinion was based upon the observation of facts. It was founded upon the rule that actions speak louder than words. The American military government had extended its active interference into every branch of civil administration, judicial, legislative and executive. The judicial system was altered, and the personnel of the judiciary changed, as often as suited the whims of the military governor. Old laws were modified, and new ones promulgated, by military order, and made to conform to the plans and purposes of the military government. The sphere of executive functions had no limits. The administrative plans were made upon a scale which no temporary government could execute. The facts all pointed to a deliberate and mature intention of permanent occupation.

There was no official utterance which could be cited as the basis or justification of an opinion that the United States intended to exercise permanent control over Cuba, until the order was issued for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The language of this order is given in full:

"Headquarters Division of Cuba,
"Habana, July 25, 1900.

"The military governor of Cuba directs the publication of the following instructions:

"Whereas the Congress of the United States, by its joint resolution of April 20, 1898, declared—

" 'That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent;'

" 'That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people;'

"And whereas the people of Cuba have established municipal governments, deriving their authority from the suffrages of the people given under just and equal laws, and are now ready, in like manner, to proceed to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island: Therefore,

"*It is ordered,* That a general election be held in the island of Cuba on the third Saturday of September, in the year nineteen hundred, to elect delegates to a convention to meet in the city of Habana, at twelve o'clock, noon, on the first Monday of November, in the year nineteen hundred, to frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, *and, as a part thereof, to provide for and agree with the Government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that Government and the Government of Cuba,* and to provide for the election by the people of officers under such constitution, and the transfer of government to the officers so elected."

In its first recitals, this order set forth the pledge of Congress to leave the government and control of Cuba to its free and independent people. In its last recitals, it asserted the full performance and accomplishment by the people of Cuba of all the conditions prerequisite to the fulfillment of that pledge. In its conclusion, it ordered the election of delegates to a convention to frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, with the proviso that the government of Cuba to be established under the constitution should be bound in advance, by the terms of the constitution, to the government of the United States.

The Cubans recognized at once the illusory character of a free and independent government tied by a string to the United States. They made an energetic protest against the objectionable part of the order, and demanded the elimination of the clause directing the insertion in the constitution of a provision fixing the relations of Cuba to the United States. Their protest was not heeded by the military governor, and the delegates were elected in pursuance of the order. The convention met in the city of Havana on November 5th, 1900. Most of its work was done in secret session. The convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole, which agreed upon the draft of a constitution to be reported to the convention. This constitution was read in public session, debated and adopted, section by section, with minor alterations and amendments. The material changes were few, as was natural, in view of the fact that all the members of the convention participated in the adoption of the draft of the constitution in the committee of the whole.

This constitution made no mention whatsoever of the United States. The delegates disregarded that portion of the order for their election which directed them to fix in the constitution an agreement with the government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba. They provided for a government with full power for making treaties. By inference, it would appear that in their opinion the relations between Cuba and the United States ought to be the same as those which ordinarily exist by treaties between foreign countries. This action of the constitutional convention of Cuba puts the United States to the test of its good faith in the fulfillment of the pledge made by Congress in 1898. The issue has been made with dignity and firmness, but with a precision which cannot be evaded.

The reasons for this action by the constitutional convention are not far to seek. There is the desire for independence for its own sake. This sentiment was carefully cultivated as the foundation for a sustained revolt against the government of Spain. It was raised to the dignity of international recognition by the resolutions of Congress. It has become a powerful factor in the political situation in Cuba.

The mistake is frequently made of regarding the Cubans as an inferior race of people who must be governed as inferiors by

arbitrary authority. That mistake was made and is still made by the American military government. No other mistake could have been more fatal to American influence in Cuba. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Cubans are the descendants of a proud and haughty race which at one time was dominant in the affairs of the world. They have fallen into adversity. They have been reduced in political power from their former great estate. But they have retained their intellectual acumen and force, and have lost none of their pride, dignity and self-respect. They resent keenly, bitterly and properly the arbitrary domination of a foreign military government. Approached with courtesy and deference, they are amiable and pliable. Treated with indifference or disrespect, they are resentful to the limit of their power, and artful in devices to extend the limits of that power.

The mere existence, in the order for the convention, of a provision that the constitution should fix the relations to exist between Cuba and the United States was a sufficient reason for the firm and dignified disregard of that direction. The Cubans are weak and may be compelled to submit, but they have sufficient self-respect to prefer that the command be enforced upon them rather than that they should accept it as a rightful act.

A more substantial and permanent reason for the present unwillingness of the Cubans to accept a protectorate under the government of the United States is the intense animosity which they feel to the American military government. At the beginning of the American military occupation, many Cubans looked forward hopefully to the early annexation of the island to the United States. They believed that this annexation would take place easily and graciously. Actual territorial annexation failing for the time, they regarded a close commercial union and political alliance between Cuba and the United States as a certainty of the immediate future. To-day, the same people will not lift a hand or raise a voice in organized effort to create sentiment in Cuba favorable to annexation or alliance. They no longer express those sentiments because of their resentment towards the American military government. By reason of that resentment, they have become the silent allies of the original advocates of independence.

Every political, economical, commercial, financial, religious and professional factor in the social fabric of the Island of Cuba shares, to a greater or less extent, in this one sentiment of antago-

nism to the American military government. When the history of the military administration of Cuba is studied critically, the causes of this antagonism will be understood. One illustration will be given.

Cuba is a Roman Catholic country. The great majority of the people who have any religious convictions belong to the Roman Catholic Church. It is a doctrine of that church that the marriage relation is not simply a civil contract, but a divine sacrament.

Within five months after the American military occupation of Cuba, the American military governor, the representative of a great Christian nation, issued an order in which he declared religious marriages null and void, and directed that all marriages must be solemnized before civil officials. The effect upon the people of such military legislation on this subject may well be imagined. It remained in force for more than one year. The ears of American military officials were deaf to Cuban protests against the action of the military governor. The vigorous assistance of a member of Congress whose sympathies were enlisted in the cause secured a modification of this order. In the interval, the young people of Cuba, who had been brought up in the belief that the only lawful marriage in the sight of God was one solemnized by the church, found that sacred ceremony reduced to the rank of a wedding breakfast or reception which might be given to them by their clerical friends as an ornamental adjunct to the civil contract of marriage.

This was one instance. There were others less shocking to a universal religious sentiment, but none the less grievous to smaller circles in Cuba, whose opinions and prejudices, rights and privileges were offended and curtailed by the arbitrary and eccentric orders of the military governor.

The extent of this discontent with the American military administration is shown by the recent organization in the city of Havana of a "General Assembly of Economic Corporations and Political Parties." This "General Assembly" included the National and Republican parties and the Democratic Union, the Economic Association of the Friends of the Country, the Club of Agriculturists, the Union of Cigar Manufacturers and the Merchants' Exchange of the Island of Cuba. In addition to these organizations, municipal councils and commercial bodies through-

out the island have passed resolutions declaring their support and approval of the cause of the "General Assembly."

These diverse political parties and economic organizations have united in the common cause of relieving their country of burdens of taxation which are paralyzing its commerce and industries. For two years, Cuba has been barred from the negotiation of treaties of commerce and reciprocity with other countries. Her former market in Spain has been closed. Her tariff has been made at Washington, in the interest of Cuba as understood at Washington. The Cubans take a different view. Congress has not made or proposed any concession to Cuban products as compensation for the loss of other markets. American vessels have been permitted to engage in the coastwise trade of Cuba. No corresponding privilege has been accorded to Cuban vessels. An export duty has been placed upon Cuban tobacco, already deprived of any chance to secure by treaty of reciprocity favorable tariff rates in any foreign market. Other discriminations have been made in favor of American interests and adverse to Cuban interests. The Cubans have been generous enough to absolve the higher officials of the Government of the United States from deliberate intention of injuring Cuba. American interests were ever present and importunate. Cuban interests were remote and patient. But the resulting conditions have become intolerable. The declared purposes of this "Economic Movement" are three: the reduction of American duties upon Cuban imports into the United States; the suppression of export duties levied by the American military government upon Cuban products leaving Cuba; Cuban representation in the councils of the military government which imposes taxes upon the commerce and industry of the island.

Sugar and tobacco; stamp tax and tea; "no taxation without representation." How familiar it all sounds! Substitute the words "British" and "Colonial" for American and Cuban, and one would think these Cuban patriots were reciting the story of 1776!

What will the United States do? Will the national pledge be kept?

Many Americans do not hesitate to assert that this pledge should not be kept in the letter and spirit in which it was made; that we should give to Cuba a qualified sort of independence, subject to our protectorate and control. They dismiss the accu-

sation of bad faith with the statement that upon entering a war no one can foretell the result; a pledge or declaration made at the beginning must be interpreted in the light of events at the end. The discussion of the moral merits of this sophistry would better be left to the casuists. Its advocates give an array of material reasons in defense of the proposed violation of our national good faith.

These reasons are four: fear of foreign seizure; necessity of naval stations for the United States Navy; Cuban incapacity for self-government; and protection to the commercial interests of the United States against unreasonable tariff duties and discriminations.

The form in which the first reason is presented is that the government of Cuba, its provinces and municipalities, will incur an extravagant indebtedness which they will be unable to pay; that this indebtedness may be contracted in England, Germany or France; that, in the event of non-payment, those countries may send warships to Cuba and seize upon the island; and that the only restraint upon this extravagance and consequent seizure is the control and protectorate of the United States.

Even under an American protectorate, Cuban loans may be placed in foreign countries, and if these are not paid nothing will prevent foreign governments from sending warships to Cuba and seizing the island, except the power and authority of the United States. That power and authority can be used to deter foreign governments from seizing Cuba just as effectually without the protectorate. Seventy-seven years ago the United States assumed the international right to prevent European Powers from seizing territory on the American continent.

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."*

The United States was then much less able than now to enforce such a doctrine. It has been and will be respected by European Powers whenever asserted by the United States. The Monroe Doctrine covers Cuba.

* Message of President Monroe, Dec. 2, 1823.

The Cubans have safeguarded the question of public indebtedness by constitutional limitations. Under the new constitution, the Cuban Congress may authorize loans by the general government, but it must at the same time provide the necessary income for the payment of interest and the redemption of the principal. The departmental governments may authorize loans for departmental public works, but they must at the same time vote the permanent income necessary for the payment of interest and the redemption of the principal. The loans must have the approval of two-thirds of the municipalities of the department. The municipalities may authorize loans for municipal purposes, but they must at the same time designate taxes which are to be pledged for the payment of interest and the redemption of the principal. The loans must be submitted to the electors and approved by a direct vote of the people of the municipalities.

It is urged that naval stations in Cuba are necessary for the protection of our coast, and for the protection of our interests in the proposed Nicaragua Canal. All these stations could be had for the asking, if they were requested instead of demanded. There will be no difficulty in making a treaty with Cuba for the concession of naval stations in return for the naval defense of the coasts of the island. The Cubans well know the value of naval defense from foreign aggression. It will be difficult for them to raise the funds and revenues necessary for the construction and maintenance of a Cuban navy. It will be greatly to their advantage to have the protection of the navy of the United States. No foreign government will make such a treaty with Cuba, in the face of opposition from the United States. A costly navy or a treaty with the United States will be the only alternatives available to Cuba. The responsibilities of the United States under a treaty will not be greater than under annexation or a protectorate; nor greater than they have been under the military government for the past two years.

It is claimed that the Cubans are not capable of maintaining a stable government which will protect life and property. No fact in the history of the Cuban people is cited in support of this proposition. The examples of Hayti and San Domingo are held before the eyes of the American people, and it is assumed that the people of Cuba can do no better. So far as facts are available, they refute this conclusion.

The American census of Cuba has dispelled some erroneous impressions. The majority of the people are not indolent, ignorant negroes. Of the total population, the native whites constitute fifty-eight per cent.; the foreign whites nine per cent.; the Chinese one per cent., and the people of colored and mixed race thirty-two per cent. In every province the native whites form a majority of the population.

For the purposes of government, the correct test of education is the ability to read. In accordance with American practice in illiteracy tables children under ten years of age are not included. Judged by this standard and rule, one-half of the white people of Cuba and more than one-fourth of the colored people are educated.

As indicating the prospects of stability of government in the immediate future, the statistics of the male population over twenty-one years of age have more value. These men constitute the possible voters and potential rulers of Cuba. They number 417,993, of whom forty-eight per cent. are able to read. They are classified in groups according to their declared citizenship—as Cuban citizenship; Spanish citizenship; citizenship in suspense, that is, citizenship of Spanish subjects who, at the date of the census, had not decided whether to remain Spanish subjects or to become Cuban citizens; and foreign or unknown citizenship.

Of these potential rulers of Cuba, seventy per cent. have declared themselves Cuban citizens; two per cent. are Spanish citizens; eighteen per cent. are holding their citizenship in suspense; and ten per cent. are citizens of other countries or their citizenship is unknown. The Cuban citizens of voting age number 290,905, of whom forty-one per cent. are able to read.

The bread winners of a country are not by nature anarchists. The statistics of men at work, or engaged in occupations for gain, in Cuba show most satisfactory conditions, when compared with the same facts in the United States.

	Total number.	Bread winners.	Per cent.
Cuba	815,205	555,974	68.2
United States	32,067,880	18,821,090	58.7

The colored men in Cuba show almost as great an average of industry as the white men.

	Total number.	Bread winners.	Per cent.
White males	563,113	385,470	68.4
Colored males	252,092	170,504	67.6

The Cubans have been trained for many generations in the forms of modern government. Their code of laws and system of institutions are as complete and perfect as any in this country. True, they have exercised the governmental functions under the authority of a superior government. So did the American colonists prior to the Revolution of 1776. The adherents of Spain took an active part in the government of the island. The Cuban patriots in two revolutions sustained the cause of independence against a superior government with great firmness and courage. They maintained a regular, though migratory, government, and conducted their military operations in conformity to the rules of modern war.

Since January 1st, 1899, the whole island has been in a state of profound peace and quiet. Local order has been maintained, not only in the cities in the immediate vicinity of the American camps, but in all other cities and villages and in the country, by the municipal police and the rural guard. Municipal elections were held in the month of June, 1900. The municipalities cover the entire island. The elections were conducted in the most orderly and satisfactory manner. The election officers were Cubans, chosen by Cubans.

"No United States soldier or officer was present at or in the neighborhood of any polling place. There was no disturbance."*

The elections for the delegates to the constitutional convention were held in the month of September, 1900, with the same record and the same results.

"The election was wholly under the charge of Cubans, and without any participation or interference whatever by officers or troops of the United States."*

The constitutional convention has gone about its work in a quiet and unostentatious fashion and has prepared a constitution which ought to silence the most captious critics. It provides for a republican form of government. Cuba is divided into six departments, corresponding to the present provinces. The central government consists of a President, Vice-President, Senate, House of Representatives and Supreme Court of Justice. The distribution of executive, legislative and judicial functions is very similar to that in the Constitution of the United States. The President is to be elected for the term of four years and cannot be re-elected

* Annual report of the Secretary of War.

for three consecutive terms. The Senate is to be composed of thirty-six senators, six each from the six departments, elected for terms of six years. One-third of the senators will retire every two years. The House of Representatives is to be composed of one representative for every 25,000 inhabitants. With the present population, that ratio gives a House of sixty-three members. The representatives are to be chosen by direct vote of the people for terms of four years. One-half of the members will retire every two years.

Local government is vested in the departmental governments and the municipalities. The departmental governments consist of a governor and a departmental assembly, elected by a direct vote of the people for terms of three years. The municipal governments consist of a mayor and common council, elected by direct vote of the people in the manner prescribed by law.

The clauses of the constitution which guarantee rights of person and property are of most public importance. All Cubans shall have equal rights under the law. All foreigners shall have equal rights with Cubans in the protection of their persons and property and in the enjoyment of civil rights. *Ex post facto* laws, and laws having a retroactive effect or impairing the obligations of contracts, are forbidden. The rights of persons in respect to unlawful arrests and detentions, trials and sentences, searches and seizures, are carefully guarded. The rights of free speech and free press, freedom of religious worship and separation of church and state, the right of petition and the right to meet in peaceable assembly without arms for all lawful purposes, are fully guaranteed. The penalty of confiscation of property cannot be inflicted, and no person can be deprived of his property, except for public use by due process of law after compensation has been previously made.

Last, but not least, the advocates of repudiation demand "protection to the commercial interests of the United States against unreasonable tariff duties and discriminations." This sounds well in the abstract. Undoubtedly, it is the duty of our government to secure, wherever possible, "protection to the commercial interests of the United States against unreasonable tariff duties and discriminations." It is a duty in the performance of which our State Department is engaged in the continual negotiation of treaties of commerce and reciprocity. Why not demand constitu-

tional guarantees from Mexico, Canada or Spain? Why select Cuba as the first victim of a new policy of foreign constitutional protection to American commerce? Is there any reason why the Cubans should be suspected of sinister designs upon the commerce of the United States? Has the American military government of Cuba engendered such hatred of all things American that our merchants cannot trade there after the flag is gone? Will the imposition, by superior military force, of constitutional limitations upon the Cuban government place American commerce in a position of prestige and favor?

The theoretical discussion of the subject leads nowhere. The discovery of concrete American interests which will be affected by the independence of Cuba may cast more light upon the subject. There is the American merchant marine. For two years, American vessels have been permitted to engage in the coastwise trade of Cuba. No corresponding permission has been granted to Cuban vessels to engage in the coastwise trade of Florida. This privilege to American vessels was granted by the American military government, not upon equal terms with Cuban vessels, but with discriminations in favor of American vessels. An independent Cuban government may raise Cuban vessels to a position of equality with American vessels. The Cuban merchant marine may even be given some advantages in the coastwise trade of Cuba. American vessels may be relegated to the position of vessels of the "most favored nation." Is this an unreasonable discrimination against which the American merchant marine requires a constitutional guarantee from Cuba?

Tobacco and sugar are the two great staples of Cuba. American tobacco and sugar have the benefit of protective duties in the American tariff on Cuban imports into the United States. For the past two years, American tobacco has had an additional protection against competition from Cuban tobacco. This protection has been an export duty levied upon Cuban tobacco on leaving Cuba. Export duties were so obnoxious to the founders of our Republic that the Constitution of the United States contains a guarantee against them. This Cuban export duty was levied upon Cuban tobacco by the American military government, and has been maintained in spite of Cuban protests. The effect upon the tobacco industry of Cuba has been so disastrous that recently the duty has been reduced *one-half*. An independent government

of Cuba may remove this export duty entirely, and leave the American tobacco growers to the protective mercy of the Congress of the United States. Is this an unreasonable discrimination against which the American tobacco trust is entitled to a constitutional guarantee from Cuba?

Will some expert explain the constitutional guarantees against Cuban competition that American sugar ought to have? If these were put in definite and precise form, the problem of prescribing a constitution for free and independent Cuba would be simplified.

The path of national honor and duty is plain. Relegate naval stations and tariff schedules to the domain of diplomacy, where they properly belong. Inform Europe that the Monroe Doctrine applies to Cuba. Warn Cuba that the recurrence of political conditions subversive of law and order will be just cause for a second interference. With these admonitions, announce a final and definite policy to Cuba; that the constitution adopted by the convention will be submitted to the people of Cuba for ratification; that an election will be held for the selection of the officers provided for in the constitution; that the control of Cuba will be given to the Cuban government, so elected, as soon as it is properly installed and indicates its readiness and ability to exercise its functions.

The resolutions of Congress may have been the outcome of a spasm of false sentiment and bad judgment. That is a matter of opinion and of the past. Cuba asks for the fulfillment of our national pledge. It is a choice between national performance and national repudiation. No array of reasons, no juggling of words, can obscure that issue.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

THE KING OF ENGLAND.

BY SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

THE selection of me by the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to write upon the King of Great Britain and Ireland is thus far curious—that I am one of the least monarchic and the most republican in inclination of British Members of Parliament. At the same time, I am a practical politician, and just as I always felt and said, even a great number of years ago, that the difficulty of all suggestions for the adoption of republican institutions in the United Kingdom was that the cause of progress might be thrown back by the gathering of all Conservative sentiment round the concrete idea of restoration of monarchy, so I cannot but feel that, in the last quarter of a century, the growth in the Empire of India and of the Colonies has withdrawn the adoption of republican institutions from practical politics. The difficulty of the adoption of federal forms in the case of an Empire so dispersed, and representing forms of civilization so diverse, is immense. To bring India within the working of a Parliamentary constitution which would also include such democratic States as the Australian Commonwealth, is in my mind impossible; and the alternative means of keeping together the Empire is rather an increase than a diminution of the status of the King. Just as the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been kept together by the personality of the Emperor Francis Joseph, so the fabric of the British Empire must be kept together by full use of the sentiment which attaches to the person of the King.

When we come from the office to the individual, we in Great Britain cannot complain of what must be the usual doubt in the minds of those who have to do with the average and somewhat colorless princes of the European world. There is a difficulty, when we are dealing with what are commonly called "Royalties"

at large, in distinguishing one of them from another. This could never be felt of Queen Victoria, any more than it can be felt of persons of marked personality like the eloquent German Emperor, William II., or the clever King of Greece; and the long self-effacement of Edward VII., who became Prince of Wales immediately upon his birth, in 1841, has never succeeded in concealing the features of an individual standing out from the ordinary princely host. His character is marked by a cleverness, not, as is sometimes said, merely social. It is, too, all his own. His ancestry is diverse enough, but the extreme modernity or smartness of Edward VII. suggests his descent from Ethelred the Unready, through Mary Queen of Scots, as little as it does his descent from Alfred the Great. It is a creation of the second half of the last century. Neither is it derived from his parents. The Duke of Connaught reminds one of Prince Albert, and Prince Leopold used to remind one of the Queen. There has never been any such reminiscence of either side afforded by the eldest son.

Nothing can be more difficult than the position of a Prince of Wales, and especially that position when occupied by a man of considerable ability for an immense period of time, under the Kingship of a remarkable personage, and the Parliamentary rule of extraordinarily distinguished men. To be Prince of Wales for greatly over half a century, with Queen Victoria upon the throne gathering and using vast stores of accumulated kingly knowledge, and advised by men of the weight of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, and the others whose names are familiar to the world, is to invite a fate of triviality. That the subject of this sketch should have succeeded in playing his part with a very general approval, which has slowly ripened into a considerable national confidence, is in itself a testimony to the possession of powers, very different, indeed, from those of Queen Victoria, but also remarkable.

The necessity for constant public speaking, combined with total abstention from the expression of opinion on any political question, is in itself a heavy strain. The impartiality carefully inculcated upon British princes did not, from time to time, prevent the Prince of Wales from being described at Berlin as "a French agent;" but it has, when used with the personal care which in this matter he has always shown, absolutely prevented

his being claimed as a partisan upon either side in English politics, or upon either side in connection with British relations, for example, with the Irish people.

The Heir Apparent to the British throne in international matters might be, and no doubt always wishes to be, a most useful informal negotiator. But even when there is no jealousy whatever upon the part of the king upon the throne, the jealousy of the distinguished statesmen who, from time to time, hold the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs causes the Heir Apparent to be kept absolutely in the dark with regard to the matters which he would have to know if he were to be of much service to his country. There is reason to suppose that, when the British Heir Apparent at moments of delicate relations with foreign powers was visiting their capitals and calling upon their rulers, and even when, as has sometimes happened, he was invested with an official mission—such as carrying a Garter to a foreign king—his requests for knowledge of pending negotiations could not be complied with. If this exclusion has been felt, what wonder? The Prince Consort was the truest adviser of the Queen: to Baron Stockmar's somewhat inferior judgment the Queen, we know, deferred, as she did afterward to that of Leopold I., King of the Belgians. The late Prince of Wales, with less learning than his father, had more practical acquaintance with English modes of thought. He was, at an early age, the equal of King Leopold. It is an insult to him to compare him with a pedant like Stockmar. Yet, he was kept at arms' length from affairs.

It has often been pointed out that, as the private secretaries of Cabinet Ministers have access to every confidential document, it seems hard that the Heir Apparent should not be as much behind the scenes and equally trusted. Even when deeply interested, as the brother-in-law of the King of Greece must have been, in matters affecting the Greek throne, Edward VII., though connected by close ties of family and of friendship with the court of Athens, is said to have had information steadily refused to him. But English princes, at all events in recent reigns, have never attempted to play for their own hand, however justifiably, as, for example, the late German Emperor Frederick played, when, as Crown Prince, he thought it necessary to send to inform the German Liberal leaders that he had not seen the famous rescript of

the winter of 1880-1, until he read it in the newspapers. The Prince of Wales has been forced to express opinions only upon non-party matters. In 1880, he let his opinion be plainly seen in favor of a reform of the government of London; in 1885, he signed a unanimous report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, of which he was a member under my Chairmanship; and, from time to time, he has thus come out of his political seclusion with useful results, but never in any matter where opinion was divided upon party lines.

In matters of etiquette and of social observance, the subject of this sketch has always made known his view with so much freedom and incisiveness as to make it clear that it was not the absence of observation and of feeling which has led to constant abstention from the expression of opinion in the larger matters of which we speak.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

SOME PERILS OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.—I.

BY HENRY A. CASTLE, AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

THE people of this country, through their trustee, the Federal Government, are conducting the most gigantic business enterprise in the world—the United States Postal Service. The ramifying operations of this institution are being constantly expanded, and the vast volume of its pecuniary transactions is rapidly increasing.

That there may be a menace hidden in the manifest tendency to widen the sphere of a thing so popular, so useful, so necessary to our advancing civilization, will be a startling proposition to many readers.

The wonderful success which has attended this incursion of our government into the domain of state socialism, the accuracy and promptness with which this service is performed, have encouraged theorists who believe in extending the limits of governmental action to demand further experiments in the same line, all of them, strangely enough, to be attached to this already overloaded system. Every success attained by the intelligent and devoted servants of the Post Office Department, in carrying on its present operations, strengthens the arguments of those who advocate the imposing of additional functions upon it.

The postal service has earnings as well as expenses, receipts as well as disbursements, and it differs in this feature from other departments of the government. On this account, the work of the Bureau over which I preside, which is the counting-house and clearing-house of the entire system, is doubled in all its parts; since both the income and the outgo must, in all their items, be carefully audited and accurately recorded. The Auditor's Office is a branch of the Treasury Department, in order that its functions may be exercised in complete independence of the adminis-

trative heads of the postal service. Prior to 1836, the Post Office Department kept its own accounts, auditing its own payments and allowances. Very serious scandals arose from this procedure, and, by recommendation of President Jackson in the year named, the present system was inaugurated.

The facts disclosed in our last annual report, that the grand aggregate of postal receipts and disbursements approximated $715,000,000 for the year which ended on June 30th, 1900, involving the handling by 515 employees in the Auditor's Office of 36,000,000 separate money vouchers, give some idea of the labor and responsibility involved in this work.

The items which go to make up the sum total of monetary transactions just given, are as follows:

Revenues of the postal service	$102,354,579.29
Expenditures of the postal service	107,249,298.13
Total amount of money-orders issued	255,670,027.98
Total amount of money-orders paid	249,120,285.82
Aggregate	$714,394,191.22

The revenues are largely derived from the sales of stamps and stamped paper; and a ledger account of these sales, together with credits for services and disbursements, must be kept with each of the 76,691 postmasters now in office. The average amount of 33,000,000 domestic money-orders issued annually is $7.90; the debit and credit for issue and payment of each order must be carefully audited, and a ledger account kept with each of the 30,024 postmasters authorized to deal in money-orders. Every order so issued and paid comes to the Auditor's Office as a voucher, where it must be handled five times, and checked twice by the postmaster's accounts, before the latter can be accepted as correct for entry in the money-order ledgers.

The enormous increase in aggregate money transactions may be gathered from the fact that they are exactly one-third greater in 1900 than in 1896.

The growth of the postal service is much more than an index of the nation's advance in population and wealth. It is the measure of a marvellous development of intellectual activity. The service is a colossal educational institute, quickening the mind and energizing the spirit of our entire people. Its expansion, compared with other elements of progress, has a startling significance.

The population of the United States in 1790 was 4,000,000; in

1900, it is over 76,000,000. The wealth of the people, in real and personal property, probably aggregated $2,000,000,000 in 1790, and is conservatively estimated at $80,000,000,000 in 1900. The number of post offices was 75 in 1790, and is 76,691 in 1900. The postal revenues were $37,975 in 1790, and $102,354,579.29 in 1900.

Therefore, while the population of the country has increased 19 to 1 in one hundred and ten years, and the wealth of the people 40 to 1, the number of post offices has increased 1,000 to 1 and the revenues of the service 2,700 to 1.

Meantime, the rates of postage have been reduced to a fractional part of those then prevailing, the speed of transmitting mails has been incredibly accelerated, safety and accuracy have been inconceivably increased, and innumerable features have been added to the service which the officials and patrons of those days lacked even the capacity to imagine.

In the light of these revelations, we may cease to wonder that, in volume of financial transactions, in number of officers and employees, in variety of functions and multiplicity of details, this service exceeds all other departments of the government combined. It is only a tangible incident of that unchallenged supremacy that the "blue book," or official register of the Post Office Department, is larger than its companion volume, which enumerates the servants of the nation in all its other branches—executive, legislative and judicial.

The phenomenal expansion which has characterized our postal system in the past has not only enormously increased the number of its employees and the volume of its transactions, but has engrafted upon it many additional features which were undreamed of by its founders. The primal idea was simply that of transporting letters and periodicals. There have been added what may properly be termed legitimate extensions of these functions, such as parcels-post or express service, free delivery by carriers, special delivery and the registry system—all of which may be called messenger service—the pneumatic tube service, railway postal car or travelling distribution service, and other minor attachments.

There has also been added a money order system, which has no direct functional relations with the mail service proper, as originally contemplated, but is a phase of banking business—the sale of domestic and foreign exchange.

The splendid executive faculty of the American race seems to have no limit to its capacity for extending the scope of financial and commercial enterprises. A business institution in private or corporate hands, as large as our postal service has become, could doubtless be managed on the administrative side without serious danger of collapse. Its growth along legitimate lines, both by increase of volume of business and addition of necessary new features, could, perhaps, be contemplated with equanimity on the theory that ability to manage grows with the responsibilities incident to management.

But whether such an enterprise under government auspices and subject to the vicissitudes of national politics, not only as to its general policy but as to the changing personnel of its executive heads, can continue to expand indefinitely, is a question for serious consideration. If our greatest railway systems, for example, were liable to have their ten or twelve leading officials changed every four years for purely political reasons, by which change new and entirely inexperienced persons were to be brought in, with all the risks incident to such a change, it is probable that the financial results on the market value of their securities would speedily reflect popular distrust of such methods. That the postal service is now so efficient is unquestionably due to the honest enforcement of Civil Service principles among its vast army of employees, and to the exceptionally able, devoted officials who have, by good fortune, been evolved through a very hazardous scheme of political selection during recent years.

Whether that good fortune can be trusted in the future to provide competent heads to manage the indefinite expansions of this great institution, remains to be seen. It is absolutely certain that to break down the Civil Service system now prevailing among subordinates, and to restore the whole department to the tender mercies of political manipulators, would bring chaos and confusion. In other words, we have built up a gigantic industrial and financial enterprise, the continued efficiency of which as yet depends far too much on the mutations of national politics.

These remarks apply to the purely administrative side of the problem. There is another side, which, even in the present status of affairs, suggests a far more menacing danger. The unsentimental, unattractive, unpopular work of auditing and bookkeeping, so that complete cognizance may be kept and complete

accuracy assured in all the diversified branches of this institution, is the one in which all associated with that responsibility discern many imminent perils.

The American accounting system, entirely independent of the heads of the several executive departments, is the thing which stands as a restraint upon expenditures, being the right arm of the law-making, appropriating power, and holding all executive branches to a strict compliance with the wholesome restrictions of the law. Corrupt and decaying nationalities, such as Spain and Turkey, have no such system. The vigor of this function is a measure of our safe and solid national growth. The Auditors' Bureaus keep the accounts, scrutinize all the vouchers, see that each expenditure, however trivial, is made in compliance with law, and that the sum total of expenditures for any object does not exceed the appropriation made by Congress therefor.

This accounting system, so far as it relates to the postal service, has been the growth of sixty-four years, and ought to be by this time measurably complete. If it were perfect in its organization, ceaseless vigilance would be required to keep it in successful operation. But serious defects are disclosed, some of which cannot be remedied without additional legislation and a largely increased clerical force. During the present administration, at least one hundred improvements of greater or less importance have been made, some of them touching vital faults in this protective armor. Other defects, still more serious, have been pointed out by the head of the Bureau, but no adequate means have as yet been furnished him to apply the remedies.

Strange to say, the very corner-stone of the foundation of all debits against the postal service proper is entirely lacking. Substantially the whole revenues of the Post Office Department, amounting to over $94,000,000 a year, accrue from the sale of postage stamps, postal cards and stamped paper. These articles are delivered to the Department by contractors, and thence forwarded to postmasters for sale to the public. But no account has ever been opened on the books of the Auditor with the Department itself for these supplies. This account should have been started when postage stamps were first introduced, say fifty years ago, and kept continuously until this time. Similar accounts have always been rigidly kept, by the Auditor for the Treasury Department, with the Commissioner of Internal Revenue when-

ever revenue stamps have been required by law. But, until very recently, it seems not to have occurred to anybody that this proceeding was necessary in the postal service; and it is doubtful whether the reform can be inaugurated until a considerable increase of clerical force shall have been granted.

Attention has been called by the Auditor, in at least three annual reports, to the notoriously defective methods employed in auditing claims for railway mail transportation. The expenditures under this head now aggregate more than $32,000,000 annually, and would seem to require special attention for the purpose of ascertaining amounts due before payment. But the Auditor's Office is not supplied with any of the data necessary to confirm the reports made to him by the Post Office Department as to what is due to each railroad quarterly for such service; and, if the data were supplied, there are no clerks available to make the audit. This glaring defect has been commented on in very severe terms by the Comptroller of the Treasury, the appellate officer of the whole accounting system, in a published opinion. The Auditor has appealed to Congress in vain for the additional help necessary to do this important work.

If this business were carried on by a partnership or corporation, it is safe to say that its accounts would be kept in such a manner that the profit or loss on each branch thereof could be readily ascertained. Unfortunately, there is abundant evidence that heavy losses occur in several branches, and it is equally unfortunate that the present accounting system has no method of ascertaining what those losses are. The different features are so interwoven, and there are so many expenditures as to which no attempt at sub-division among these features has been made, that the profitable elements are made to carry the unprofitable elements with little or no attempt to discover the amount of deficit, or to apply a remedy. All the public business of the country transmitted through the mail—including documents, correspondence, postal supplies, etc.—is carried without any compensation, and at a loss amounting in the aggregate to millions of dollars. Weekly newspapers carried free in the counties where published constitute another heavy item of total loss. Other newspapers, periodicals, serial novels and many thousands of tons of wholly undeserving "second class matter," pay only a fractional part of the cost of transmission. The money-order system is conducted at

a loss known to exceed $100,000 per annum. And the burden of seeking to make a profit which shall cancel these losses falls on letter postage alone, the writers of letters being thus taxed for the benefit of patrons of these several losing ventures.

It is a lamentable defect in our accounting methods that no attempt has ever been made to properly distribute expenses among the different branches. If the Government would pay, by adequate annual appropriation, for the transmission of its own mail matter; make another annual appropriation to cover losses on second class matter; advance money-order and registry fees so as to cover full cost of those conveniences; reduce to a reasonable figure rates paid for transporting mails by railroad, and secure absolute honesty in weights thereof—then the annual deficit would be wiped out and a large annual surplus would replace it. Out of this surplus, the service could be improved in many ways, and better salaries could be paid to deserving classes of employees who now receive less than they fairly earn. And, as the growth of business increased this surplus, the possibility of "penny postage" could be contemplated as something more tangible than an iridescent dream.

It is manifest that the entire accounting organization needs a thorough overhauling, and that its present status is full of peril, when we consider the certain rapid increase in business which each coming year must bring. An intelligent comprehension of the condition of different branches of the service can only be had by a correct determination as to the receipts and expenditures of each, such as would be secured in any private or corporate enterprise of equal magnitude.

The present administration of the Bureau is utterly powerless to effect such reorganization. It would require carefully matured legislation and a very considerable increase in the number of employees.

The dangerous concomitants which have been thus far suggested pertain to the postal service proper, that is, the collection, transmission and delivery of the mails. The money-order system, which is entirely outside those functions, and is, as has been stated, merely a phase of banking business, is a most popular and useful experiment in paternalism. It is a wonderfully convenient thing for the great masses of the people, and it is managed with enlightened zeal and energy by the Department officials who are

charged with its administration. They work hard to make it safe and convenient, and to rapidly extend its operations.

Nevertheless, this service swarms with incongruities, temptations and perils, some of which should be corrected, and the contemplation whereof should at least inspire caution against embarking in other more extraneous and less excusable ventures.

In the first place, it has been conclusively demonstrated that the government is carrying on this business, in competition with private enterprise, at an actual loss. Statistics published in annual reports are made to show a large profit on the sale of money-orders, but those statistics take no account of many items of expense connected with the system which are paid out of other appropriations. Among these expenses are blanks, blank books and printed matter, clerical force in Post Office Department and Auditor's Office, service of Post Office Inspectors in money-order cases, salaries of money-order clerks in first and second class post offices, a proportionate share of postmasters' salaries, rent, light and fuel expenditures, etc. When all of these legitimate charges are taken into account, it is found that there is a very large balance annually on the wrong side of the ledger.

It is pointed out in the last Auditor's report that at least $75,000,000 of money-order funds are, by the present accounting system, at all times nominally in the hands of postmasters unaccounted for. The postmaster who sells orders transmits his reports of such sales to the Auditor, by whom they are necessarily held for a period averaging five months, before the orders, which constitute vouchers, can be assembled, assorted and checked against the reports. Not until that time are the postmasters' cash receipts properly accounted for. Meantime, there is abundant opportunity for heavy embezzlements and defalcations, which, in fact, are constantly occurring.

The opportunities for forgery are numerous, and forgeries outright, as well as successful attempts to raise the amount of money-orders, are of frequent occurrence, especially since a recent ruling of the Post Office Department permits money-orders to be paid at offices other than those on which they are drawn. Innocent postmasters, in almost every case, suffer by these forgeries; and, when the amount involved is large, they usually secure relief through Congressional action, the ultimate loss falling on the postal revenue.

Temptations to defalcation and embezzlement on the part of postmasters are enormously increased by the considerable amounts of money handled by them in connection with the money-order service. Postmasters are entitled to carry a reserve sufficient to meet any reasonable call for payment of orders drawn on them. This reserve is a sacred trust fund and should always be kept intact and held ready for inspection. But, among the 30,000 postmasters who sell orders, there are, of course, a proportion of dishonest, improvident or careless persons, who, in spite of all precautions taken by the authorities in Washington, dissipate these funds, and when confronted with their fault must take the consequences. Here, again, comes a loss to the government. If the bondsmen are insolvent, the loss is total. If they are solvent, Congress is appealed to for relief, and is seldom appealed to in vain.

A vivid illustration of ludicrously defective methods in money-order accounting which prevailed for several years, may be incidentally mentioned here. When I assumed the duties of Auditor, I found that all the accounts of the issuing postmaster were settled by checking his entries, not against the order which he had sold, but against a stub or coupon detached therefrom by him, which was supposed to state the amount of cash he had received. Accounts aggregating probably $600,000,000 had been settled in the Auditor's Office by this free and easy method. It was precisely like settling a customer's account at bank on his own list of checks issued, verified by the stubs of his check-book, without any scrutiny or comparison of the checks themselves. Orders could be, and were, issued for $100, entered on the coupon at $1.00, and the difference pocketed by the issuing postmaster, without risk of detection, since only the coupon, or stub, was compared with his statement. This was a time-saving device which had been put in operation with the sanction of law, but in utter defiance of the plainest dictates of business prudence. It was my pleasant privilege to promptly abolish this amazing procedure. In doing this, I was able to go back only six months, and recheck postmasters' accounts by the vouchers instead of the coupons. This operation disclosed over three thousand frauds and errors of greater or less magnitude, amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of dollars; and, by a strange fatality, ninety per cent. even of the so-called mistakes were against the government. How

many more thousand mistakes and embezzlements lie concealed in the untouched accounts which antedate those we revised, will never be determined.

Under the current practice of paying money-orders at offices other than those on which they are drawn, an evil-disposed person could buy ten $100 orders at the New York city office, payable in Philadelphia; hold them for a short time; apply for and procure duplicates; present the latter at the Philadelphia office and receive payment; then immediately collect his original orders at Baltimore, and have abundant time to disappear entirely from public view before the fraud could be detected.

These statements of a few out of many palpable defects in the present service or its accounting methods, whereby embezzlements are invited, and frauds may be and, in fact, are constantly being perpetrated, will be sufficient to indicate to any thinking man, acquainted with business matters, the dangerous nature of the purely commercial enterprise in which our government is engaged. This enterprise has as its agents more than 76,000 postmasters, with each of whom is lodged more or less discretion involving opportunity and temptation. To more than 30,000 of these postmasters is committed the additional responsibility, with still larger opportunities and temptations, of dealing in exchange, on the credit of the government, and handling in trust a volume of money amounting in the aggregate to $255,000,000 a year. In addition, there are the 36,000 clerks and carriers employed in post offices, each with his own special field of possible operations of a fraudulent, financial character; and there are the railway mail clerks, the post office inspectors, the agents and employees of the new rural free delivery service, and the vast army of contractors for mail transportation, each of whom is a sworn officer of the government, under bonds to perform his duties. As has been intimated above, the task of maintaining the administrative organization of this enormous force, holding all its diverse elements to a strict, prompt and accurate discharge of their duties, gigantic as that task is, does not compare in difficulty with the other far less attractive one attached to the accounting bureau, which is obliged to gather up all the innumerable details connected with the financial responsibilities involved. This latter task, owing to rapid growth in all branches of the service, is advancing to a bewildering magnitude in aggregate figures. It

already approaches the thousand-million a year mark, and its strides are being accelerated year by year. Taking the service as it is, without any additional extraneous branches, the business and the labor are growing so much more rapidly than any other element of our social economy that we may properly pause to inquire: Whither does this all lead? Where will all this end? There is somewhere a limit to safety in this process of active expansion, even on its present basis. It must be manifest to any careful thinker that this limit to safety, this danger line, will probably be reached soon enough without unnecessary stimulus.

If ever a breakdown occurs in our governmental machinery, it is likely to be in the accounting office of our postal service, through adding weight to a burden which is already almost too grievous to be borne.

It is not beyond the power of human wisdom to devise means for perfecting the system which now exists, and taking care of any reasonable, legitimate growth thereof, provided ample means be granted therefor. A largely increased clerical force is needed now to take up the work thus far necessarily neglected, and a further liberal annual increase is needed to keep pace with its steady expansion, along established lines.

But as to the new features, such as the postal telegraph, the postal savings-bank, the postal railroad system and other schemes which are being influentially and persistently advocated—that is another story.

HENRY A. CASTLE.

(To be continued.)

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN GREECE AND THE MYCENÆAN AGE.

BY CHARLES WALDSTEIN, SLADE PROFESSOR OF THE FINE ARTS IN KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

At the close of the great German excavations of Olympia, more than twenty years ago an archæological colleague remarked that, "with all the central sites of importance explored in Greece, there will be nothing left to excavate in classical lands." I maintained at the time—and have since repeatedly answered similar remarks made after every new excavation—that the period of most fruitful archæological research, with the help and on the basis of excavation, is not ended, but is only beginning now.

This applies even after the results of the most recent discoveries in Crete. For the brilliant achievement of the British excavators during the past year only marks a beginning of their work; while the schools of several nations are engaged in similar enterprise in other parts of that island; and it may be said that every civilized Western state (the United States, Germany and Austria are continuing their important work elsewhere) is contributing its share of material and intellectual effort to advance this important branch of science. The Italians, under Professor Halbherr, are engaged upon the sites of Gortyna, Phæstus, Axus and Eleutherna, and the French are at work on the extensive and important site of Goulas, as well as at Itanus. But the United States can well claim its share in this great archæological enterprise. For the beginning of this archæological activity in Crete in our own days may be said to have been made by the work of Professor Halbherr, with his discovery of the famous Gortyna inscription and his continuous study and exploration of the island ever since 1884; while, at an early date, he realized the importance of the site of Cnossus, which the intelligent energy and per-

severance of Messrs. Evans and Hogarth have now forced to yield up its treasures. A great part of Professor Halbherr's discoveries, however, were undertaken at the instance and with the material support of the Archæological Institute of America, among the active members of which the late Professor Augustus Merriam, of Columbia University, New York, was his chief supporter.

With such work as that pursued in Crete, as well as in Greece itself, Italy, Sicily, the other islands of the Ægean, in Asia Minor and Egypt, our historical horizon—nay, the regions well within the established border-lines of familiar history—are being, and will be, enlarged within our own and the succeeding generations, as they never were before, since the days of the Renaissance.

Moreover, it appears to me that, at the present time, individual scholars, archæologists and historians, in separate and independent spheres of study and exploration, are quietly marshalling forces which will tend to revolutionize the broad, fundamental views upon which the history of the European peoples has been built up, and which the generation preceding our own accepted as historical commonplaces. I am especially referring to broad distinctions which afforded the ground-work for the chief grouping in the various departments of historical study, ethnology, archæology linguistics. Recent discoveries in Egypt, notably those of Professor Flinders Petrie, as well as simultaneous work and discoveries in the various centres of the whole Mediterranean basin, from Spain through the Italian and Greek peninsulas, round the coast of Asia Minor to Egypt—these have all led us back to a period in which we must infer a certain unity, ethnological as well as archaeological, for all the inhabitants of this Mediterranean basin.

It will readily be perceived how revolutionary will be the action of such a view, when once it is fully established, upon the system of ethnological hypothesis hitherto adopted, as regards the prehistoric periods in the life of the peoples in the South of Europe, Asia Minor and in North Africa.

Startling as these discoveries are, there is no definite sphere of our past in which more striking and important discoveries have been made than in the one known as "Classical Antiquity." This period in man's history—the Hellenic and Græco-Roman—revered and admired for the height of civilization then attained, and for the predominant influence which it has had in successive

ages down to our own days, has been so thoroughly elaborated on all sides by legions of competent scholars and thinkers from the Middle Ages onward, that the belief had sprung up and fixed itself in our minds that nothing more can be ascertained in this sphere of human inquiry, that this field has become sterile. And with this belief there has grown up, from motives working in another direction, a certain opposition (perhaps ungrateful and ungracious) to the long and continuous sway and predominance of classical studies, directed especially against the prominent place which they hold in our educational system. Yet, here again I venture to maintain that, among the leading features which will be recognized in the future as distinguishing the civilization of the nineteenth century, a revival of pure Hellenism (in contradistinction to the Hellenism that had passed through Rome) will be one of the most marked, and that classical study in the spirit of the nineteenth century will be readily differentiated from the classical spirit of the Renaissance, and of the Humanists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To put it shortly and epigrammatically —in a type taken from the domain of art, though it applies to literature and thought as well,—it is the difference between the Apollo Belvidere and the Parthenon marbles as representative of Hellenism. Previous scholars studied their classical antiquities in Italy and Rome. We have gone to Greece itself.

Once on truly Greek soil, the generous, broad-breasted mother-earth of ancient Hellas has delivered to us some of her treasures, hidden away from rapacious time, and from the still more rapacious hands of the despoiling barbarians of later days, beneath the ample folds of her gracious garment. And thus there has grown up, in the immediate past and in our own days, a more adequate and a fuller knowledge of the highest development of Hellenic genius.

If thus there has been a new departure in our knowledge of the historical periods of ancient Greece and Rome, which promises to widen out as well as to intensify our accurate appreciation of that important period in man's history, there is another sphere of classical research in which our advance has been, and is, still more marked and startling; for it concerns regions about which we may say that we practically knew nothing before. This might be called the Præ-historic Period of Greek civilization—that is, the life in Hellenic lands before the records of ancient writers begin.

To indicate in a rough and ready manner the progress marked in this sphere of inquiry in our own days by the mere measurement of time, I would say that the actual number of years preceding the established records of Greek history, about which a few years ago we knew nothing and concerning which we now know something, has been pushed back at least five hundred years —nay, I venture to say, since 1892, a thousand years, namely, to about 2000, B. C. It requires some courage on my part to venture the prediction (for which I may, however, claim to have some serious grounds), that before many years we shall have sober data for pushing civilized life in Hellenic lands backwards, not by centuries, but by millennia, or to about 4000, B. C.

Light has been thrown on this earliest period of Greek civilization from various quarters of exploration and discovery, from Sicily and the South of Italy, from several islands of the Aegean, and from Asia Minor; while a powerful side-light has come from Egypt and the most recent discoveries there. But the whole sphere of this new field of fruitful inquiry was first opened out by the excavations of Henry Schliemann, followed by further excavations, which all supplement one another in the evidence they furnish for the earliest civilization in ancient Greece.

It is to three groups of excavations that I attribute the new and startling ground of inquiry upon which we stand at the present day. The first is the Schliemann group, at Mycenae, Tiryns, Hissarlik, etc., to which the excavations of the Greek archaeologist Tzountas form an important addition, while Schliemann's work has been ably carried on since his death by his former assistant, Dr. Dörpfeld. The second important excavation in this sphere is to be found in the American Excavations of the Argive Heraeum by the American School of Athens and the Archaeological Institute of America; and the third, not yet completed, form the striking discoveries in Crete now made by the British School of Athens and by Mr. Arthur Evans.

All this important work, with its far-reaching results upon the system of man's knowledge of his past, may be said to have originated in the active brain of a poor boy living in a small village of Mecklenburg, whose unassuageable thirst for knowledge was never stimulated or satisfied by the advantage of such early education as is within the reach of most poor men in the Western

States of our own day. But it was in the brain of that boy, when he came to realize what the barrows and mounds, the "Hun graves," of his own home stood for, and when he made acquaintance with the story of Homer's heroes, that the idea took shape of excavating the ancient sites which contained the tangible records of the heroic life as depicted in Homer. And with the tenacity and singleness of purpose, the indomitable strength of will with which he held fast to this idea through all the years of strife and suffering in the surging and often debasing struggle for material means of subsistence, and the un-ideal and un-poetic allurements and fascinations of the greed of gold—amid all these, he clung to the dream of his early boyhood, he kept alive the fire of his enthusiasm as the one high beacon light which raised him above the "practical," and worse than practical, conditions of his peculiar career.

It *was* his "fixed idea," as the alienists are wont to characterize the thought, or the pursuit in thought, out of proportion with the accepted order of life among the dominating majority. It appears to me that we all have such fixed ideas, thoughts and interests and aspirations, ever present, consciously or sub-consciously dominating, or at least directing and giving their tone to our every effort and desire,—some trivial and vulgar, some weighty and refined, some malignant and criminal, others beneficent and in harmony with the social order which they tend to confirm and to advance. They produce the heartless worldling, the unscrupulous speculator, the selfish, cruel and unmotherly woman, the thief and the murderer; but they also produce the philosophers and the artists, the enthusiasts and the heroes, the saints and the martyrs. It all depends upon the nature of the fixed idea; for the strength of purpose, the energy and perseverance, in themselves, are good and mark a virtue. When the "idea" is directly and all-engrossingly one's little self, anaemically petulant or raised to cosmical proportions by a passionate imagination, it produces the egoist. When the "idea" is bad and unsocial, it makes a criminal; when it is great and good, it makes a great man. Henry Schliemann was a great man.

When, as an apprentice in a grocer's shop in Holland, at night in his cold garret, and in the intervals of sweeping the shop, he taught himself the classical languages as well as most modern tongues; and when, subsequently, in Russia and in the United

States, he succeeded in accumulating a fortune, he returned to the great fixed idea of his childhood—the idea which had lighted his garret and kept it warm, and had thrown its soft redeeming lustre upon the more sordid phases of his subsequent "successful career," as it now does for us upon the memory of his life. And when he then retired from business, and devoted his fortune and his energies first to the Excavations of Mycenae, then of Tiryns, and then of Hissarlik, and when he brought before the world the treasures which he unearthed in Mycenaean tombs and palaces, claiming (sometimes on unscientific grounds, and with the intelligible and pardonable haste of enthusiasm) to have found the treasures of the Atreidae, the very bones of Agamemnon and his Homeric associates, there was a great outcry throughout the learned world against the unwelcome intrusion of this "impostor" into the sacred precincts of the learned guild. The more charitable considered the "fixed idea" to have taken a distinctly pathological form.

Though this is hardly twenty-five years ago, it is all forgotten. What has survived are the walls and buildings of the ancient Mycenae, Tiryns and Troy—the centre of the life of these ancestors of the historical Greeks that fought at Thermopylæ, Plataea, and Salamis—here are the tombs in which they were buried, the implements of peace and war which they used, here are the crystallized feelings and thoughts which drove artists and craftsmen to construct and fashion objects which are there for us to touch, and upon which we can feast our eyes in the present day, and that reflect in their totality the actual life of the past, in their way as indubitably and adequately as does the written, nay, the spoken word.

The treasures of gold and precious metal exhibited in the Museum of Athens, the hundreds and thousands of objects in various materials that have since accumulated in so many museums, all have undoubtedly established for us the existence of a civilization reaching far beyond the year 1000, B. C., further back than the Dorian Invasion, and manifesting to the careful student, a gradual organization and development in time, which enable him to distinguish several marked phases as far back as, at least, the fifteenth century, B. C. For the last twenty-five years, through the mass of material furnished by Schliemann's spade, archaeologists have been enabled to build up a systematized presentation of

an age in Hellenic life of which the student, before 1874, knew nothing, and of which he had not even the vaguest conception.

The next important group of excavations, which appears to me to mark a new departure in thus extending the horizon of what we know of the earliest Greek civilization, are the American Excavations at the Argive Heraeum. Some of the results of these excavations, which covered four seasons from 1892-1895, have been given to the public in a preliminary form in the official organs of the American School and Institute.*

The exceptional importance of the Argive Heraeum lay, in the first instance, in the facts that, in the age of Pericles, it was one of the foremost sanctuaries of the whole of Greece, that it contained the great gold and ivory statue of Hera by the sculptor Polycleitus, second only in fame to Pheidias, and that the sanctuary retained its eminence through all periods of Greek history down to the Roman times—for all of which facts our excavations have yielded archaeological testimony. But it is also exceptionally important from the position which it held in the earliest periods of Greek civilization, in which we are here interested. For we must always remember that, whereas Tiryns and Mycenae and the city of Argos represented each one period and phase in the political development of the Argive plain, the Heraeum probably antedates the foundation of Tiryns,† and always maintained its importance as the religious centre through the successive periods of Argive history. Moreover, from the literary traditions of later periods, as well as from the actual archae-

*See reports of the American School of Athens in the American Journal of Archæology since 1892 as well as a special publication which the writer published in 1892, called "Excavations of the American School of Athens at the Heraion of Argos." On the question with which we are especially concerned here, there is a paper in a recent number of the Journal on the "Earliest Hellenic Art and Civilization and the Argive Heræum." Since the excavations were completed in 1895, several years were required to arrange, clean and examine the thousands of objects which were deposited in the Central Museum of Athens. Upon this arduous task several of my collaborators in the excavations have been assiduously engaged for some years. But the whole of my manuscript, as well as that of most of my collaborators, has been ready for print for more than a year; and it is unfair to the scientific world, as well as to my assistants and myself, that the publication should be further delayed. These assistants and associates were engaged at the work for shorter or longer periods, while some have undertaken the publication of portions of our finds; they represent many of the leading universities in the United States. Among them, I must mention Drs. Hoppen, Washington, R. Norton, Brownson, Richardson and Poland, Messrs. De Cou, Tilton, Chase, Fox, Heermance, Lythgoe, Meader, Alden and Rogers. It is especially vexatious to think that so important a publication should be delayed for want of funds, and I can hardly believe that people interested in archæology in the United States would allow this to be the case.

†See an article of the present writer in a recent number of the Classical Review, in which he endeavors to show that the site of this temple contains the remains of the earliest city in this district.

ological remains, the Argive plain and the people inhabiting it refer to the earliest and most specifically Hellenic period of Greek civilization. It is on this account that the Argive Heraeum becomes, for the questions with which we are dealing, more important than in Greece, Mycenae and Tiryns and Hissarlik (Troy) of Asia Minor.

The third group of excavations on prae-historic Greek sites, those directed by Mr. Arthur Evans and Mr. Hogarth, are still in progress. But even now they have yielded most startling results of the highest interest and importance. In fact, so far as we are able to judge, nothing of so striking a nature has been found since the days of Schliemann. We may safely say, however, that up to this moment all that has been found at Cnossus only refers to what is known as the Mycenaean age, the date of which cannot at present be pushed much further back than the fifteen century, B. C. So far, these excavations will have to be supplemented by those of the Argive Heraeum; for, on the ground of the actual remains and monuments there discovered, I have ventured to classify our material so that we have justifiable cause to go back on this site to about the year 2000, B. C. Since then, Professor Flinders Petrie has found the earliest forms of Mycenaean pottery (Aegean he calls it) in tombs which he identifies with the first Egyptian dynasty. I venture to assert now, what I could not say, from the character of the evidence with which I meant to deal, in the paper I published last spring, namely, that the earliest walls, vases, terra-cottas and other objects found at the Argive Heraeum may well mark many centuries of continuous development, nay, perhaps millennia, before the year 2000, B. C.

In spite of the numerous remains of the Prae-Mycenaean age, found at the Heraeum and elsewhere, which enable us to establish groups and classifications in this earliest development of Greek craft, we must admit that we have little fuller and more detailed knowledge concerning these periods *as yet*. On the other hand, for the Mycenaean age we have a vast amount of material, all tending to give a fairly complete picture of the life and civilization in these centres, and to these discoveries Messrs. Evans and Hogarth have contributed more effectually than any other archaeologists since the day of Schliemann.

The accumulated "Mycenaean" material before us clearly gives us the impression of a civilization of a very high order, in which

people lived in a developed social organization, in ease and comfort, nay, in luxury. The various handicrafts and arts were practiced with great variety and proficiency: wood, ivory and metals were carved, turned, beaten, soldered and combined in the most skilful manner; architecture and painting and architectural sculpture reached a comparatively very high stage of perfection, a stage higher than we have evidence of for several centuries succeeding this era. And now, through the most brilliant discovery of Mr. Evans, we learn that they even possessed the art of writing. For he has found written documents in the Hellenic lands at least seven centuries earlier than the first known monuments of historic Greek writing.

"In the chambers and magazines of the Palace there came to light a series of deposits of clay tablets, in form somewhat analogous to the Babylonian, but inscribed with characters in two distinct types of indigenous prehistoric script: one hieroglyphic or quasi-pictorial, the other linear. The existence of a hieroglyphic script in the Island has been already the theme of some earlier researches by the explorer of the Palace, based on the more limited material supplied by groups of signs on a class of Cretan seal-stones, and the ample corroboration of the conclusions arrived at was, therefore, the more satisfactory. These Cretan hieroglyphs will be found to have a special importance in their bearing on the origin of the Phoenician Alphabet.

"But the great bulk of the tablets belonged to the linear class, exhibiting an elegant and much more highly developed form of script, with letters of an upright and singularly European aspect. The inscriptions, over a thousand of which were collected, were originally contained in coffers of clay, wood and gypsum, which had been in turn secured by clay seals, impressed with finely engraved signets, and counter-marked and countersigned by controlling officials in the same script, while the clay was still wet. The clay documents themselves are, beyond doubt, the Palace archives. Many relate to accounts concerning the Royal Arsenal, stores and treasures. Others, perhaps, like the contemporary cuneiform tablets, refer to contracts or correspondence. The problems attaching to the decipherment of these clay records are of enthralling interest, and we have here locked up for us materials which may some day enlarge the bounds of history."

As regards the architecture of the Mycenaean period, we must now realize that the Cyclopean walls and buildings of Tiryns, as well as the supporting wall of the earlier Argive Heraeum, all mark a more primitive stage than what we call Mycenaean. The walls and buildings of Mycenae itself represent a transition from the earlier Cyclopean system of Tiryns to the specifically Mycenaean phase of architecture; while the purest form of Mycenaean architecture, corresponding to the description of buildings in Homer,

was first found at Troy, in the sixth layer from below, by Dr. Dörpfeld in 1893.

Yet, all these buildings are surpassed in splendor and in the quality of masonry by the great palace which Mr. Evans has found at Cnossus in Crete. There is every reason to believe that the palace here discovered, with its maze of corridors and tortuous passages, its numerous small chambers, its long succession of magazines with their blind endings, was the palace of Minos, which later tradition made the habitation of the fearful Minotaur —in fact, the famous Labyrinth. Mr. Evans, moreover, proposes an ingenious hypothesis (a suggestion before made on philological grounds by Professor Max Meyer), according to which the Labyrinth really derived its name from the *labrys* or double axe, the emblem of the Cretan Zeus, which he found repeated continually on monuments and objects from this site.

It will be best to give his own words in describing the palace he has discovered:

"At but a very slight depth below the surface of the ground the spade has uncovered great courts and corridors, propylaea, a long succession of magazines containing gigantic stone jars that might have hidden the Forty Thieves, and a multiplicity of chambers, pre-eminent among which is the actual Throne Room and Council Chamber of Homeric Kings. The throne itself, on which (if so much faith be permitted to us) Minos may have declared the law, is carved out of alabaster, once brilliant with colored designs and relieved with curious tracery and crocketed arcading, which is wholly unique in ancient art, and exhibits a strange anticipation of Thirteenth Century Gothic. In the Throne Room, the Western Entrance Gallery and elsewhere, partly still adhering to the walls, partly in detached pieces on the floors, was a series of fresco paintings, excelling any known examples of the art in Mycenaean Greece. A beautiful life-size painting of a youth, with an European and almost classically Greek profile, gives us the first real knowledge of the race who produced this mysterious early civilization. Other frescoes introduce us to a lively and hitherto unknown miniature style, representing, among other subjects, groups of women engaged in animated conversation in the courts and on the balconies of the Palace. The monuments of the sculptor's art are equally striking. It may be sufficient to mention here a marble fountain in the shape of a lioness's head with enamelled eyes, fragments of a frieze with beautifully cut rosettes, superior in its kind to anything known from Mycenae; an alabaster vase naturalistically copied from a Triton shell; porphyry lamp with graceful foliation, supported on an Egyptianizing lotus column. The head and parts of the body of a magnificent painted relief of a bull in gesso duro are unsurpassed for vitality and strength."

If we examine the numerous smaller objects of art which have

come down to us from the various centres of Mycenaean life, we are impressed with the exceptionally high standard which these convey to us, even when compared with the art of other countries and of the earlier centuries of historical Greece. The numerous gold, silver, and bronze ornaments and implements deposited by Schliemann in the Museum of Athens alone clearly illustrate this. The well known silver ox-head, reproduced in all text books on Greek Art, the splendid sword-blades with chased patterns and hunting scenes incrusted into the bronze in gold variously shaded, and, above all, the two splendid gold cups which Tzountas found in the bee-hive tomb of Vaffio not far from Sparta, illustrate this fully.

In perfect *repoussé* work these cups are ornamented with scenes showing the capturing and taming of wild bulls. All these display not merely the love of splendor and luxury, but also a feeling for life and nature, for truth and naturalism in art, a freedom and skill in the technical processes by means of which these scenes are rendered, which came to us as a revelation as regards the high state of artistic feeling in this early period.

The wall-painting with the bull from Tiryns had given us some faint notion of these characteristics of freedom and naturalism on a larger scale, which mark all the Mycenaean vase-paintings in the more decorative region of minor art, and were so pronounced in the Vaffio cups. But photographs from the wall-paintings of the palace at Cnossus are, in this respect, as much a revelation as the Vaffio cups were for their goldsmith's work.

Religious worship at Cnossus appears not to have taken place in a separate temple, but, according to Mr. Evans, in small shrines and altars in the palace itself. Moreover, he holds that the religion itself was of the crudest, and that, with all surrounding splendor, the Mycenaean people at Cnossus were still addicted to tree and pillar worship, a form of fetishism of which he has discovered clear traces in numerous extant pillar-like objects which they thus adored. I do not think that this worship is directly expressive of the "Mycenaean" peoples; but marks a survival of earlier cults established many centuries before the Mycenaean age. Nor need we be astonished at the persistency of such more primitive survivals; for the comparative study of cults in all climes and times shows similar conditions of incongruous survivals.

With all the splendor and high artistic development in the objects hitherto found in Mycenaean centres, we must be struck by the fact that sculpture and painting, other than in *decorative* forms, did not exist. I mean that the Mycenaean peoples did not produce the *picture* and the *statue*. This development of the purest and highest art was left for the Greeks of the great historical ages to establish for mankind.

If we attempt to summarize the impression which the art of the Mycenaean people produces in us, one word will, to my mind, convey most clearly the essential nature of their art, and will help us to realize the stage of political and social development which they attained. This word is *palatial*.

In spite of the various artistic qualities in Mycenaean art to which I have referred above, one quality they all seem to me to possess before all things, is splendor. The intrinsic value of the material is never quite ignored. While a Tanagrean figurine of the fifth and fourth centuries, B. C., though distinctly an object of minor art and not from the hand of the great masters, represents adequately the supreme artistic charm and spirit of the period and the land which produced it, the Mycenaean terra-cotta figurine is of the crudest and most primitive form, hardly symbolical of the human figure, and thus stands in strongest contrast to the splendid work in the gold cups. The costly articles found in the great bee-hive tombs differ essentially in artistic quality from those found in the poorer tombs. Painting and architecture are made subservient to the needs of those who dwell in the palace, and whose remains are enshrined in the splendid bee-hive tombs of which the "Treasury of Atreus" is the finest specimen. They built no great temples, because they had no national religion in the higher sense, and the tribal worship was housed in the palace of the ruler to whom it was made subservient. The real development of Mycenaean art groups round, and depends upon, the ruler, and is to be found in his palace and in his tomb. No doubt, this palace crowned the citadel which offered protection to the surrounding district; but the ephemeral mud-huts about it have not left a trace of their existence. There was no *national* life. It looks as if the citadels fortified by rude walls of small stones, and then supplemented by gigantic Cyclopean structures which are Prae-Mycenaean, had more of the *national* character in them than the palaces of the Mycenaean rulers. The earliest set-

tlements on the Heraeum point to that political phase leading to the *Synoikismos,* which brought the scattered dwellers in the Argive plain together for protection to the Acropolis chosen by their leader, their chief clansman—not their tyrant.

But these early political communities were too poor; there was—if I may use the term without approbrium—not enough of the luxury element in their life, there was not the surplusage of energy and moral vitality to produce a higher art; though the germs of Mycenaean art are to be found in their humbler remains. Yet in the *palatial* art of the Mycenaean rulers, as in the East, the idea of splendor, of impressiveness by size or value of material, was too dominant to create the *statue* and the *picture,* the national pure art of Greece. With their downfall, the Dorian invader, ruder and more vigorous, for the time impoverished life, and he had to be assimilated into the national body and raised to higher political and social levels; and thus art sank again for a time after the Mycenaean period. Preceding the great art of the Hellenic climacterix in the fifth century, B. C., we must remember that, in the sixth century, there was also a period of magnificence among the "tyrants" of that age, which definite political and social causes converted, after the Persian War, into the great art of the Periclean age—the adequate expression of the highest period in ancient history. It almost looks as if we had here to deal with an historical "law" concerning the development of art as the outcome and the expression of social and political evolution. For we could trace similar phenomena in other countries and periods of history.

Before Greek life could become national and their great national art could be evolved, the luxury of the Mycenaean people had to be swept away. This was done by the sturdy Dorians. And when, during the succeeding centuries, the vigorous Dorian element was blended with the earlier dwellers in Greek lands, and a healthy national life was evolved—a common language, a common literature and a common religion, giving expression to and fixing this process of wider nationalization—then the elements of the Mycenaean spirit, which survived in Greece and flowed back from the centres (the islands and Asia Minor) where it had taken refuge, revived in a wider and nobler form; and gradually, by successive stages which we can trace in so interesting a manner, it revived in the establishment of true Hellenism in politics, in philosophy, in literature and in art.

It may be well to point out that the term "national" is distinctly not used by me in the spirit of Chauvinism which has been given to it in our days. By "national," I really mean the widening out of common ideas and ideals among a large number of people, so that this common civilization manifests itself in a social or political unity. The higher and nobler these ideas; the wider the area; the greater the number partaking of, and stamped in their individual character by, such common ideas and standards of thought and morals, public or private,—the higher is human society. In Athens all full citizens were thus integral parts of this common civilization—though there was an aristocratic groundwork to their state, in that it contained slaves. The Italian republics had similar width and limitations. In our days, the democratization of all civilized states may at times lower the standard of these ideas, but their extension and expansion is incalculably greater than ever before. In fact, there are for this unity no limits within the geographical and ethnological boundaries of each nation, however much the "nationalists"—those with materialist or with idealist proclivities—wish for such restriction. But more and more we are coming to realize that the Renaissance in Italy and the Abolition of Slavery are as much a fatherland as are England, Germany, France, Italy and the United States.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

When the last words of this article were written a telegram from Naples announced the discovery of a perfect statue by the famous sculptor Polycleitus, the contemporary and rival of Pheidias. We heard recently of other works of sculpture found in the excavations in the Forum of Rome. Considering the fact that, unfortunately, even in the highest intellectual pursuits, there is the dominance and vulgarization of "fashion" and ephemeral waves of unbalanced enthusiasm, I should like to take this opportunity of saying that, in spite of all the supreme interest in the discoveries concerning prehistoric Greece to which this article has drawn attention, the fact that the Italian discoveries lately announced refer to the highest period of Hellenic civilization, and present us with ideals of beauty and truth then realized for all times, need not diminish our interest in, and our enthusiasm for, the study of the archaeology of historic Greece and Rome.

C. W.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

BY RICHARD T. ELY, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

THE question under discussion relates to the ownership and management of those local businesses which furnish what are called public utilities. The principal classes of these public utilities are water, light and transportation. They are called monopolies because, as we know from experience, we cannot have in their case effective and permanent competition.

It is often said that we do not want to decide the question of municipal ownership in accordance with general principles, but that each case should be decided as it arises. If New York City desires public ownership of water-works, it is urged, let New York City by all means try the experiment. But let New Haven, if the people of that city so desire, continue private ownership of water-works. Still others say, let us adhere to private ownership until we find that we have made a serious mistake in so doing. Both these attitudes imply the renunciation of science, or a denial of the possibility of a scientific solution of the problem. Imagine such an attitude in engineering as applied, let us say, to bridge-building. The result would surely be disaster. The outcome of this attitude in what we may call applied economics or social engineering has likewise been disastrous. Mistakes have been made which it has not been possible to correct, or which have been corrected with great loss. The private ownership of water-works in London, which still persists, although recognized to be an evil many years ago, affords an illustration. If at length this evil is corrected, it will cost the taxpayers many millions of dollars which might have been saved. Innumerable illustrations could be afforded, did space permit. What must be desired by any one

who has an appreciation of the nature of modern science, is the establishment of general principles whereby mistakes may be avoided and loss prevented. The practical man will naturally take into account the actual, concrete condition in his application of general principles. The social engineer must, in this particular, follow the practice of the mechanical engineer.

When we approach the question of public ownership *versus* private ownership of such great industries as those connected with artificial light and transportation, our attention is attracted by the municipal corruption which exists, particularly in our own country. The fact of this municipal corruption, and also the further fact of the very general incompetency in the management of municipal affairs, are not called in question, and they are not under discussion. The corruption and incompetency may not everywhere be so bad as many pessimists imagine, and it may, furthermore, be true that, in both respects, we have in many cities witnessed gratifying improvement. Yet, when we have made these admissions, the true state of the case is bad enough. The civic conscience with us is slow of development. The satisfactory performance of public duties implies, in some particulars, a higher civilization than we have reached. It requires some development of the imagination to see the harm and suffering brought to countless individuals by lapses in civic virtue. Furthermore, it implies a higher development of conscience than that found in primitive man, to reach that state in which there is a conscious desire to abstain from all acts which may hurt people who are not seen. Many a man will give to a poor widow, whom he sees, money to relieve her distress, but, at the same time, will not hesitate to increase the burdens of poor widows whom he does not see, by fraudulent evasion of taxation.

The sort of men now in our municipal councils are not the kind of men to whom we would gladly turn over vast business interests. The very thought repels us. Whether or not they are morally better or worse than the men who in many cases are said to corrupt them, and who now exercise an important influence in the management of privately owned public utilities, it is freely conceded that they are less fit for the conduct of important businesses. We want street railways managed by men who understand the street-railway business, gas-works managed by men who understand the gas business, and neither class of enterprises man-

aged by men whose gifts are most conspicuous in the partisan manipulation of ward politics. It is important that it should be understood that the advocates of municipal ownership do not call in question the fact of municipal corruption and inefficiency in the management of public business, and that they have no desire to turn over the management of public utilities to a class of men who must still be considered typical in the municipal council of the great American city.

But when we have admitted freely corruption and inefficiency in municipal government, it still remains to examine into the causes of these conditions, for there is a very widespread suspicion that a large share of the responsibility therefor must be laid at the door of private ownership. A real, vital question is this: Would we have the same class of men in our common councils which we now find there, should public ownership replace private ownership? Is it true that private ownership places in office and keeps in office some of our worst municipal wrong-doers? It is important that the reader should understand the real nature of the problem under discussion, and it is believed that these questions which have just been asked bring before us a large part of that problem. This important problem, the solution of which is of national significance, should be approached with no partisan bias, and no angry recriminations or denunciations should be tolerated. The spirit of the injunction, "Come, let us reason together," should be the spirit of approach.

We must clearly and sharply fasten in our minds the indisputable fact that, with respect to public utilities of the sort under discussion, we are confined to one of two alternatives. These alternatives are public control of private corporations, and public ownership with the public control which naturally springs from ownership. The experience of the entire civilized world has established the fact that we are restricted to these alternatives. We may have private street-railways, private gas-works, private water-works, etc., but in that case it is invariably and in the very nature of the case necessary to exercise public control over their operations. Charges must be regulated, general conditions of service must be prescribed, and regulation must be found for a thousand and one cases in which public and private interests touch each other. This is because, on the one hand, the nature of the service rendered is in such a peculiar

degree a public service, and also because the effective control of full and free competition is absent. We may, on the other hand, choose public ownership and management. We could, of course, separate public ownership from public management, and consider each one. In other words, we could have a publicly owned urban transportation system with private operation. Generally, public ownership and public management go together, and in the limited space at our disposal we will not undertake to separate them.

It is freely granted that either one of our two alternatives presents immense difficulties. This is a further point concerning which there can be no controversy among those who really understand the nature of the case. The evolution of industrial society has again brought us problems most difficult of solution. If we may use the language of design, history teaches us that Providence does not intend that men organized in society should have what we are always looking for in the future, namely, an easy-going time. Every age has its problems. In one age they may be brought by the inroads of barbarians, in another age by famine and pestilence, in another age by international wars. We have been dreaming of a coming time when no social problems should vex society; but, if history teaches us anything, it shows us that in such dreaming we are indulging in Utopian aspirations. Every civilization has been tested heretofore, and every civilization must have its test in the future, our own included. One of the tests of our civilization is the ability to solve the problem under discussion.

The question which confronts us is this: Which one of the two alternatives promises in the long run the best results?

Those who talk glibly about public control of those private corporations owning and operating public utilities frequently exhibit a sad ignorance of what their proposed remedy for existing evils means. They think in generalities, and do not reflect upon what control means in details. We have to observe, first of all, that public control of private corporations furnishing public utilities so-called means a necessary antagonism of interests in the civic household. Human nature is such that those who are to be controlled cannot be satisfied with the control exercised. However righteous the control may be, those who are controlled will frequently feel themselves aggrieved and wronged, and will try to escape the control. It is, furthermore, a necessary outcome of human nature that those persons who are to be controlled should

enter politics in order that they may either escape the control, or shape it to their own ends. Again, we must remember what vast aggregations of men and capital it is proposed to control. The men owning and operating the corporations which furnish public utilities are numerous, and they maintain large armies of employees of all social grades, from the gifted and highly trained attorney to the unskilled laborer. The amount of capital involved in a great city is counted by tens of millions. The very nature of the case brings it about that there should be persistent, never-ceasing activity on the part of those to be controlled. The effort to escape from this control, or to shade it, is a part of the efforts by which men earn their livelihood, and their activity is as regular as their hunger. The efforts of patriotic and high-minded citizens, in their self-sacrificing neglect of their private affairs to look after public concerns, may grow weary, but not so the activity of the corporations to be controlled. Can a task of greater difficulty be well suggested? It is not said that the problem here presented is one which it is impossible for modern civilization to solve; but it is well that the general public should know precisely what it means. Some of us are to control others of us, and to do so against their will. But who are those whom we are asked to control? They are very frequently our friends and neighbors. I am asked to resist what is esteemed the extortion of a gas company; but one of the gas magnates may be my neighbor and friend, and occupy a pew next to mine in church. Perhaps the gas magnate is my employer. Perhaps he has just contributed, and with the best intent in the world, one hundred dollars to an object which I have greatly at heart. Perhaps I am a college professor, and the street-car magnate whose rapacity I am called upon to help hold in check has endowed the chair which I occupy. Imaginary illustrations can be continued indefinitely, and those who desire to do so can in any city make them sufficiently concrete. Is it strange that many of us who are called upon to control others of us should simply refuse to do it?

In so brief an article as this must be, it is possible to do little more than to throw out suggestions. It is noteworthy that in Massachusetts public control of corporations furnishing public utilities has been tried more persistently than anywhere else, and that in that State there is a stronger sentiment than anywhere else in the Union in favor of public ownership and public manage-

ment. Serious charges have been brought against the Board of Gas and Electric Lighting Commissioners, which has to exercise control over gas and electric-lighting plants. Even a paper of the standing of the *Springfield Republican* has felt called upon to rebuke the board severely for keeping secret information which it has gathered. The attitude of the board is characterized as "extraordinary." "If the board," says the *Springfield Republican,* "is empowered to keep secret what information it is pleased to, how are the people to know that they may not become a mere agency of the monopolies to cover up and justify their possible undue exactions?" Insinuations of this kind are frequently heard in Massachusetts. Dismissing all charges of corruption and bad intention, we have as a net result a strong movement in Massachusetts, away from private ownership of public utilities, to public ownership.

The writer has followed this subject, and the trend of opinion with respect to it, for fifteen years with some care. In his own judgment the trend in favor of public ownership is marked and surprising. He has seen one investigator after another start with prepossessions in favor of public control of private corporations, and turn away from that position as a hopeless one, and take up a position in favor of public ownership as the only practicable solution under our American conditions. There lies before the writer a letter recently received from an attorney, a member of a well-known firm in one of our great cities. This lawyer has been forced by experience to abandon the position in favor of private ownership. He says, as the result of long-continued and self-sacrificing efforts to improve politics in his own city:

> "The alleged benefits of regulation are practically as impossible as an attempt to regulate the laws of gravitation, for our legislative councils are nominated, elected and controlled by forces too subtle and insidious to be attacked, and even to be known. * * * A community cannot regulate against millions of dollars organized to prevent it. This temptation disappears, however, when the municipality becomes the owner."

The difficulties of public ownership are not to be denied. They lie on the surface. The problem in the case of public ownership is to secure men of talent and experience to conduct these enterprises, and keep them in office during good behavior; to engage men for all positions on the basis of merit, and, while retaining vast armies of employees, to enact such legislation and

administrative reforms as will prevent employees of the city, engaged in furnishing public utilities, from either using their political power for their own selfish ends, or from being used for partisan purposes. This implies, on the part of society, an appreciation of excellence of service, and a thorough-going reform of municipal civil service. Politicians of the baser sort, and all those who have selfish ends to be gained by political corruption, will work against such reform. On the other hand, public ownership with public operation presents the issues in a comparatively simple form. The clarification of issues is, indeed, one of the strong arguments in favor of municipal ownership. Who knows to what extent employees on the street railways of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Chicago are appointed through the influence of politicians? It is known, however, that many appointments are made through the influence of politicians of precisely the worst sort. It is furthermore known that these corporations are now generally in politics. But because the corporations furnishing these public utilities are owners of private property, and because they conduct a business which is only quasi-public, the political corruption with which they are connected is hidden and obscure, and voters are confused and perplexed. Public ownership carries home to every one the importance of good government, and arrays on the side of good government the strong classes in a community now so often indifferent. Frequently men who are powerful in a community, in working for good government, work against, rather than for, their own private interests. It is, indeed, gratifying to see men of wealth, as frequently as they do, turn aside from selfish considerations to promote measures calculated to advance the general welfare. But can we expect this kind of conduct persistently from the great majority? Have we any right to expect it? A personal allusion is sufficiently instructive to warrant reference to it. When the writer had invested what was for him a considerable sum in gas stock, he tried to answer for himself this question: As an owner of gas stock, exactly what kind of a municipal government do I want? The government of the city in which was located the gas-works in which the writer was interested was a stench in the nostrils of reformers throughout the country; but he could not persuade himself that as an owner of gas stock any very considerable change was for his interest. The city government, as it then was, was a "safe" one, and the result of a change

could not be foretold. Is not this, as a matter of fact, the solution of the problem which owners of stock in street railways, gas-works and similar enterprises generally reach when they look at municipal reform solely from the point of view of self-interest? And can we, then, be surprised at a certain apathy and indifference on the part of what are called the "better classes" in a community? Men of great wealth have been known to work directly against their own narrow interests for the public weal, but has an entire class of men ever been known to do this?

A further result of municipal ownership would be a better balance between private and public interests, and this better balance would strengthen the existing order against the attacks of socialists and anarchists, on the one hand, and unscrupulous plutocrats, on the other. A balance between private and public enterprise is what is fundamental in our present social order, and a disturbance of this balance consequently threatens this order. This balance is favorable to liberty, which is threatened when it is disturbed either in the one direction or the other. Any one who follows passing events with care cannot fail to see that it is menaced by socialism, on the one hand, and by plutocracy, on the other. A man of high standing in Philadelphia, himself a man of large wealth, when presiding at a public meeting recently, stated, practically in so many words, that a professor in a school of some note had lost his position on account of a monograph which he wrote in relation to the street railways of that city. This monograph was temperate in tone, and its scholarly character elicited commendation on all sides. We need not go into the merits of this particular case, but we cannot fail to notice disquieting rumors in regard to the attacks upon freedom of speech, which are an outcome of private ownership of public utilities. There is a widespread apprehension that the utterance of opinion upon one side promotes one's interest, and that the utterance of opinion upon the other side may prove damaging. Mathematical proof cannot be well adduced, but readers can, by careful observation, reach a conclusion as to the question whether or not our industrial order is menaced by plutocracy, always bearing in mind that plutocracy does not mean honestly gotten and honestly administered wealth. There are good rich men, and bad rich men, as there are good poor men, and bad poor men. Does private ownership of public utilities, on the one hand, tempt rich men to wrong

courses of action, and does it, on the other hand, place great power in the hands of unscrupulous wealth?

In an article restricted as the present is, it is impossible to go statistically into experience. The question may be raised, however, Has any one ever noticed an improvement in municipal government from a lessening of the functions of municipal government? Can any one point to a municipal government which has improved because its duties have been diminished, and the number of its employees lessened? If we turn away from local government, do we find that it is through the lessening of the function of government in general that an improvement is achieved? At one time, the Italian government operated the Italian railways. Later, it leased the railways to a private corporation. Has this retirement of Italy from the operation of the railways produced a regeneration in public life? As we travel over this country, and observe the course of local government, do we not, on the contrary, find that, on the whole, it has improved as its functions have increased, and as it appeals directly and effectively to larger and larger numbers? The case of England is a very clear one. If we go back fifty years, we shall probably find that the government of English cities was quite as bad as ours is now. During the past fifty years, there has been a continuous improvement, and this has accompanied continual expansion of municipal activity, while at the same time, through an extension of the suffrage, English municipal government has become increasingly democratic in character. We must hesitate about establishing a casual connection between these two movements, but is it unnatural to suppose that there may be such a connection? When there is a great deal at stake, when the city has much to do, good government of the cities appeals to all right-minded persons; and if there is no division of interests through private ownership, we ought, in a civilized community, to expect to find all honest and intelligent people working together for good government. A tangible basis is afforded the masses for an appeal for higher interests, and reliance is placed upon municipal self-help. Instead of asking other people to do things for them—namely, great private corporations—the people are told to help themselves.

Mistakes and wrong-doing must be anticipated under either one of our two possible systems. What about the relative serious-

ness of the mistakes and wrong-doing, however? We have a certain demoralization in each case, and a certain loss. While in the case of public ownership we have an opportunity to recover from mistaken action, in the case of private ownership mistaken and wrong action is often irretrievable in its consequences. Take the case of New York City as an illustration. Jacob Sharp secured a franchise for the Broadway surface railway through wholesale corruption, and was sent to the penitentiary. The franchise, however, was retained by those into whose hands it fell, and others have entered into the fruits of his theft. Under our American system of government, in cases of this sort stolen goods are retained. The franchises are retained, and the forgotten millions continue to suffer, because their rights have not been adequately safeguarded. With the other policy, namely, that of public ownership, how different would be the result? If the street railways were mismanaged, or their earnings stolen, it would be sufficient to turn out the municipal plunderers. Too many overlook what is distinctively American in our problem; namely, our constitutional system, which protects franchise grants when once made, and renders so irretrievable a mistaken policy, provided we have the system of private ownership.

Let it be distinctly understood that the position is not taken by the present writer in favor of municipal ownership at any and all times, and everywhere, and under all circumstances. It must come in the right way, it must come deliberately, and it must come provided with adequate safeguards. It must come as a part of other movements, especially of full civil service reform. But it is calculated in itself to promote these other reforms, and in some cases municipal ownership will be the first step in the direction of that full civil service reform which is so sadly needed. In some cases civilization may be in too low a condition to permit municipal ownership. The socialization of public sentiment which must lie back of proper social action may not have gone far enough. The question is: Have we the social man back of the social action which we advocate? If we are talking about the heart of Africa, with its individualistic blacks, unquestionably we have not the social man which would make possible any considerable amount of social action. Among barbarians and semi-civilized people the few must do things for the many. Social action must not be forced down from above, and it must not come

accidentally, if it is to be successful. It must come as the result of full and free discussion, and of full and free expression on the part of the people. It is on this account that the initiative and referendum, in a country like ours, may properly accompany the social action. Have we in our own country the social man to back social action? If he does not everywhere exist, he is coming, and coming rapidly, and the amount of social action which the socialization of sentiment makes possible and desirable increases in proportion as he makes his appearance. The question of municipal ownership is a question of social psychology. It turns on the nature of the social mind.

RICHARD T. ELY.

POSITIVISM: ITS POSITION, AIMS AND IDEALS.

BY FREDERIC HARRISON.

POSITIVISM is at once a philosophy, a polity, and a religion—all three harmonized by the idea of a supreme Humanity, all three concentrated on the good and progress of Humanity. This combination of man's whole thought, general activity, and profound feeling in one dominant Synthesis is the strength of Positivism, and at the same time an impediment to its rapid growth. The very nature of the Positivist scheme excludes the idea of wholesale conversion to its system, or of any sudden increase of its adherents. No philosophy before, no polity, no religion was ever so weighted and conditioned. Each stood alone on its special merit. Positivism only has sought to blend into coherent unity the three great forces of human life.

In the whole history of the human mind, no philosophy ever came bound up with a complete scheme of social organization, and also with a complete scheme of religious observance. Again, the history of religion presents no instance of a faith which was bound up with a vast scientific education, and also with a set of social institutions and political principles. Hitherto, all philosophies have been content to address man's reason and to deal with his knowledge, leaving politics, morality, industry, war, and worship open questions for other powers to decide. So, too, every religion has appealed directly to the emotions or the imagination, but has stood sublimely above terrestrial things and the passing cares of men. A mere philosophical idea, like Evolution, can sweep across the trained world in a generation, and is accepted by the masses when men of learning are agreed. A practical movement, such as Reform, Self-government, Socialism, or Empire, catches hold of thousands by offering immediate material profit. Men of any creed, of any opinion, can join in the definite point.

This has given vogue to so many systems of thought, so many political nostrums, such a variety of religious revivals. It has also been the cause of their ultimate failure, however great their temporary success. They have been one-sided, partial, mutually destructive. A religion which ignores science finds itself at last undermined and discredited by facts. A polity which has no root in history and in the science of human nature, ends in confusion, like the Social Contract or the Rights of Man. And a philosophy which is too lofty to teach men how to live, or what to worship, is flung aside by the passions, emotions, interests of busy men.

Positivism insists that the cause of all these failures has been the attempt to treat human nature in sections and by special movements, whereas human nature is an organic whole and can only be treated as an organism of infinite cohesion. Positivism is the first attempt to appeal to human nature *synthetically*—that is, to regard man as equally a logical being, a practical being, and a religious being, so that his thought, his energy, his devotion may all coincide in the same object. The Christian preacher may cry aloud that this object is God and Salvation. But when he is asked to explain the relation of Salvation to Conic Sections or to Home Rule, his answers are vague. The Agnostic philosopher, again, assures us that this centre of thought is Evolution; but how the devout soul is to worship Evolution, or how the workman is to better his lot by Evolution, are problems which the Agnostic philosopher finds troublesome and idle. The Radical Reformer insists on a brand-new set of institutions, and trusts that men's beliefs, habits, desires, yearnings and religions will soon settle themselves. But this is the last thing they ever do. Hitherto all philosophies, all polities, all religions have sought to treat human nature as a quack who should treat a sick man, on the assumption that he had no brain, or that his nerves were of steel, or that his stomach was to be ignored. They have had successes, as nostrums do have. The Positive Synthesis, for the first time, provides the harmony for thought, activity and feeling. But, since almost the whole of our real knowledge is limited to this planet, and certainly the whole of what we can do is so limited, and since our best aspirations and ideals are human (or, at least, anthropomorphic), it follows that any true Synthesis of human nature as a whole must centre in Humanity. That is the key to the power of Positivism, and also to its very gradual advance.

That which is nothing unless it be comprehensive, systematic, synthetic, naturally finds arrayed against it the popular currents of the hour. There never was an age so deeply intoxicated with specialism in all its forms as our own, so loftily abhorrent of anything systematic, so alien to *synthesis*, that is, organic coördination of related factors. Everything nowadays is treated in infinitesimal subdivisions. Each biologist sticks to his own microbe; each historian to his own "period"; the practical man leaves "ideas" to the doctrinaire, and the divine leaves it to the dead worldling to bury his dead in his own fashion. Specialism is erected into a philosophy, a creed, a moral duty, an intellectual antiseptic. It is this dispersive habit which makes our art so mechanical, our religion so superficial, our philosophy so unstable, and our politics so chaotic. A movement, of which the first aim is to stem the torrent of this dispersiveness, naturally finds welcome only with those whom our moral, material and mental anarchy has profoundly saddened and alarmed.

Positivism, then, so far as it is a religion, does not seek to be accepted on impulse, or by rapture, under a gush of devotional excitement. When Peter preached, "Repent and be baptized, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost!" the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. But Saint Peter cared little for science or philosophy, and even less for politics and art. Positivism asks to be accepted as the result of a great body of convergent convictions, or not to be accepted at all. Being a religion, it is not a thing to be decided by the authority of the learned. Every brain must reason it out for itself; every heart must feel its enthusiasm; every character must resolve to live and die by it in daily life. It is not like a political movement which aims at forming a party, a militant league, or a revolution. It never appeals to the instinct of combat; it inflames no passion of self-interest; it panders not to the spirit of destruction, to the spirit of equality, or the love of mockery and satire. It offers nothing immediate, no panacea to make every one blissful, or rich, or wise. It insists that all reforms must be gradual, complicated, spiritual and moral, not material and legislative. It discourages all immediate and direct remedies for social and political maladies, and ever preaches the humble and difficult method of progress by mental education and moral regeneration. Now, those reformers who are ready to sacrifice all their impatient

hopes, all royal roads to the millennium, all revolutionary dreams for establishing Utopia, such spirits are few and rare.

The problem before Positivism is threefold; each side being practically equal in importance and also in difficulty. It seeks to transfer religion from a supernatural to a scientific basis, from a theological to a human creed; to substitute in philosophy a relative anthropo-centric synthesis for an absolute, cosmical analysis; to subordinate politics, both national and international, to morality and religion. No doubt, in these three tasks the religion is the dominant element. The change in its meaning and scope is the most crucial in the history of human civilization. The change involves two aspects, at first sight incompatible and even contradictory. The one involves the surrender of the supernatural and theological mode of thought; the other is the revival, or rather the amplification, of the religious tone of mind.

Positivism, thus, with one hand, has to carry to its furthest limits that abandonment of the supernatural and theological field which marks the last hundred years of modern thought, and yet, with the other hand, it has to stem the tide of materialism and anti-religious passion, and to assert for religion a far larger part than it ever had, even in the ages of theocracy and sacerdotalism. The vulgar taunt that Positivism is anti-religious arises from ignorance. The constant complaint of Positivism is that religion, in all its Neo-Christian phases, has shrunk into a barren formula. The essence of Positivism is to make religion permeate every human action, thought and emotion. And the idea of humanity alone can do this. Deity cannot say, *"Nihil humani a me alienum."* Humanity can and does say this; whereas, in logic, the formula of theology—the formula in which it glories—is *"Omne humanum a me alienum."* Omnipotence, as such, can have no concern with the Binomial Theorem, or a comedy of Molière, or female suffrage, or old-age pensions, or a Wagner opera—that is, with ninety-nine parts of human life and interest. The result is that theological religion has less and less to do with human life. If religion is ever to be supreme, it must be anthropo-centric.

But, on the other hand, an age, so ardently materialist and scientific as our own, is antipathetic to the idea of religion presuming to interfere at all. The ordinary agnostic or sceptic, if he abstains in public from Voltairean mockery, systematically treats religion, even the religious tendency or tone of mind, as an

amiable weakness and negligible quantity. He is little concerned to attack it, for he finds it every day more willing to get out of his way, and to wrap itself up in transcendental generalities. This is the temper which Positivism has to subdue. But it finds the scientific and positive minds scandalized at the suggestion of any revival of religion, whilst the religious world is scandalized by the repudiation of theology. A movement, having aims apparently so little reconcilable, can only find prepared minds here and there to accept it. Yet its strength lies in this: it is the only possible reconciliation of two indestructible tendencies, equally deep-rooted in the human mind—the craving for the assurance of demonstrable realities, and the craving for faith and devotion as the supreme control of human life.

This summary sketch of the Positivist Synthesis of Thought, Feeling and Life is not intended as any explanation of it—an elaborate volume could not give room for that—but as a mere preliminary to dealing with the question I am asked to answer: What are the present position, aims and expectations of Positivism?

Well! Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivism, a professor at the *École Polytechnique,* died in Paris about forty-three years ago, having put forth his system of philosophy about sixty years ago, and having completed his system of Polity and Religion about forty-five years ago. There are now organized bodies of men, holding and teaching these ideas, in most of the parts of Europe and also of the Transatlantic continent. Speaking for England, for which only I am entitled to speak, the English groups, not very numerous bodies in London and in five or six principal towns, prefer to present the Positivist Synthesis in somewhat different aspects, but do not disagree in any essential principle. Some of these groups choose to insist on the strictly religious side of the Positivist scheme, regarding it as a Church in the ordinary sense of the term, and attempting to put into ceremonial practice the cult described in the fourth volume of Comte's *"Politique."* This neither Comte himself ever did, nor has his direct successor and principal disciple done so, nor have Comte's own personal friends in France. Without passing any opinion upon the ultimate realization of what, for my own part, I regard as a striking and interesting Utopia, neither I nor my colleagues in the English Positivist Committee have felt either

the time to be ripe for any such undertaking, nor the development of our movement to be adequate to make any attempt of the kind practical or serious. The attempt has led in South America to some farcical egotism, and the experiment elsewhere has led to no encouraging result. Personally, I have no wish to see the pontifical method carried any further, and it has little interest for me.

For my own part, from the formation by Comte's successor in Paris of the English Positivist Committee, of which I have been president for twenty years, I have always opposed everything that could tend to form "a sect." By "sect," I mean the Pharisaical separation of a body of persons from their fellow-citizens, valuing themselves on certain special observances, and living an exclusive life of their own. All this is to us so abhorrent that we would rather run the risk of becoming too easy than of becoming narrow sectaries. Accordingly, we have been, from the first, of the world and in the world around us; having no shibboleths, no creeds, no tests of orthodoxy, not even any roll of membership. We have always been ready to work with all humane movements of a kindred sort. We have no priests, no recognized form of worship, no ritual, and no special canon of adhesion. They who choose to come amongst us to follow our lectures, or to discuss our views, are welcome to come. Those who help on the work, by labor or by gifts in money or in kind, are of us and with us, so long as it pleases them to continue such co-operation.

Everything about our work is voluntary, gratuitous, open. Newton Hall is, first and foremost, a Free School; on its notices is written: "All meetings and lectures free." Nothing is paid to those who lecture, or demanded from those who attend. No questions are asked, no collection is made, no seats are paid for or reserved. Those who choose to subscribe can do so, without giving any pledge, and withdraw when they choose to withdraw. Lectures in science, in history, in languages, in art, even musical training and classical concerts, have all been free and public. And tens of thousands of men and women have been present from time to time, who would decline to call themselves Positivists, and who might at the time feel little more than sympathy and interest. The aim of our body has been to form a school of thought, not to found a sect; to influence current opinion, not to enroll members of a party; to uphold an ideal of religion which

should rest on positive science whilst permeating active life. It is an idle question to ask, "What are the numbers, or the machinery, of such a body?"

Newton Hall, opposite the Public Record Office, in London, has now been open nearly twenty years. It was so named because it stands on the ground purchased for the Royal Society by Sir Isaac Newton, its president, in 1710; and, during the eighteenth century, the Hall, built thereon by the Royal Society for its collections, contained the first nucleus of the British Museum. There public, free lectures on Positivist philosophy, science, morality and religion have been carried on continually during autumn, winter and spring, together with classes for the study of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, languages and music. The greater names in the Positivist Calendar of 558 Worthies of all ages and nations have been commemorated on special centenaries, those of musicians by appropriate musical pieces. In the summer months, these lectures have been extended in the form of pilgrimages to the birthplace, tomb, or residence of the illustrious dead, and lectures at the public museums, galleries and ancient monuments. In connection with Newton Hall, there have been social parties, libraries and Guilds of young men and young women. So far, the work of the Positivist body in London has been that of a Free School and People's Institute.

It may be asked, In what way does such a Free School differ from many other similar institutions? The answer is in the fact that the entire scheme of education given in Newton Hall is *synthetic* and *organic*—concentrated on the propaganda of the Positive Philosophy and the Religion of Humanity. Leaving it to other movements to promote miscellaneous information and promiscuous culture of a general kind, the aim of all Positivist teaching is to inculcate the cardinal doctrines of the Positive belief, the central principles of Positive morality, and the vital sense of the Human Religion. In the first Report issued from Newton Hall, for 1881, we said:

"The very existence of Positivism as a scientific system of belief depends on the institution of a complete course of education, and the formation of an adequate body of competent teachers. There is, on positive principles, no road to stable religious convictions except by the way of knowledge of real things; and there is no royal road to real knowledge other than the teaching of competent instructors and the systematic study of science in the widest sense. One of the pur-

poses for which Newton Hall has been opened is to offer free popular training in the essential elements of scientific knowledge. Our plan is but one of the many attempts around us to found a People's School. It differs from almost all of these in the following things:

"1. It will be on principle strictly free; no teacher being paid, and no fee being received.

"2. The education aimed at, not being either professional or literary, will follow the scheme of scientific instruction laid down for the future by Auguste Comte.

"3. Whilst having no theological or metaphysical element, the entire course of study will aim at a religious, that is, a social purpose, as enabling us to effect our due service to the cause of Humanity, by understanding the laws which regulate the world and our own material and moral being."

In pursuance of this scheme of education, courses of lectures have been given by graduates of the universities, most of them having been professors, examiners, and lecturers in various sciences, arts or history. The courses have been followed, in many cases, during the whole of that period, and many of the students have obtained a solid general education, especially in the various branches of history, biography and political philosophy. It is not pretended that this has been done by any large numbers. Other institutions of the kind have enjoyed much greater resources and have attracted far more numerous attendants. The reason is obvious. For one man who has the patience or the thoughtfulness to put himself under the curriculum of a laborious training, for the sole end of obtaining an intellectual and moral guidance in a definite system, there are always ninety-nine who are ready to pick up any desultory, entertaining or marketable knowledge which may be offered to them without too much mental discipline or any distinctive labels. To enter a Positivist Hall, much less to join a Positivist class, or to subscribe to a Positivist fund, requires in these days of prejudice and lampooning, a certain mental detachment and a real moral courage. The direct object of our courses is to inculcate Positive convictions with a view to a Positivist life. And as the public which is prepared to accept these terms is as yet not numerous, our hearers must be rather described as "fit, though few."

If the formation of coherent Positivist convictions by a scientific education be the first task of such a movement, it is far from being the sole task. The control of all action, whether political, economic, or international, by moral judgment is a cardinal duty imposed on Positivists in all places and at all times. Ac-

cordingly, for forty years English Positivists have ardently supported the just claims of Labor against the oppression of Capitalism, the just demand of the People to full incorporation in the State, which exists mainly for the use and improvement of the People; they have maintained the just demand of the Irish nation to be recognized as an indestructible national unit; they have protested against a series of unjust wars and the incessant efforts of British Imperialism to crush out one independent race after another. All this is no recent thing. Forty years ago, the founders of the Positivist group in England began to take public action on behalf of the organized Trades Unions. In 1867 the Positivist Society appealed to Parliament through Mr. John Bright, M. P., on behalf of the Irish Nationalists; and they have never ceased to uphold the same cause. In 1881 they appealed to the Government to recognize the full independence of the Transvaal Republic. And to-day they are the first to insist on the same policy as that of Justice and Honor.

There has never been an unjust annexation or a wanton war in Europe, Asia or Africa within the last thirty years, when the Positivist body has not raised its voice to plead for morality and justice, regardless of the popular cry for Empire and malignant sneers at "Little Englandism." The record of these efforts may be seen in the "Essays" of Dr. R. Congreve, the first to form a Positivist body in England; in the "Positivist Comments on Public Affairs, 1878-1892;" and, from 1893 to 1900, in the eight volumes of the *Positivist Review*. In an article on the "Positivist Comments" I wrote:

"The Positivist Society has no reason to shrink from a review of its policy over this period under five different administrations. It is a policy independent of party: national, patriotic, and devoid of any petty or factious criticism. Its sole aim is to plead for the real honor and good of England, in the interest of peace, the harmony of nations, respect for other races, religions, and honorable ambitions, and mainly for the cause of general civilization."

These "Comments," over fourteen years, I said:

"Embody a coherent and systematic policy dealing with England's international relations as a whole, and weighing the ultimate and indirect effect of each proposed action as affecting the peace of the world and the true cause of civilization. It is not a policy of peace-at-any-price, nor of a little-England, nor of uninstructed sentiment, nor of any prejudice of creed, or race, much less of party, of democratic faction, or mischief-making. It is a policy that considers the *past*,

and still more the *future*, and not merely the *present*—a policy that respects the rights and dignity of other nations as much as our own."*

Of course, such a policy as this, publicly pursued in times of intense social and political excitement, could not fail to strain the cohesion of the Positivist propaganda and to limit its progress. Bound by our most sacred principles to uphold definite views of national and international morality, we could not fail to encounter the prejudices of party, of class, of race, of patriotism, in their hours of keenest heat. Though resolutely abstaining from any party entanglement and from any criticism of practical applications of principle, it was in the last degree difficult to prevent some divergences of view, and impossible not to drive away thousands of those who were otherwise disposed to join. No system of thought, no economic scheme, certainly no religious movement, ever had to meet such inherent obstacles to acceptance. A philosophy appeals to thought, but it does not meddle with angry political debates. The social reformer has his own difficulties, but he does not rouse up the passions of politicians, party and journalism. The religious reformer renders unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and is absorbed in the higher interests of the Soul and its Salvation. But Positivism, because it is a Polity, as much as it is a Philosophy and a Religion, is continually forced to face the most angry storms of popular delirium and of political passion. And never so much as to-day.

Lastly, the distinctive aim of Positivism is to promulgate the conception of a real religion based on positive science. No religion can be stable or dominant, if it rests on hypotheses and aspirations, which are necessarily dreamy and in constant flux. If religion, in our age of realities, is to be based on acknowledged proofs, its object must be earthly and human. The Supreme Power, dominant on earth and over man, of which we have scientific knowledge is Humanity. And the ideal of Positivism is gradually to form the sense of a religion of Humanity.

And this is, also, the main difficulty that Positivism has to overcome. Denouncing, as it does, the insolent folly of Atheism, and also the arid nullity of Agnosticism, it is yet difficult to convince the religious minded that Positivism can be anything but a new attack on Christianity and on Theism. Comte said: "The atheist is the most irrational of all theologians, for he gives the

* Positive Review, Vol. IV., 73.

least admissible answer to the insoluble problem of the Universe." Neither in open controversy, nor in private meditation, does the true Positivist hold the belief that the Infinite All came about by chance or made itself. But the orthodox controversialist perversely confounds him with those who do hold the atheistic creed, and this becomes the source of rooted antipathy and prejudice. The Positivist neither denies Creation with the atheist, nor is he satisfied, with the agnostic, to boast that he knows nothing as to the religious problem. He simply says that, whatever higher paths may yet be known, the historic conception of Humanity and its practical providence offers all the essential elements of a religious faith.

This does not satisfy the Theist, and the forms of Theism are infinitely vague, indefinite, mystical, or even verbal, almost as numerous as the individual theists. A well-known man of letters thus summed up his creed: "He fancied there was a sort of a something!" Any of us might say that, and not find it a working religion. It is the very definiteness, the undeniable reality of Humanity, its close touch upon every phase of human life, that repels so many anxious wanderers in the limitless wilderness of Theology. In these days of shallow spiritualism, the weaker brethren will cling to anything that is cloudy, unintelligible, transcendental. And their practical Gods are Mammon and Moloch.

Much less is Positivism an attack on Christianity. It is the rational development of Christianity, its incorporation with science and philosophy. Not, certainly, with the miraculous and supernatural dogmas of Christendom, but with the humanity of the Gospel in its spiritual ideal, and the moral and social ideals of the Christian churches. No doubt, the Christian ideal is but a fractional part of the Positivist ideal, just as the Christian ideal is only in touch with a fractional part of human nature and man's life on earth. But so far as this Christian ideal is honestly human, and essentially permanent, Positivism is destined to give it a vast development. But this is not enough for those who still hanker after the Athanasian Creed or the Westminster Confession, or even some more inscrutable label.

The human type of religion must radically differ from the theological type, for it can have nothing of the violent, ecstatic, sensational character which is inherent in Monotheism. Positiv-

ism is an adult and mature phase of religion, primarily addressed to adults, to men and women of formed character and trained understanding. It is a manly and womanly religion, full of manly and womanly associations and duties. Hence, it must grow gradually, work equally, and be marked by endurance, reserve, good sense, completeness, more than by passion, fanaticism and ecstatic self-abandonment. When they ask us: Where are the tremendous sanctions, spasmodic beatitudes, penances, raptures, beatific visions and transcendant mysteries of Christianity? we can only smile. These things belong to the childhood of man, the fairy tale of religion. The "customs" of Dahomey, the sacrifices of Polytheism and Mosaism disgust the maturity of man. And so Christianity will never satisfy the later ages of civilization, until it is rational from top to bottom, co-extensive with human life, and in close touch with our latest culture and all forms of healthy manliness and womanliness. Religion is not to be forever nourished by mere hysterical emotions, and vague yearnings for what we cannot rationally conceive.

Religion, so reconstituted, will lose much of its rapturous and ecstatic character. It will gain in solidity, constancy and breadth. Instead of being a thing of transcendental hopes and fears, stimulated on Sundays and occasional moments, but laid aside, if not doubted, for the rest of man's active time, religion will be a body of scientific convictions, poetic emotions, and moral habits, in close relation with all our thoughts, acts and feelings, and naturally applying to everything we do, or desire, or think. It will be part of the citizen's daily life: more social than personal, more civic than domestic, more practical than mystical. It will give ample scope to the personal, the domestic, even the mystical side of human nature, within the control of reason and the claims of active duty. Religion will thus mean the guidance of right living by the light of personal and social duty as taught by a systematic Sociology. Its creed will be a synthetic Philosophy, resting on the general body of positive science. And its worship will be the expression of loyalty to Humanity in all its phases, as manifested in its true servants, the known or the unknown, the living or the dead, of all ages and of every race.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

THE RECENT DRAMATIC SEASON.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

It has been so long the habit of criticism to regard the theatre as in a hopeless decay, that one has first to make one's peace with one's prejudice and then with one's public, before venturing to say that, during the past season, there have been seven or eight new plays given in New York worthy of the heyday of the English drama. Whether this means something worthy of

"The spacious times of great Elizabeth,"

or those of the second Charles, or the third George, or the fourth William, I would rather let the reader decide. It is enough for me to launch my faith in air, without attempting to limit or direct it.

I.

The season has not been exceptional in being somewhat peculiar. There have been no such signal productions as that of "The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith," or "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," or "The Case of Rebellious Susan," or "The Manoeuvres of Jane," among the London importations, and among the American pieces there has been nothing so fresh or surprising as some things hitherto done in the native drama. But I have seen four good American plays, and four English plays so much better that my patriotic pride in the first has been chastened to impartial pleasure by a sense of the superiority of the last.

It is, in fact, quite useless for us to contest this superiority of the English playwrights. Somehow, they have got there, while our dramatists are still only more or less well on the way. They seem to have got there, too, in spite of making their plays such good literature that one likes to read them as well as see them. This is true not only of the work of brilliant wits like Mr. George

Bernard Shaw, who confessedly writes too well for the stage, but whose "Arms and the Man" is almost the best comedy on it; and poor Oscar Wilde, who did things almost as fine from a humor almost as rich and daring; but it is true, also, of such tempered geniuses as Mr. Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones and Mr. R. C. Carton and Mr. R. Marshall. In the work of all these you taste the literary quality as you taste it in the plays of Goldsmith and Goldoni, of Molière and Sheridan, of Björnsen and Ibsen, of Hauptmann and Sudermann, of Echegaray and Estebanez. The like can be said of no American playwright that I know of except Mr. Augustus Thomas, some of whose printed dramas I have read with the sort of enjoyment they give me in the theatre. But for the rest, our dramatists seem to be submissive to the impudent assumption of the theatre that a play cannot be good if it is literary, or other than the worse for its literature. There is, consequently, so little literature in them that one is left to wonder why they are not indefinitely greater dramatists; they ought logically to be something super-Shakespearean; for Shakespeare's plays are much more literary than any of theirs.

II.

In speaking of the dramatic season I do not primarily concern myself with the acting. That has nothing to do, of course, with the goodness or badness of the plays. If it is bad it cannot spoil the plays; if it is never so good it cannot impart excellence to them. It is a thing apart and a subordinate affair; though it can give such exquisite joy if it truly interprets a true thing. All that I have to say of it is what I have several times said before; the playing is commonly better than the plays. This is true even of the uneven playing of the American companies; and it is only not true of the playing of such an English company as Mr. John Hare's in "The Gay Lord Quex"; there the play was best, though the playing was of a refined perfection that none of the American playing could rival. I do not know, but it seems to me that the histrionic art has degenerated in American hands through the necessity of being so English. An American actor or actress conforming to the London standard of tone and accent, is as obviously acting as an American "club man" or "society woman" trying to do the same thing. At the same time, I do not see what else they are to do; and I remark upon their disability

without proposing a different ideal. It results in something so strange to both the English and American utterance that it suggests the despair of exile without the hope of naturalization. One feels it most acutely as a remembered ache in listening to an English company like Mr. Hare's (if there is any other like that), and feeling the perfect charm of those trained English voices in those English inflections which our actors on or off the stage parody so ineffectually. Next to this pleasure, which is such a very great one, is the pleasure of hearing the pure American note in its variety, as we get it in Mr. Herne's "Sag Harbor," or Mr. Thomas's "Arizona." I could fancy English people delighting in that; but they would have to be English people of more delicate perceptions than most of their race to be able to recognize the perfection of the New York note, moral as well as vocal, in the first act of Mr. Clyde Fitch's comedy, "The Climbers."

To be done with the theatre as soon as possible and get on to the drama, one must put Mr. Richard Mansfield's "Henry V." behind one at once. It was better than one could have hoped, since it was the Shakespeare history shaped to a point and used for the constant conspicuity of the actor; that is, there was more Shakespeare and less Mr. Mansfield, though there was always a good deal of Mr. Mansfield, and in one supreme spectacular passage there was nothing of Shakespeare. But it was never such a triumph for the actor over the author as Mme. Bernhardt's "Hamlet," which, in that way, was quite the greatest triumph possible. One did not think of Shakespeare at all; one thought only of Mme. Bernhardt. Yet she is artist enough to have wished the poet's supposition that Hamlet was a man of rich fancy, of tender if troubled spirit, and of most endearing sorrow to have some weight with the spectator so that one should not go away thinking him an elderly woman, harsh, hard, noisy and restless.

I did not see her in *"L'Aiglon"*; Miss Maude Adams in one act of that play had given me all of it that I could bear; and after the "Hamlet" of Mme. Bernhardt, I perceived that I could have lost little in not having tried to imagine her a still younger man. In fact, the "Cyrano de Bergerac" of M. Rostand was more than enough, false as it was in every moment and motive of the preposterous fable devoted to making one believe that a man of decent conscience, not to say of brilliant intellect, could hoodwink the woman he loved into marriage with a stupid dolt.

After seeing that, I was quite willing to let any one that liked think M. Rostand another Shakespeare; but I was not willing to see an exquisite talent like M. Coquelin debased to the uses of such tawdry melodrama. After Coquelin in Molière, I did not want Coquelin in Rostand.

III.

Perhaps I was the more sensitively reluctant, because I had already had Mr. John Drew in "Richard Carvel." That play is, of course, worse than the novel of the name, and the novel itself is better than the other historical romances, which, it was easy to foresee, would soon get out of their covers and expose their spiritual and intellectual nakedness on the stage. But, with the warning of that play before me, I excused myself the more readily from witnessing the other plays made from the other historical romances. I cannot justly, therefore, condemn them, and if any one were to say that they were as good as the novels they were made from, or better, I could believe him.

I did not feel the same apprehension of a fine actor's humiliation in "David Harum;" not because Mr. Crane is not a fine actor, but because "David Harum" is an indefinitely better book than the other great commercial successes. It is, in all that relates to Harum on his simple horse-trading and country banking level, a very true and a very good book. It is when it attempts to rise from this level, and soar in the fine air of sudden benefactions to insolvent widowhood, that it betrays the perfunctory motive of a flying machine. The dramatist, however, felt obliged not only to emphasize this sorry performance, but to add a factitious motive of his own in a heroine who tests the moral quality of Harum by various experiments, in order to marry his protegé when Harum proves pure gold. In spite of this, the play is very amusing, and finds a true climax in the triumph of Harum over the Deacon in a horse-trade. The spectators who bore the sentiment patiently, and probably, poor souls, thought they liked it, roared with joy in the comedy, which was really funny. They had the curtain up again and again on the Deacon trying to start the balky mare in a pouring rain. They could not get enough of that.

It was a simple pleasure, from a very elementary source, but it was genuine, and in that it was akin to such pleasure as the false motive of "Sag Harbor" allowed one to get from its true charac-

terization. The motive was the tattered superstition that a woman may, can, will, or ever did marry the man she does not love and refuse the man she does love, because the man she does not love has been good to her, and loves her, and will be broken-hearted if she does not marry him. Of course, it is strictly her sole business, and her supreme duty to marry the man she loves, unless he is an unreformed drunkard. Any other marriage is treason to her nature and a pollution of her womanhood; and Mr. Herne, having made his heroine commit this sin, is employed through the rest of the play in trying to trammel up the consequence. Of course, he can only pretend that she had chosen the best man and done the best thing, after all; but nobody believes this, even when she says it. Less than ever one believes it then, for the poor falsehood is the culmination of the falsehood by which the character continually perishes in the play. The pity was the greater because it was Miss Julie Herne, a most delicately conscientious and pleasing young artist, whose endeavor to put truth into a part incapable of it was a long defeat throughout. Her pretty and winning art failed of any effect comparable to that made by Miss Chrystal Herne, in a single moment of honest comedy, when she tries to have the young man of her choice realize that he is in love with her, and say so. Mr. Herne himself, who is after Jefferson the best American actor living, could not put reality into an action essentially disabled from the beginning, though he brought to the task all the beautiful naturalness of his mimetic skill, and all his ingenuity as a playwright. The author of "Margaret Fleming," of "Shore Acres," and of "Griffith Davenport," cannot be named by the critic without a sense of his rare dramatic gift; but this was not equal to the impossibility which he had attempted in "Sag Harbor." The characterization, both by author and actor, was admirable, but you could not believe what either said. In minor points the play was faultless; and, when one could forget the monstrous fib at its heart, one was, if a lover of life, happy in moments of most courageous fidelity to nature, in touches of pure comedy, native in its fineness as well as its grotesqueness.

IV.

If Mr. Thomas could have marked more distinctly his own sense of the fallacious sentimentality which actuates the hero of

his "Arizona," he would have saved me from much the same discomfort I suffered in seeing "Sag Harbor." But, apparently, he could not find the moment to take that mistaken young man aside and say to him, in the hearing of the audience, "Now, go on if you must, and sacrifice your good name to save from public dishonor a woman who has dishonored herself by consenting to leave her husband for her lover. Be scorned by her husband as a thief; suffer yourself to be forced out of the army; break the hearts of your friends who see in you the disgrace you will not explain; put to cruel and senseless proof the faith of the good girl who loves you; do all this, if you will, because you are a young, romantic ass; but don't expect me to back you. Any one else would see that this woman who has allowed her heart to be turned from her husband because she finds army-post life dull and has no amusement but flirting, is a fool and worse, and not worth saving from the shame she has consented to at the cost of any shame to others; she is spoiled and lost already, for it is not the adultery, but the adulterous heart that counts in these things. Instead of 'saving' her, by throwing dust in her husband's eyes—for that is what it comes to—do the straight, honest, manly thing. Tell the truth; say that you have stopped her from eloping, and that you took from her lover the jewels found on you with a purpose of safeguarding them, and so make me a situation worthy of my skill. *Don't* load me up with another stage hero, when I am looking for a *real* hero; give *me* a chance, and I will make your reputation."

Probably the young man would have denied any such appeal, but Mr. Thomas would at least have washed his hands of him, if he had made the audience understand that he had no sympathy with his self-sacrifice. It seems not so central, so pivotal, so structural (or destructural), somehow, as the self-sacrifice of the heroine in "Sag Harbor," though I should be puzzled to say why it does not seem so. It may be because it is postulated of that military life which is the negation of the ideals of the civil life. What is certain is that the situation gains in possibility (not to go so far as to say probability) by being imagined of army people, and after a good deal of war drama one still finds a refreshing novelty in Mr. Thomas's pictures of army-post life in Arizona. The sense of being in safe hands with regard to the lesser as well as larger facts enhances the comfort of the spectator, and one

thrills in the exciting effects with the conviction that one's thrills are fully authorized. The dramatist has mastered his material so thoroughly that one has a pleasure in the details of his action, such as one feels in the authenticities of, say, "The Gay Lord Quex." In both plays the same sort of exhaustive and scrupulous æsthetic conscience has been at work, and the same sort of keen and alert intelligence. The result is a restful evenness in the composition which the nerves can feel better than the words can say. In the "Arizona" one had not a moment's fear that the dramatist did not know the road he had taken, or that the passengers would have to get out anywhere and walk.

The American atmosphere in such dramas as we have produced is of the thin clearness of the atmosphere which wraps our portion of the planet; and in "Arizona" it lacks even such mellowness as softens the outlines of personality in "Sag Harbor" and other creations of the home-keeping invention of our playwrights. In its intense distinctness the local color has a peculiar charm; the picturesqueness of the life is extraordinarily vivid, and there is no shadow of uncertainty in the action; it is sharp and rapid, as if it were the nervous response of human nature keyed to sympathy with the moistureless air of the region, and unclogged by the vapors of misgiving that burden it in other climes. In the whole *entourage* there is the fascination of something old, something Oriental, as if the far West had got beyond itself in the farthest East. Whenever we part company with the army people, and find ourselves amidst the mixed population of the Arizona ranch where the scene mostly passes, it is with a sort of dream-like bewilderment in the encounter of such types as the old, over-drinking, raucous, bragging, joking rancher and his wife, who bully each other and threaten and then give way, and are really always good friends in spite of themselves. The plot is closely wrought, and vigorously operated, with its sort of threefold movement in the several affairs of the Colonel and his fool wife, of the hero who sacrifices himself for her and is in love with her sister, and of the young Mexican who sees no reason against marrying a girl in the fact that her trust has been abused by another, and who resents the obtrusion of the fact upon his knowledge as a sort of disgusting impertinence. The weak point in the piece is the hero's self-sacrifice, and that seems rather his fault than the author's.

V.

If he had been older he would have known what a very old convention it was, but in "The Climbers" I do not know how young the people ought to have been not to realize the remote antiquity of the convention that took the life out of that piece, otherwise so promising and so amusing. The situation of the lover of another man's wife uniting with her in the recognition and renunciation of their passion was invented so long before the discovery of America, and is so distinctly proper to pre-historic conditions, that it never seems otherwise than alien when predicated of our society; yet it was this decrepit tradition which Mr. Clyde Fitch asked us to be content with, after giving us a passage of as fresh and native comedy as I have seen on our stage. In fact, a certain essence of New York has never been so perfectly expressed as in that encounter between the two "society women," on the one side, and the bereaved mother and daughter on the other, whom they visit the day of the husband's and father's funeral, to be first in bidding for the new Paris dresses which their sudden bereavement must prohibit the widow and orphan wearing. The play is worth while if for nothing but that scene, in which the incomparable worldliness, the indecent hardness, breaking at times through the shell of their decorums, and at all times palpable under them, represents in these women the spirit of the most commercialized society in the world. It is a great thing to have done, and the author is not to be blamed if he could not keep its level throughout. He is to be blamed, however, for not feeling that in such light work lay his example and his value. It was light, but not superficial; it was deeply and really tragical; whereas his apparent tragedy was superficial and really ridiculous. The tawdry wife and her tawdry lover were only less tawdry than her dishonest and defaulting husband, who did not essentially differ from her in a certain shamelessly selfish ideal of personal happiness.

In "Unleavened Bread" this ideal was ultimated and illustrated with a kind of final ugliness in the character of Selma, as it was dramatized from Mr. Robert Grant's novel. The dramatization was one of the best I have seen from a novel, and I thought it almost the best American play of the winter. It certainly was the freshest in the variety of its material, as Selma

herself has been the latest revelation in American character. I do not say that it had the strong dramatic movement of "Arizona" or the comic charm of "Sag Harbor," but it was more firmly based, more truly structural than either in the verity of its motive.

Its motive was simply the sort of insensible selfishness which appears oftener or more notably in women than in men, and renders them the monsters they can never see themselves. From her first consciousness, Selma Babcock, or Littleton, or Lyons (for in her successive marriages she is all three), has had no thought but for herself, and no principle but a pitiless personal ambition, which she mistakes for several finer things, especially for "true Americanism," especially when she is snubbed in her society aspirations. Her second marriage brings her to New York from the West, where she has ruthlessly, but justly enough, divorced her first husband for infidelity; and, almost from the first moment, we see her soul gnawed by that longing to be "among those present," which is the hatefullest effect in woman of the contact with great wealth and fashion. She could have a beautiful, refined and truly elect life in the circle in which she is welcomed as the wife of the young architect Littleton; and that light New Yorky spirit, Flossie Williams, can see it and value it from the world in which she gets on and Selma cannot get on. But Selma is not capable of the happiness which her gay friend imagines her; it galls her that Flossie is "among those present," and she is not; and she quarrels with her because of that. Because of that she spoils and embitters her husband's life, and would willingly degrade his art; when he dies, she goes back to the West and marries the lawyer who got her divorce for her. He is now Governor, and can be Senator if he will break his faith with the men who made him Governor. She plays upon his passion with an infernal sophistry, not the less infernal because it is unconscious, and makes him break his faith. The play leaves her in her ugly triumph secure of the Senate, and, for all we know, of the White House.

This is the story of the play which is so fairly representative of the novel. The playing left something to be desired in the clever actress who did Selma with insufficient subtlety, and made her too openly declamatory. The part of Flossie Williams was admirably done, with real truth; and such moments as we had of Governor Lyons were of such pure joy as only the full

realization of a type can give. The actor who could suggest without exaggeration, but with such satisfying distinctness, the inner make and outer manner of such an American politician has a future upon which he may be congratulated. The character so perfectly lived before us that, when the poor, flabby old scoundrel burst into a speech from Mrs. Littleton's window, and confirmed to the crowd below the promise of breaking faith which he had given her, one could hardly repress a shudder.

The character of Flossie Williams had more put upon it than it would bear, in the office of persuading the spectators that Selma had lost something in being unfit for fashionable society. She was deficient through her essential hypocrisy, and in meanly longing for what she affected to despise; but the novelist and the playwright failed to give relief to her foible by pretending that she had lost something which could justly be prized. Rich and fashionable society is hardly, in any country, the scene where refined character and ultimated civilization triumph; and it is not better, if not worse, in ours than elsewhere. To the careful observer, its manners seem bad and its morals doubtful; as for its amusements, they appear stupefyingly dull and of the intellectual quality of people who have no real duties or interests. Selma was vulgar at heart, because she wanted a place in it; but her vulgarity would not have disqualified her for a place in it.

VI.

To go from the American to the English plays is to pass from clever sketches, from graphic studies, brilliant suggestions, to finished pictures. It may be that we shall never produce such finished pictures as the English, at least till our conditions have lost their provisional character. Perhaps our drama is the more genuine in sympathizing with the provisionality of our conditions, and it may be that our success is still to be in the line of sketches, studies, suggestions. I thought so when, years ago, I praised the work of Mr. Edward Harrigan; I thought so the other night, after I saw the widow and orphan bargaining off their Paris gowns in Mr. Fitch's play, and perceived that the sketch was worth all the rest of his drama. At any rate, such even perfection as Mr. Pinero's in "The Gay Lord Quex" is yet far before our dramatists; but I believe that it is so not solely because our conditions are provisional. It is so, also, because they have not sought the

literary quality in their plays which the English dramatists have sought, and which they have found. The drama is distinctly a literary form; it is, in fact, the supreme literary form; but our theatricians have vainly imagined that the presence of literature in it is deleterious; and it must be owned that they have pretty well emptied it of the life that once filled it. I have noted some exceptions to this lamentable superstition; and I will note another in the authors of "Unleavened Bread," who were not afraid to put much of the literary spirit of the book into it. But their work cannot be compared in literary effect to Mr. Pinero's or Mr. Marshall's or Mr. Carton's or Mr. Jones's.

Mr. Marshall's work one already knew from his delightful librettos; and the motive of "A Royal Family" I found a distinct comic opera motive. How much of its charm the pretty drolling owed to the gentle and lovely art of Miss Annie Russell, of course, one was aware; but the piece was so little dependent upon the playing that I should have been quite happy to read it. So should I have been to read "Lady Huntworth's Experiment," which was again very literary, and of a like kindly humorousness. It was more seriously sociological, however, than "A Royal Family," and played with a possible problem, though it failed to reach a solution before it reached the end. How to rehabilitate one's self if one is a woman and has been guiltlessly divorced by a drunken brute of a jealous husband, is a difficult question; and "Lady Huntworth's Experiment" of going *incognito* as cook into a bachelor vicar's family does not so much answer it, as bring out amusing phases of human nature in the vicar, butler and semi-detached visiting officer, who all, together with her divorced husband, want to marry her. The comedy is delicious, and the tragedy is there only as an ingredient to keep the comedy from insipidity.

The problem in Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's play, "Mrs. Dane's Defense," means business indefinitely more than that in "Lady Huntworth's Experiment;" and I do not remember any problem play which so clearly gets the better of its problem. The problem is one well known to the theatre, and consists of the old question of what shall be done with the "erring woman" whose "error" will not be left behind, but insists upon following her into society, and claiming her just at the moment when a fine young fellow has fallen in love with her and wishes to make her his wife. Mrs. Dane's error has been a particularly unhandsome one, and a

rather prolonged one. As governess she wins the love of her pupil's father, and when the wife finds it out she kills herself, and the husband becomes insane from remorse. The girl goes out to Canada, where she takes the name of a dying cousin, and then returns to England, where she finds a place in county society, safe from her past, apparently. But one unhappy witness of it lets it escape him that he thinks she is the notorious Felicia Hindmarsh, and the cat can never afterwards be got quite back into the bag. An implacable aunt of the witness will not hear his protestations that he was misled by a resemblance, and pursues Mrs. Dane with the relentless fury of a virtue that ranges most of the nicest people on Mrs. Dane's side. It must be owned she is a most plausible presence, and that it is no wonder she imposes upon the eminent lawyer, adoptive father of her young lover, who takes her part and has her set her whole history down for him, in order to prove an *alibi*. The great scene of the play—and it *is* a great one—is where her narrative goes to pieces under his benevolent question, and turns out a string of such palpable lies that the man who wished so much to be her friend is forced to convict Mrs. Dane of being Felicia Hindmarsh. His exposure of her to herself is terrible, but altogether righteous, and compact of such good sense and honest frankness as rarely gets on the stage. The miserable soul is of such thorough falseness that she has always pitied herself, and would still like to pose as a victim; she can only realize that she is to be saved from public shame, and may steal away unconvicted if she will. Admirable in every point, this passage is in nothing more admirable than the enforcement of the fact that a certain kind of evil is done only by a certain kind of woman, and that she is never a good woman, no matter how much she is sinned against. Her judge brings this home to the audience rather than to her; she is too false ever to know how bad she is and has been. The part was wonderfully played by Miss Anglin, an actress who contrived with consummate skill to make appreciable the unconscious depravity, the subjective iniquity, of the creature.

Mr. Pinero, in the "Gay Lord Quex," has got a step farther. He has reached the Ibsenian pass of dealing with a predicament, rather than a problem. Here is the case of a nobleman who has spent a sufficiently indefensible youth, and later in life has fallen sincerely in love with a nice girl, but is antagonized by the nice

girl's foster sister, a fashionable manicure, and is pursued by the ghost of an old *liaison* in an amusingly romantic duchess, who clings fondly and devotedly to their regrettable past. There is the case, and you are left to make the most of it when the manicure gets herself into an awful box in her attempt to expose Lord Quex by spying and eavesdropping; and he, in a perfectly credible way refrains from his advantage, and lets her go upon the chance of her ruining his hopes of the nice girl. The fact that he gets the nice girl at last, and all ends well, is comparatively unimportant; the most important things in the play are its veracious characterizations, and the wonderful fidelity with which it paints manners. The manners of the nobleman and the manicure toward each other must greatly interest the American student of English civilization; on their different social grades he speaks to her as if she were a baddish boy, or a skulking dog, and she passively accepts this form of address; but when it comes to their flinging social conventions away, and meeting each other in a purely personal quality, she has no more deference for him than he for her; it is a fight between terrier and cat—both English. The scene is really tremendous, and, as Mr. Hare and Miss Vanbrugh play it, there is nothing to be asked either of the drama or the theatre.

VII.

One cannot say this of the American plays or players; and yet one can say much in honest praise of them. At no period of our dramatic history—the term is rather large—has there been so much prospect and so much performance of actual and potential excellence. We have actually advanced, and things are done now by both playwrights and players, and received as matters of cool expectation, which lately would have been acclaimed as surprising triumphs. The advance has been in the right direction, for we must leave out of the account, in the interest of self-respect, the dramatizations of the romantic novels; one *cannot* consider these. But one can consider the sort of plays which I have been speaking of, and find reason for taking courage and taking hope for an American drama. Of course, the great matter is that it should be a *good* drama; but after that point is made, it is for the common advantage that it should be American, for it could not very well be English, with the same promise of fruitfulness and the same fact of raciness.

W. D. Howells.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXXIII.

APRIL, 1901.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

BY COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

I.

Among the fields, in a walled enclosure, stands an iron-foundry, with enormous, unceasingly smoking chimneys, clanking chains, blast furnaces, scattered cottages for overseers and workmen, and a railway siding.

In the foundry and its mines workmen labor like ants. Some hew out the ore from morning till night, or from evening till morn, a hundred yards below the ground, in dark, narrow, stifling, damp corridors, which threaten them perpetually with death. Others, bending double in the darkness, draw the clay and ore to the foot of the shaft, run back with the empty trucks, fill them again, and go on working for twelve and fourteen hours daily the whole week through. So they work in the mines. In the foundry itself, some work at the furnaces in stifling heat, others at the outlets for the melted ore and slag; others again—mechanics, stokers, locksmiths, bricklayers, joiners—labor also in the workshops twelve and fourteen hours a day throughout the week.

On Sundays, these men receive their wages, wash themselves (or sometimes do not wash), get drunk in the public houses and

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taverns surrounding the factory and luring them on all sides; and early on Monday morning they all set about the same work again.

Near the foundry, peasants are ploughing other men's fields with lean, exhausted horses. These men rose at dawn—if they did not spend the night awake on the marshes, the only place where they can feed their horses. They rose at dawn, came home*, harnessed the horses, and, taking with them a lump of bread, went off to plough the fields of other men.

Other peasants are squatting on the highway near the foundry, and, having erected a shed for themselves with matting, break stones for the roads. The feet of these men are bruised, their hands are horny, their whole bodies are dirty; and not only their faces, hair and beards, but their lungs also, are penetrated with lime dust. Taking from the heap a large, unbroken stone, and settling it between their feet, which are shod in laptie† and swathed in old rags, they strike it with a heavy hammer till it splits. Then they take the fragments and hammer them till they are fit for road-metal. Then they again take the unbroken stones, and begin again. So they work, from the early summer dawn till night, fifteen or sixteen hours, resting only at midday, and, for breakfast and dinner, refreshing themselves with bread and water.

Thus live all these men—in the mines and foundry, at the plough and breaking stones—from youth till old age. Thus live their wives and mothers, subjected to over-exhaustion and consequent female infirmities; and thus, also, live their old fathers and young children, poorly nourished, badly dressed, in arduous and health-destroying labors, from morning to night and from youth to old age.

And now, past the foundry, past the stonebreakers, past the ploughing peasants, meeting and outstripping ragged men and women who wander with wallets from place to place asking for food "for Christ's sake," drives a carriage with tinkling bells, drawn by four bay horses sixteen hands high, the least valuable of which has cost more than the whole houses and possessions of the peasants who admire the team. In the carriage are seated two

* In Russia, during the summer, the peasants' horses are taken after the day's work to feed in the marshes for the night, their owners resting on the bare ground.

† Laptie is a footgear of soft matting, worn by Russian peasants in summer to save their boots.

girls, with bright colored sunshades, and ribbons and feathers on their hats, each of which has cost more than the horse with which the peasant ploughs the field. On the front seat is an officer in a newly washed, white linen coat, with braidings, and buttons that sparkle in the sun; on the box sits a stout coachman, with blue silk shirt-sleeves and a velvet overcoat. He nearly runs over the vagrants, and pushes into the ditch a peasant, who, in a dirt-begrimed smock, is jogging past in his empty cart.

"Don't you see that?" shouts the coachman, showing his whip to the peasant, who has not turned aside quickly enough; and the peasant with one hand lugs at the reins, and with the other timorously takes the cap off his dirty head.

Behind the carriage, their nickel-plated machines gleaming in the sun, fly noiselessly two men and a lady on bicycles, laughing merrily; and on they pass, frightening the peasant wayfarers.

By the side of the road are two equestrians; the man on an English stallion, the lady on an ambler. To say nothing of the price of the horses and saddles, the black hat with the lilac veil alone has cost two months' stonebreaker's labor; and for the riding stick, a stylish English one, has been paid a week's wages of an underground workman—of the man, who, trudging along, happy at having been hired at the pit-mouth, stands aside to admire the well-fed figures of horses and riders, and the great fat, outlandish dog, with the expensive collar, trotting behind with his tongue hanging out.

Not far behind this company comes a cart, with a smiling, smart and becurled maid in a white apron, and a stout, ruddy man with carefully combed whiskers, and a cigarette between his lips, whispering something to the girl. In the cart lie a tea urn, an ice mould, and some bundles tied in serviettes. The man and the girl are the servants of the people in the carriage, on horseback and on bicycles. The day has not been an unusual one for them. They live thus all the summer. Almost every day they make excursions; sometimes, as to-day, with tea, ices, and sweet things, to enable them to eat and drink in a new spot each day.

The people in the carriage, on horseback and on bicycles are three families who live in their country houses. One is the family of a land-owner possessing 6,000 acres; another, of an official in the receipt of $15,000 a year; the third, and most wealthy, are the children of the owner of the foundry.

All these people are not in the least either astonished or stirred to pity by the sight of all the extreme poverty and cruel labor which surround them. They think all this is just as it should be. They are occupied with quite other matters.

"This will never do," says the lady on horseback, looking back at the dog. "I cannot put up with this." She stops the carriage. All speak together in French, laugh, take the dog into the carriage, and drive on, covering the stonebreakers and the other peasants on the road with clouds of lime-dust.

The carriage, the horsemen and the bicyclists have passed, like beings of another world; and the foundry workmen, the stonebreakers and the peasant ploughmen go on with their weary and monotonous toil (for other people), which will end only with their lives.

"That is how some people live!" think they, following the carriage with their eyes. And still more miserable seems to them their miserable existence.

II.

What does it mean? Have these workingmen done anything —something very wicked—to be punished in this way? Or is it the fate of all men? Or have those who passed in carriages and on bicycles done, or are they still doing, something very useful or important, for which they are thus rewarded? Not at all! On the contrary, those who work so strenuously are, for the most part, moral, sober, modest and industrious; the others are, for the most part, depraved, perverted, insolent and idle. All this exists only because such a system of life is considered right and natural by men who affirm of themselves either that they profess Christ's law of love toward their neighbor, or that they are cultured—that is, perfected—human beings.

And the system exists not only in that little corner of the Government of Tula, which I picture clearly to myself because I see it so often, but everywhere—not only in Russia, from St. Petersburg to Batum, but in France, from Paris to Auvergne; in Italy, from Rome to Palermo; in Germany; in Spain; in America; in Australia; even in India and China. Everywhere, two or three men in a thousand live so, that, doing nothing for themselves, they eat and drink in one week what would have fed hundreds for a year; they wear garments costing thousands of dollars; they

live in palaces, where thousands of workmen could have been housed; and they spend upon their caprices the fruits of thousands and tens of thousands of working days. The others, sleepless and unfed, labor beyond their strength, ruining their physical and moral health for the benefit of these few chosen ones.

For some men, when they are about to be born, a midwife, a doctor (sometimes two) are summoned; a trousseau is prepared, with a hundred little shirts and swaddling clothes with silk ribbons; and spring rocking-cradles are purchased. Others, the enormous majority, are given birth to anywhere and anyhow, without help; they are rolled up in dirty rags, laid on straw in wooden cradles—and the parents are glad when they die. The first are cared for by the midwife, nurse and wet nurse, while the mothers lie in bed for days; the second are not cared for at all, because there is no one to care for them; and the mothers leave their beds directly after child-birth, light the fire, milk the cow, and sometimes wash their own, their husbands', and their children's clothes. Some children grow up among toys, amusements, and study. Others begin by crawling on their naked stomachs across the threshold, are crippled and devoured by swine, and at five years old begin to labor for masters.

Some are taught all the scientific wisdom adapted to children's minds; others are taught the coarsest abuse and the most outrageous superstitions. Some fall in love, have romantic histories, and marry when they have already tasted all the pleasures of love; others are married at sixteen or twenty years of age, as best suits the interests of their parents.

Some eat and drink the very best and most expensive things in the world, feeding their dogs with white bread and meat. Others eat only bread and kvass*, and even that not to their fill; while their food is often stale, to put them off eating much. Some, who do not work, change their fine linen every day; others, working continually at other men's tasks, change their coarse, torn, lousy linen once in two weeks, or else do not change it at all, but wear it till it falls to pieces. Some sleep in clean sheets on feather beds; others on the earth, covering themselves with ragged coats.

Some drive about with strong, well-fed horses, for recreation; others labor miserably with half-starved beasts, and for business walk on foot. Some devise things they may do to occupy their

* A cheap fermented liquor.

idle time; others have not the time to clean themselves, to wash, to rest, to converse, or to see their families.

Some can read four languages, and daily amuse themselves with the most varied pastimes; others do not even know their letters and have no pleasure but drink. Some know all and believe nothing; others know nothing and believe all the absurdities they are told. Some, when they fall ill, besides all manner of watering places, all possible care, cleanliness, and medicines, go about from place to place seeking for the most healing climate; others lie down on the stove in a chimneyless hut, and with unwashed wounds, without any food except dry bread, or any air besides an atmosphere tainted by the members of the family, by calves and sheep, rot alive and die before their time.

Is this as it should be?

If there exists a Supreme Wisdom and Love guiding the world, if there is a God, He cannot sanction such a division among men: that some should not know what to do with their superfluous wealth, and should squander aimlessly the fruits of other men's toil; and that others should sicken and die prematurely, or live a miserable life of exhausting labor.

If there is a God, this cannot and must not be. If there is no God, then even from the simplest human standpoint, a system by which the majority of men are forced to ruin their lives in order that a small minority may possess superfluous wealth—a wealth which only hinders and perverts them—such a system of life is absurd, because it is detrimental to all men.

III.

Then, why do men live in this way?

One can understand why rich men, who are accustomed to their wealth and do not see clearly that wealth does not give happiness, should try to maintain their position. But why do the enormous majority, in whose hands all power resides, and who believe that happiness is in riches, why do they live in poverty and submit to the minority? Why do all the men, strong in physical vigor, in skill, and in the habit of labor—the enormous majority of humanity—why do they submit to and obey a handful of feeble men, generally incapable of anything, and effeminate—old men, and especially women?

Go and look at the shops. Look, for instance, at the Moscow arcades before a holiday or at times of cheap sales. Ten or twelve arcades, consisting of uninterrupted rows of splendid shops with enormous panes of thick glass, are filled with various expensive things—for women exclusively; stuffs, dresses, laces, precious stones, boots, ornaments for rooms, furs, etc. All these things cost thousands upon thousands; they were made in factories by workmen who often wasted their lives on the labor of making them; and they are all utterly unnecessary not only for workmen, but even for wealthy men; they are nothing but the toys and ornaments of women. At the doors, on either side, are porters in uniforms, and coachmen in expensive liveries sitting on the boxes of costly carriages harnessed with horses costing thousands of roubles. Again, thousands of working days have been expended on the production of all these luxurious trappings; laborers, old and young, men and women, have spent their whole lives in fashioning all these articles. And all these things are in the power and in the hands of a few hundred women, dressed in expensive furs and hats of the latest fashion, flitting about in the shops, and buying all these wares prepared exclusively for them.

A few hundred women dispose at their caprice of the labor of millions of workingmen, toiling to feed and support themselves and their families. On the caprice of these women depend the life and fate of millions.

How did this happen?

Why do these millions of strong men, who produced all these articles, submit to these women?

A lady in a velvet mantle, and a hat of the very latest style, drives up with a pair of fine horses. Everything she wears is new and most costly. A porter hastens to unfasten the cover of her sleigh, and respectfully holds her elbow while she alights. She walks along the arcade as if it were her kingdom; enters a shop and buys five thousand roubles' worth of stuff for her drawing-room; orders it to be sent as soon as possible, and drives away. This woman is unkind, stupid, and not even pretty; she has never had children, and never in her life has she done anything for others. Then, why do the porters and the coachmen and the shopmen cringe before her so obsequiously? Why has the produce of the labor of thousands of workmen become her property? Because she has money! And the porters, and the coachmen, and

the shopmen and factory workmen need money to feed their families. And the most easy and sometimes the only way in which they can obtain this money is to work as coachmen, porters, shopmen or factory workmen.

Why has this woman got the money?

She has got it, because men deprived of their land and unaccustomed to any labor except the machine-weaving of stuffs work at her husband's factory; and her husband, giving the workmen only what is indispensable to their subsistence, takes for himself all the profits of the factory—some hundreds of thousands of roubles; and as he has no use for his thousands, he willingly gives them over to his wife to spend on whatever she may desire.

Here is another lady, with yet more luxurious carriage and clothes, buying various expensive and unnecessary things in the shops. How has this woman got her money? She is maintained by a wealthy land-owner, possessor of 50,000 acres granted to his ancestor by a depraved empress as reward for his debauchery with herself. This man owns all the land surrounding the villages of the peasants, to whom he lets the land at a high rent. The peasants pay the money, because without the land they would die of hunger. And this rent is now in the hands of a courtesan, and with it she buys things made by the other peasants who have been robbed of their land.

Here is a third rich woman, walking along the arcade with her mother and her *fiancé*. She is going to be married, and is buying bronzes and expensive porcelain. This woman has her money from her father, a high official, receiving twelve thousand yearly from appointments. He has given seven thousand to his daughter as dowry. This money is collected from the peasants in the shape of local and imperial taxes. These taxes have compelled the porter who opens the door (he is a peasant from Kaluga and has left at home a wife and children), and the cabman who drove them (he comes from Tula), and hundreds of thousands and millions of men engaged as servants or workmen, to leave their homes and spend their lives in labor which will be used by women—women, whose money has been collected from factory profits, or from rent, or from taxes, by capitalists, land-owners, and officials.

Thus, millions of workmen submit to these women because one man has usurped the factory, another the land, and a third the

taxes collected from the workmen. These are the causes of what I saw at the iron-foundry.

The peasants plough the fields of other men, because they have not enough of their own land; and the land-owner allows them to use his land only on condition that they work for him. The stonebreakers break stones because by that labor alone can they pay the taxes required of them. The foundrymen and miners toil as they do because neither the earth, out of which the iron is dug, nor the foundry, in which it is smelted, belongs to them.

All these men spend their lives in exhausting labor (for other men), because the wealthy have possessed themselves of the land, collect taxes, and own the factories.

IV.

Why does the land belong, not to those who work it, but to those who do not work? Why do only a small number of men profit by the taxes collected from all, and not all those who pay the taxes. Why do factories belong, not to those who built them and work in them, but to a small number of men who did not build them and do not work in them?

The usual answer to the question why the non-workers possess the land of the workers, is, that the land has been granted them for their services, or bought with the money they have earned. The usual answer to the question why some men—a small number of non-workers, rulers and their assistants—take to themselves the greater part of the wealth of the working classes and use it according to their caprices, is, that the men who profit by the money collected from the people, govern them and defend them and establish among them order and wellbeing. The usual answer to the question why the non-workers, the wealthy classes, are in possession of the produce and the instruments of labor of the workers, is, that the produce and instruments of labor have been earned by them or by their ancestors.

And all these men—land-owners and government officials, merchants and factory owners—sincerely believe that their possession is perfectly lawful and that they have a right to it. And yet, neither the ownership of land, nor the collecting of taxes and profiting by them, nor the possession of the produce and instruments of labor by non-working men, has the least justification, because land—like water, or air, or the rays of the sun—is an in-

dispensable condition of every man's life, and therefore it cannot be the exclusive property of one. If land, and not water, air, or sunlight, has become the object of property, it is not because land is not just as indispensable a condition of every man's existence, which cannot therefore be rightly appropriated, but because it is not possible to deprive men of water or the air or the sunlight, whereas it is possible to deprive them of land.

Property in land was established by violence (land was usurped by conquest, and afterwards given away or sold); and in spite of all the attempts to transform it into a right, it still exists only through the violence of the strong and the armed against the feeble and the defenceless.

If only a workingman infringes this imaginary right and begins to plough a field which is considered the property of another man, there appears instantly that on which this imaginary right is based; first, in the form of the police, and afterwards in that of soldiers, who will cut down and shoot those who try to avail themselves of their natural right of drawing their sustenance from the soil. Therefore, what is called the right of landed property is nothing but violence against all who may need that land. Right in land is equivalent to the right which robbers claim in a road they have taken possession of, and along which they allow no one to pass without paying toll.

Still less can the right of governments to enforce taxes find a semblance of justification. It is said that taxes are used for the defence of the State against external enemies, for the establishment and maintenance of internal order, and for the organization of social institutions necessary to all.

But, in the first place, external enemies have long ago ceased to exist, according to the declarations of governments themselves; they all assure their subjects that they desire only peace. The German Emperor desires peace, the French Republic desires peace, England and Russia desire peace, and the Transvaal and China desire it still more. Then, against whom have we to defend ourselves?

In the second place, in order to give money for the establishment of internal order and social institutions, one must be sure that the people who are to establish this order will really do so, and also that the order itself will be a good one, and that the proposed social institutions are indeed necessary for the community.

If, on the contrary, as has been the case always and everywhere, the payers of taxes do not believe either in the capacity, or even in the honesty of those who maintain the system, and besides consider the system itself evil and the proposed institutions utterly inadequate to the needs of the taxpayers, then it is evident that there can exist no right to levy taxes—but only violence.

I remember the wise words of a Russian peasant, a religious and therefore a truly free-thinking man. Like Thoreau, he thought it wrong to pay taxes for purposes his conscience disapproved of, and, when the tax gatherers required him to pay his share, he asked for what purposes the taxes would be used, saying:

"If they are to be employed for righteous uses, I will immediately give not only what you require, but even much more; but if the taxes are destined for evil purposes, then I cannot and will not give a penny, and I refuse to do so of my own free will."

Of course, none stopped to listen to him; instead, they burst open the doors he had closed, took away his cow and sold it for the taxes. Therefore, in reality, there is only one true and actual reason for taxation, namely, the power that collects them—the possibility of robbing those who pay them voluntarily, and even, in case of refusal, of beating and imprisoning and punishing them, as is done continually.

The fact that, in England, France and America, and in all constitutional States, taxes are determined by parliaments, that is, by assemblies of pretended "representatives of the people," does not affect the question, because elections are so organized that the members of parliaments do not represent the people, being nothing but professional politicians, occupied only with their personal ambitions and the interests of their parties; or, if they are not so at first, they become so as soon as they enter parliament.

The justifications of the so-called proprietary rights of non-workers over the produce of other men's labor are equally devoid of foundation.

The rights of property, which are even termed "the sacred rights," are vindicated by the argument that property is the result of abstinence and of industrious activities useful to mankind. Yet, one has only to examine the origin of all great fortunes to be convinced of the contrary.

Fortunes are acquired always either by violence—the most common way—or by avarice, or by some huge villainy, or by chronic

swindling, as in the case of trade. The better a man is, the more sure is he of losing his wealth; and the worse a man, the more sure he is of retaining and increasing his fortune. The common-sense of the people says, "By honest labor one cannot acquire stone palaces," and "By labor one becomes, not a rich man, but a cripple." So it was in ancient times, and so it is, even more so, now, when the distribution of riches has been accomplished in the most inequitable manner. Even if one allow that, in a primitive society, a temperate and industrious man will acquire more than one who is intemperate and lazy, that is not the case in our present society. The workman who ploughs another man's land, who buys the indispensable necessaries of life at the prices demanded of him, and who labors with instruments not his own, can never acquire wealth, however temperate and industrious he may be. On the other hand, the most profligate and idle man who creeps into the good graces of the government or of wealthy people, or who becomes a usurer, or a factory owner, or a banker, or a wine merchant, or the owner of a house of debauchery, can easily acquire a fortune, as we see in thousands of cases.

The laws which claim to protect property are laws protecting only property acquired by theft, which is in the hands of the wealthy; they not only do not protect the workman, who has no property except his labor, but they directly contribute to the exploitation of that labor.

We see numberless administrators—the sovereign, his brothers and uncles, ministers, judges and clergy—receiving enormous sums gathered from the people, and not even performing the light duties undertaken in exchange for their remuneration. It appears, then, that they steal these salaries gathered from the people; and yet, for this theft of the people's property, it does not enter the head of any one to condemn them.

If a workman takes a small part of the money received by these men, or some article bought with this money, he is considered to have violated the sacred rights of property, and for the few farthings he has taken he is tried, imprisoned, or exiled.

A millionaire factory owner promises to pay a workman for his labor a sum which amounts to the ten millionth part of that millionaire's fortune, that is, almost nothing; the workman, forced by hunger, promises to yield, for a year, twelve hours of labor every day, excepting holidays, full of danger, and ruinous to his

health; that is, he promises to surrender to the factory owner the greater part of his life, and sometimes his whole life; and government protects equally the one and the other property.

It is clear that the factory owner, year after year, takes from the workman the greater part of his earnings, which he appropriates to himself. It is obvious, therefore, that the factory owner steals the greater part of the workman's property, and he should accordingly be liable to judgment. But government considers the fortune acquired in this way by the factory owner to be sacred property, and punishes the workman who carries away under his shirt two pounds of brass, representing a millionth part of the factory owner's fortune.

If a workman, as demonstrated in the persecutions of the Jews, tries to deprive the wealthy of a small portion of what has been taken from him by law; if a starving man, as happened recently at Milan, tries to take the bread that the wealthy, profiting by the famine, sell to the poor at exorbitant prices; if the workman tries to get back, by strikes, part of the money that has been stolen from him—he violates the sacred rights of property, and the government with its army immediately comes to the help of land owner and factory owner and merchants, against the workmen. Therefore, the "right" upon which the wealthy have their ownership of land, their appropriation of the fruits of other men's toil, and their exactions of taxes, have nothing in common with justice; and all three are based only on violence maintained by military force.

V.

If a workman wishes to plough a field that he needs for his daily bread, or to elude the payment of direct or indirect taxes, or to reclaim from those who have appropriated it the grain he has himself produced, or to possess himself of the instruments of labor without which he cannot work—immediately appear the troops, and by force prevent him from doing so.

Therefore, taxation, the usurpation of land, and the power of capitalists, do not constitute the fundamental cause of the miserable condition of the working classes, but only a consequence. The essential reason why millions of workingmen live and labor under the orders of the minority, is not that the minority has usurped the land and the instruments of labor and gathers taxes,

but that it has the power to do so; because there is force, and because there is an army which is in the hands of the minority and is ready to kill those who refuse to obey the will of the minority.

If peasants wish to take possession of land which is considered the property of a non-working man, or if they refuse to pay taxes, or if strikers wish to prevent other men from taking their places, immediately there appear those same peasants, payers of taxes and workmen deprived of their land, only they are arrayed in uniforms and armed with guns, who compel their brethren who are not dressed in uniforms to surrender their land, to pay taxes, and to cease their strikes.

When one realizes this for the first time, one cannot believe it; it seems so strange.

The workmen wish to free themselves, and yet they themselves force each other to submit and to remain in slavery!

Why do they do this?

They do it because all the workmen who are enlisted or hired as soldiers are subjected to a skilful process of stupefaction and degradation, after which they cannot help submitting blindly to their superiors, whatever they may be ordered to do.

This is how it is done. A boy is born in the country or in a town. In all the Continental States, as soon as the boy reaches the age when strength, dexterity and suppleness have attained their maximum, and the spiritual forces are in the most confused and undetermined state (about 20 years of age), he is enlisted as a soldier; he is examined, like a beast of burden, and, if physically strong and in good condition, he is enrolled in some regiment, according to his capacities, and forced to swear solemnly that he will obey his superior like a slave. Then he is separated from all his former surroundings; he is made drunk with gin or beer, clothed in a gaudy dress, shut up in barracks with other lads like himself, where he lives in utter idleness—that is, without doing any useful or reasonable work; he is taught the most absurd military rules and names of things, how to use instruments of murder—swords, bayonets, rifles and cannons; and, chief of all, he is taught not only implicit but even automatic obedience to his superiors. That is how things happen in countries where military conscription exists; where none exists, men specially appointed for the purpose look out everywhere for good-for-nothing loafers, who

cannot or do not wish to live by honest labour, generally depraved but strong men, whom they make drunk, bribe, enlist, shut up in barracks, and subject to the same discipline.

The chief aim of the authorities is to reduce these men to the state of the frog whose leg jerks irresistibly as soon as touched.

A good soldier is one who automatically answers to certain shouts of his superiors by certain definite movements, like the frog. This is attained by forcing these miserable men, dressed in similar, many-colored garments, to walk, and turn about, and jump, and do everything in concert, by command, to the sound of music and drums, during weeks and months and years.

For acts of disobedience they are punished in the most cruel way, and sometimes even by death. At the same time, drunkenness, depravity, idleness, foul language and murder, instead of being forbidden, are encouraged, and brothels are provided for them. The soldiers are treated to gin, they are taught shameful songs, and trained to murder. (Murder is considered so good and praiseworthy a deed among this class of men that, in certain cases, officers are required to kill their friends—in so-called duels.) And so a gentle and kind-hearted boy, after a year of such training (earlier than that a soldier is not ready—that is, he still retains human qualities), becomes what the authorities wish him to be, a senseless and cruel, powerful and terrible instrument of violence in the hands of his superiors.

Every time I pass the Imperial Palace at Moscow in winter, and see the young sentinel in his heavy fur coat standing by the sentry box, or pacing in his enormous goloshes along the pavement, carrying on his shoulder a rifle of the latest model with a sharpened bayonet, I look him in the eyes, and invariably he turns away from my glance, and every time the thought strikes me: "Only a year or two ago that man was a bright, country lad, ingenuous and kind-hearted, who would have talked to me cheerfully in good Russian, and related to me, with the consciousness of his peasant's self-respect, his whole history. Now he looks at me full of resentment and dejection, and to all questions he can only answer, 'Yes, sir,' or 'I don't know, sir.' If I forcibly entered the door by which he stands—as I always feel inclined to do—or if I caught his rifle with my hand, he would run his bayonet into my stomach without the slightest hesitation, would draw it out of the wound, wipe it, and continue pacing

along the asphalt in his goloshes, till the corporal came to relieve him, whispering in his ear the password and watchword. And he is not alone," I continue thinking; "in Moscow alone, there are thousands of such boys, almost children, transformed into machines, and armed with rifles. There are millions of them in Russia and all over the world. They have taken these unintelligent, but strong and agile, lads, have bribed and depraved them, and through them rule the world."

This is terrible.

It is terrible that bad and idle people should, with the help of these deceived men, be possessors of all those palaces and that guiltily acquired wealth—that is, of the labor of the whole people.

But most terrible of all it is that, in order to attain these ends, they had to brutalize these simple and kind-hearted lads, and that they have partly succeeded in doing so.

If the possessors of wealth defended their own property, it would not be so infamous; but it is awful that, to enable them to rob and to defend their plunder, they should make use of the very men they have robbed, and in so doing degrade the souls of their victims.

Thus workmen-soldiers use violence against their brother workmen, because there exist means of transforming men into unthinking instruments of slaughter; and governments, having enlisted or hired men as soldiers, subject them to this process.

VI.

But if this is so, then the question naturally arises: Why do men become soldiers? Why do their fathers allow this?

They could become soldiers, and submit to discipline, so long as they did not realize the consequences. But now that they clearly see the results, why do they go on submitting to the deceit?

They do so because they believe military service to be not only a useful, but an undoubtedly praiseworthy and excellent, occupation. And they think it a good and praiseworthy occupation, because they are taught to do so by the training to which they are subjected from childhood, and which is strenuously maintained in later years.

Therefore, the existence of the army, also, is not the fundamental cause, but only a consequence. The first cause is in the

doctrine which teaches men that military service, the aim of which is murder, is not only a sinless, but even a commendable, admirable and heroic occupation.

Thus the cause of the miserable condition of mankind lies even deeper than first appears.

At first, it seems that the root of the evil lies in the fact that land-owners have usurped the land, and capitalists the instruments of labor, and that governments extort taxes by violence; but if one asks oneself why the land belongs to the wealthy and laborers are deprived of its use, and why the working classes must pay taxes without profiting by them, and why not workmen but capitalists are masters of the instruments of labor, one realizes that the cause of it all is the existence of an army, which maintains the possession of the land by the wealthy, collects taxes from the working classes for the use of the wealthy, and protects the wealthy in their ownership of the factories and costly instruments of labor.

When one asks oneself why, in an army, the very workmen who have been deprived of all they need, should persecute themselves, their fathers and their brothers, one sees the reason to be that, by the help of methods specially designed for the purpose, conscripted or hired soldiers are trained in such a manner that they lose all that is human in them, and become unconscious and passive instruments of murder in the hands of their superiors.

Finally, when one asks oneself why men, having realized this deception, still continue to enlist as soldiers or to pay taxes for their hire, one sees that the reason of this is in the doctrine which is taught not only to soldiers but to all men generally—that doctrine, according to which military service is an excellent and praiseworthy occupation, and murder during war an innocent action.

Therefore, the fundamental cause of the evil is the doctrine taught to mankind. From it arise poverty and depravity, hatred, executions, and murder.

What is this doctrine?

It is the doctrine called Christianity, and its substance is as follows: There is a God, who, 6,000 years ago, created the world and the man Adam. Adam sinned; and for his sin God punished all men, and then sent His Son—God, like the Father—to the earth in order that he should be executed. The fact that the

Son of God was crucified delivers men from the punishment they must bear for Adam's sin. If people believe all this, then Adam's sin will be forgiven them; if they do not believe, they will be cruelly punished. Proof that all this is true is given in the fact that it has all been revealed to men by God Himself, knowledge of whose existence is gained from the very men who affirm the doctrine in question. Passing by the various modifications of this fundamental teaching in accordance with different creeds, the general and practical inference from it is the same in all creeds, namely: Men must believe what is taught them, and submit to the existing authorities.

This doctrine is the foundation of the deceit through which men come to consider military service a good and useful occupation, enlist as soldiers, and become like machines, without will, oppressing themselves. If there are unbelievers among these deceived men, they are exceptions; and believing in nothing else, and consequently having no firm basis, they too yield to the general current, and, although they realize the deception, they submit to it as the believers do.

Therefore, in order to remove the evils from which mankind suffers, neither the emancipation of land, nor the abolition of taxes, nor the communizing of the instruments of production, nor even the destruction of existing governments, is required; the only thing needed is the annihilation of the teaching falsely called Christianity, in which the men of our time are educated.

VII.

At first, it seems strange to people who are familiar with the Gospels, that the Christian teaching, which proclaims sonhood to God, spiritual freedom, the brotherhood of man, abolition of all kinds of violence, and even love toward enemies, should have degenerated into the strange doctrine which teaches blind obedience to authority, and even murder if these authorities require it. But if one examines the process by which Christianity entered the world, one realizes the reason for this.

When the Pagan monarchs, Constantine, Charlemagne, Vladimir, adopted Christianity clothed, as it was, in the forms of Paganism, and christened their peoples in the new religion, they did not dream that the teaching they had accepted destroyed the power of kings, the army, and the state itself—institutions with-

out which the men who first adopted and introduced Christianity could not imagine life. At the beginning, not only was the destructive force of Christianity unnoticed, but men even thought that Christianity supported their authority. But the more Christian the people became the more clearly appeared the essence of Christianity, the more evident grew the danger to Paganism it presented. And the greater that danger became the more laboriously did the ruling classes try to stifle, and if possible to quench, the light they had unconsciously brought into the world with Christianity. For this purpose, they used all possible means—prohibition against reading or translating the Gospels; slaughter of all who pointed out the true meaning of the Christian teaching; hypnotism of the masses by the pomp and splendor of rituals; and especially hair-splitting and equivocal distortions of Christian precepts. In proportion as these methods were employed, Christianity became more and more modified, till at last it became a teaching which not only did not contain any principles destructive to the Pagan system of life, but, on the contrary, justified that system from a pseudo-Christian standpoint.

There appeared Christian monarchs, and Christian armies, and Christian wealth, and Christian law courts, and Christian executions. The ruling classes have done for Christianity what doctors do in epidemics. They have prepared a culture of harmless Christianity; and when once it has been inoculated, true Christianity is no longer dangerous. Church-Christianity must inevitably either repel reasonable men as an outrageous absurdity, or else, if adopted, so utterly alienate men from the true Christianity that through this distorted form they can no longer see its real meaning, and even regard the real meaning with anger and animosity.

This Christianity thus made harmless—evolved during centuries by a wish for self-preservation among the ruling classes—with which the people are inoculated, constitutes the teaching through which men obediently perform actions not only hurtful to themselves and their friends, but distinctly immoral and incompatible with the requirements of conscience; the most important of which actions, by its practical consequences, is the performance of military service, that is, willingness to kill.

The evil of this false Christianity consists chiefly in the fact that it neither prescribes nor prohibits anything. All ancient

religions, like the law of Moses, gives rules which require or forbid certain actions; it is the same with the Buddhist and Mohammedan religions; but Church-Christianity gives no rules whatever, except verbal professions of faith, the acknowledgment of dogmas, fasts, sacraments, and prayers (and even these can be eluded by people rich enough); it only lies, and permits everything, even actions contrary to the very lowest requirements of morality.

According to this Church doctrine, everything is allowed. One may have slaves (in Europe and America the church was the champion of slavery); one may acquire fortunes gained from the labor of one's oppressed brethren; one may be wealthy in the midst of crowds of Lazaruses crawling under the tables of the revellers—and that is even very good and praiseworthy, if one gives only one thousandth the part for churches and hospitals; one may keep back by violence one's riches from the needy, and imprison men in solitary cells, and put them in irons, and chain them to trucks, and execute them; all this is blessed by the church. One may lead a depraved life during all one's youth, and then call one of these debaucheries by the name of marriage and have it sanctified by the church. One may even divorce and marry again. And, chief of all, one may kill; one may kill in defending not only one's self, but one's apple trees, or in punishment; and especially one may, and it is even one's duty and praiseworthy to, kill in war, at the order of one's superiors. The church not only sanctions but prescribes this.

Thus the root of all the evil is the false teaching. Abolish the false doctrine, and there will be no more armies; and if there are no armies, the violence, oppression, and deprivation to which nations are subjected will disappear of themselves.

So long as men are educated in the pseudo-Christian doctrine which sanctions everything, including murder, the army will remain in the hands of the minority; and the minority will always use that army to extort from the people the products of their labor, and, what is worse than all, to deprave the people—because, if the people were not depraved, the minority could not take from them the fruits of their toil.

VIII.

The root of all the miseries of the people lies in the false doctrine which is taught them under the name of Christianity.

Therefore, it would seem to the obvious duty of every man who is free from this religious deception and who wishes to serve the people, by word and deed, to aid the deluded masses in delivering themselves from the deception which is the cause of their miserable condition. It would seem that, besides the general duty of every moral man to denounce falsehood and to profess the truth he knows, every man desirous of serving his fellows cannot help, out of pity, wishing to deliver them from the deception to which they are subjected and by which all their misery is caused.

And yet, the very men who are freed from the deception, and independent, and educated on the money of the working people, and therefore bound to serve them, do not realize this.

"Religious doctrines are of no importance," say these people. "It is a question for the conscience of each separate individual. The political, social, and economical organization of society is the necessary and important thing, and to that must be directed all the efforts of the men who wish to serve the people. Religious doctrines are of no importance, and, like all superstitions, they will disappear of themselves when their time comes."

So say these educated men; and wishing to serve the people they enter the service of the government in the army, or as clergy, or members of parliament, endeavoring to improve the external forms of life of the deceived people by participation in the activities of the State, without denouncing the religious deception of which the people are victims. Others, the revolutionists, also do not touch the religious faith of the people, but enter into hostilities with the existing governments, seeking to gain possession of power by the same methods of violence and deception which are used by the governments they oppose. Others, socialists, etc., organize trade unions, co-operations, and strikes, thinking the condition of the people can be improved, although they remain in the same state of superstition or scepticism produced by the false doctrine.

And not only do none of them hinder the diffusion of the false religion which is the cause of all the evil, but when the necessity presents itself, they fulfil the religious rituals which they acknowledge to be a lie; they swear allegiance, they assist at church services and solemnities which stupefy the people; and they do not prevent their own or other people's children from being taught in schools this so-called religious instruction—the very lie upon which is founded the slavery of the people.

This failure of educated people (who, of all others, could and ought to destroy the false doctrine) to comprehend the chief cause of the evil upon which all their energies should be directed, and the diversion of those energies toward false aims, constitute one of the chief reasons why the existing system of life, which is evidently false, and destructive to all men, maintains itself so firmly.

Because the true Christian teaching, which would meet the requirements of our time, is concealed from men, and a false doctrine is taught in its place, therefore arise all the miseries of our world.

If only men who desire to serve God and their neighbors would realize that humanity is moved not by animal requirements, but by moral forces; and that the chief moral force and motive power of humanity is religion, that is, the clear perception of the meaning of life, and, in consequence of this perception, the discrimination between good and evil, between the important and the non-important; if only men were to realize this, they would see immediately that the fundamental cause of the misery of contemporary humanity is not in the external, material circumstances, neither in political nor economic conditions, but in the perversion of Christianity, in the substitution for truths that are necessary to mankind and that correspond to the needs of the present age, of senseless and immoral absurdities and sacrileges, called Church-Christianity, according to which evil is considered good and the unimportant important, and good is considered evil, and the important of no account.

If only the best and unfettered men, sincerely desirous of serving the people, could realize that it is not possible to improve, by any external means, the condition of a man who thinks it wrong to eat meat on Fridays and right to punish by death a guilty individual; or of one who thinks it important to render the customary homage to an image or an emperor, and a minor duty to swear obedience to the will of other men, and to train himself to murder; if only men could realize that neither parliaments nor strikes, nor trade unions nor co-operative societies, inventions, schools, universities, academies, nor revolutions, can be of any real use to men holding a false religious life conception; if only this were understood, all the energies of the best men would naturally be applied, not to the effects, but to the cause; not to State activity or revolutions, or socialism, but to the denunciation of the false

religious doctrine, and the rebuilding of the true one. If only men were to act in this way, all the political, economical, and social questions would be solved naturally—not as we speculate and prescribe, but as they ought to be.

These questions will be solved as soon as men's religious life-conception is transformed; and they will be solved the sooner the more we apply our energies, not to the effects, but to the causes of life's phenomena.

* * * * * * *

Looking at the awful system of human life which now prevails, contrary both to reason and feeling, I asked myself, "Can it possibly be necessary?" And the answer I have found is, "No, it is not necessary." It must not, it cannot, it shall not be. But it will cease to be, not when men have reorganized their relations in one way or another, but when they cease to believe the lie in which they are educated, and believe instead the supreme truth, which was revealed to them nineteen hundred years ago, and is clear, simple, and accessible to their reason. LEO TOLSTOY.

A MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.*

YASNAYA POLYANA.

WHEN I read your letter it seemed to me impossible that I could send any message to the American people. But thinking over it at night, it came to me that, if I had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the fifties. I would mention Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Ballou and Thoreau, not as the greatest, but as those who, I think, specially influenced me. Other names are Channing, Whittier, Lowell, Walt Whitman—a bright constellation, such as is rarely to be found in the literatures of the world.

And I should like to ask the American people why they do not pay more attention to these voices (hardly to be replaced by those of financial and industrial millionaires, or successful generals and admirals), and continue the good work in which they made such hopeful progress. LEO TOLSTOY.

*Extract from a letter from Count Tolstoy to Mr. Edward Garnett.

TOLSTOY AND "RESURRECTION."

BY CONSTANCE GARNETT AND EDWARD GARNETT.

I.

In looking at the countless ranks of writers to-day, writers of every degree, of genius, of talent, of excellence, of mediocrity, and at the ever-thronging crowd of imitators following close behind them, we see that here and there a writer stands out, whom men of different nations with one voice hail as a great figure of the age. These few men, proclaimed by common consent great, cast strangely vivid conceptions of life into the minds of their fellow men by summing up for them, in their creative intensity, the creeds of vital import to their own age, creeds re-embodying the great human truths of all the ages. These rare great writers transfigure the common life of man by breathing into it a new spirit. And these great writers will speak for their age to posterity, not because they have followed present-day paths and tendencies, but because the light which they raise aloft, for men to journey by, lights up the path on which the generation is actually going. Such is the great writer's function—by his own attitude to be in himself a revelation, an interpretation, or a deep-searching criticism, of the spirit of his epoch.

Leo Tolstoy is one of these giants among writers, to whom future ages will turn for their interpretation of nineteenth century Europe. The greatest novelist, perhaps, of his age, he will, one ventures to think, be studied not so much for the strength and beauty of his great art, as for the challenge flung at modernity by his creed and his spirit, making his life-work of greater significance to humanity than that of any of the great European artists since Byron's day. Tolstoy's development is well-known. The novelist, of whom the great artist Turgenieff said: "He is the greatest of contemporary novelists; Europe does not contain his

equal;" the creator, whose analysis of the human soul, in every relation to life, shows a vaster range and deeper insight than is to be found in the work of any nineteenth century writer; the author, whose "War and Peace" and "Anna Karénina" sum up and typify the life of all classes of modern Russia; this man was brought to abandon this art, announcing that his old theory of life was meaningless, asserting that he had slowly gained a new perception of truth—the truth of Christ's Christianity—and he gave as his watchword, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within You."

Tolstoy's full acceptance and proclamation of the Christian precept, "Resist not evil," was a challenge to modernity, inasmuch as it attacks the whole structure of the modern state, and leads logically to the abolition of all such social institutions of civilization as military service, civil justice, taxation, and the Established Church, and would fundamentally alter the relation of the European governing classes towards the people.

Naturally, Tolstoyism was received as pure chimera. The educated public of the European world, the representatives of art and science, of the official classes, and of society generally, deplored the "strange delusions" of so remarkable a man, and declared that Tolstoy's mystical doctrines negate the ideal of progress, and would lead back humanity from civilization to barbarism. Polite society in Russia has tersely set Tolstoy down as mad. Statesmen, politicians, priests, military men, philosophers, and members of the learned professions generally have, with Turgenieff, looked on Tolstoy's philosophy as "mystical, childish and uncompromising," and as the ruin of his art. Nevertheless, indifferent to the almost unanimous verdict of contemporary educated Europe, Tolstoy, for over twenty years, has held to his own path, and has devoted his life to spreading, by his personal example and by his religious writings, his self-developed creed of "Christ's Christianity" as the ideal life for all humanity to follow.

Of late years, however, partly through Tolstoy's action in the Russian famine, and especially through the publication of his last work, "Resurrection," a certain number of men have come to ask themselves whether this educated European opinion in condemning Tolstoy and Tolstoyism was using science truly to determine what the appearance of Tolstoyism indicates, and what its value, what its significance, actually is in the development

of the Russian soul. If Tolstoy's special value to humanity can be shown to turn on his life-creed's being a challenge to modernity, then the cultured and educated opinion that has condemned his action and his gospel may be said to have shown great blindness of understanding. In declaring that Tolstoyism is a "chimera," composed of "the first prattlings of rationalism in religion and of communism in social matters, the old dream of the Millennium, the tradition preserved since the earliest Middle Ages by the Vaudois, the Lollards, and the Anabaptists;"* "a negation of civilization, corrupting in its social and religious influence, leading to a dismemberment of society;"† "perilously near utter materialism and opposed to the very idea of progress," and "an encouragement of Russian indolence"‡—the critics have forgotten to ask themselves whether the spirit of Tolstoy's teaching may not rather be, (1.) the protest of the genius of the Russian people against ineffectual or misdirected progress; (2.) the healthy recoil of the national instinct against the materialism of modern civilization; (3.) the re-awakening of the Russian conscience to the dark history of the people's oppression, the stirring of the Russian soul in mysterious racial depths—depths that the general Slavophil movement and the rival revolutionary campaign of the Liberal and Progressive political parties of the latter half of the century never succeeded in touching. If Tolstoyism be truly a reassertion, a fresh manifestation, of the Russian people's religious attitude to life—that deep religion of faith which has come out of the whole environment and fate and outlook of the people's life—then we may find, after all, that the "cultured European world," in declaring that "Tolstoyism is opposed to the very idea of progress," has naïvely confused material and intellectual progress with spiritual growth—a very different thing. Have we not sad reason to know that the inventions and discoveries of science that led to the factory and industrial system of the early nineteenth century, helped to degrade and brutalize whole generations of English workers, destroying utterly the roots of their old-world culture, and reducing masses of the population in town and country, through "civilization's" agency, below the level of many fine, barbarous races? Often, in the world's history, a nation's material progress has

*M. de Vogüé.
†Prince Volkonsky.[1]
‡K. Waliszewski.

brought along with it its spiritual degradation. And the scientists, the critics, and the intellectual men, in trying to lay down the hard, arbitrary lines of Western civilization for the spiritual development of the Russian people, have essayed a dangerous task, for the soul has its own laws of growth.

Even if Tolstoy's teaching could be defined as a decadent force, and traced to fatalism and passivity springing from the old roots of Russian serfdom still in the soil, its appearance should, for the critic, be as significant, as to the healthy state of the community, as the breaking out of old ulcers is as to the health of a man's body. But, with few exceptions, the "world of culture" has preferred to see in Tolstoy's teaching simply the mystical aberrations of a great genius. So much for the perspicuity of latter-day "science!"

II.

This mistaken verdict on Tolstoy's teaching arises largely from the idea, propagated by Tolstoy himself, of regarding his life, work and career simply as divided between two antagonistic halves—(1.) artist and man of the world, and (2.) Christian and ascetic teacher. Now, though it is quite true that the artist of "The Cossacks" and of "Anna Karénina" (1873) views the world from a standpoint different from that of the moral teacher of "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1894), nevertheless the whole tendency of Tolstoy's novels and tales is ethical; and, though the artist is always strong enough to state life impartially, the reader always feels that, behind these pictures of life, there is the author with his secret goal, faith in God, in goodness, in love of one's fellow-men. Thus, in "Anna Karénina" Levin's search for a moral basis for joy and satisfaction in life is the secret standard against which most of the characters—Anna, Vronsky, Stepan, Kitty, Dolly—are measured, defined, adjudged; in "War and Peace" again, the whole marvellous analysis of modern war—war as a great, hypnotizing force, generated by fraud, vanity, vainglory, destructive of man's moral instincts, debauching the masses by the contagion of its cruel senselessness and far-reaching depravities—is really inspired by Tolstoy's central thought, Why is all this evil delirium and lust of cruelty, this senseless brutality, *glorified* by mankind?

"The Cossacks" enforces Tolstoy's favorite theme of the

superiority of the simple, rude life of the peasant, or Cossack, over the cultured, artificial, complex outlook of the upper-class officer. "Childhood, Boyhood and Youth" is the most remorseless scrutiny of the affectation and self-consciousness of youth and youth's sentimentalism; and, already in this early book, the author is seeking the why and wherefore of life, seeking what can be found worthy under all these veils of illusions and worldly pretences. In "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch" we find again an extraordinarily acute analysis of the life of worldly success, and of the artificiality of the cultured, upper-class conception of life. "Family Happiness," with its presentation of the poetic glamor of romantic love, is as a half-way house of disillusionment on the road to Tolstoy's ascetic ideal of sexual relations, an ideal which we find, years afterward, developed into the absolute asceticism of the "Kreutzer Sonata."

In fact, if we were to deduce a set of clear, simple, practical laws of morality from Tolstoy's novels to guide us in our life on earth, we should find embodied in them nearly all Tolstoy's inner aspirations toward the carrying out of the teaching of the Gospels. But the artist, seeing the inevitability of the characters, and circumstances, and appetites of men, presents us with a clear statement as to how it is that evil and vanity and materialism are perpetually inherent in the worldly scheme of things. The morality is not yet, in the novels, crystallized into a definite code; but it is there in solution. The chief difference between the Tolstoy of 1875 and the Tolstoy of 1895 is not that they are working toward a different goal, but that the latter alone thinks it his duty to tell all men the necessity of trying to reach it. The world, indeed, would like to see Tolstoy keep at the same stage as we see Levin is kept at in "Anna Karénina"—seeking the truth, but sceptical as to the use of teaching it to others. But the critics do not explain to us how it was possible that so great a hatred of war as Tolstoy's, so great a zeal for honesty and simplicity of life, so burning a desire for brotherliness and charity among all men, could find perpetual expression in the artist's mere joy in the representation of life as a spectacle. If we once grant that "Anna Karénina" and "War and Peace" owe their force and grandeur to the keenness of the moralist's vision, examining critically the great panorama of life moving inevitably onwards, then in Tolstoy's further development, either the moral-

ist must have died down—in which case we cannot conceive what his art would have become—or else the moralist must have striven to apply his creed to actual life, finding pure contemplation of life, apart from this ideal, less and less satisfactory.

III.

This last is what actually happened in Tolstoy's development. The ethical teacher came into possession of his kingdom. That this was inevitable, we have hinted above. What literature may have lost, is an open question. In the first place, his criticism and experience of the Russian world, and his peculiar method of analyzing life, he had already given to humanity; in his twenty years of literary work, he had pronounced on History, War, Woman, Love, the relation of the peasant world to the official classes. It was unlikely that a realist of his stamp should deliberately find greater worlds to envisage, having so nearly reached to his spiritual conclusions.

For ourselves, we see Tolstoy's ideas, life and work as forming a continuous, though irregular, advance down a series of commanding slopes, leaving behind the high vantage grounds of art, but finally reaching his destination in the vast plain stretching beneath, the common ground of the brotherhood of men. And it is our contention that "Resurrection" both demonstrates and vindicates the inner necessity of his life's final phase—as a great moral teacher.

IV.

In looking at the list of Russia's chief writers since Pushkin's day, we are struck by one tone common to all of them. While passionately occupied with expressing the Russian soul, they are all more or less accusers of Russian life. Thus Pisemsky, Nekrasov, Shtchedrin, cynics and satirists; thus Ostrovsky, Dostoyevsky, Garshin, Tchehov, Gorky, painters chiefly of the world of darkness; thus even Gogol's and Gontcharov's chief subject matter is the amusing follies and weakness natural to the Russian's life. Even the inaugurators of the new age of Emancipation—Turgenieff, Hertzen, Tchernyshevsky, Bielinsky and Dobrolinbov—are only half-believers in man's ability to conquer for himself a new fate. Tolstoy is the least pessimistic and the least disbelieving of them all, in his pictures of Russian life.

But what does Tolstoy's optimism rest upon? Not faith in man's energy and character—the Anglo-Saxon's stronghold against despair—for the Russian, if we are to believe his delineators, has profound reason to know his own incurable sloth, and inertia, and lack of will; but upon the very foundation of the Russian's moral nature, upon his peculiar sense of the brotherhood of man, of his kinship with his fellows who are beaten down, with the afflicted and the unsuccessful in life's struggle. We find in nearly all Russian writers that their intensely keen and biting criticism of human shortcomings, and their despairing consciousness of men's failure to carry out their aspirations toward the good, are rooted in a feeling of self-accusation, and in their vivid recognition of their own weakness. They, these critics and accusers of Russian life, are no better than anybody; nay, they exalt the sinner, the beggar, the peasant, the victim of vice, and in so doing they manifest their deep sense of human equality and of men's brotherhood, and raise human compassion and charity high as the ideal to be followed. This ideal is never absent from the satirists—Shtchedrin, Pisemsky, Nekrasov—even when they are most bitter, ferocious or despairing, in their pictures of life. But Tolstoy, after Dostoyevsky, of all the great writers is the one who has most cast himself forward in pure faith that to attain to self-renunciation is the one blessed solution—with its rule, "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you." Accordingly, when Tolstoy, after analyzing life, came to the clear conviction that love of humanity is the one great ideal for men on earth to strive after, he was plunging into the deepest depths of the Russian's spiritual nature; and his renunciation of the world, as an æsthetic spectacle of human energy and passion, became symbolic of the aspiration that redeems the national life itself, became symbolic of the process by which Russian spirituality is evolved out of the hard pressure of nature on man, out of the hard legacy that the bitterness of Russian history has left from generation to generation.

What is the strongest quality of the Russian mind? The intellectual sincerity which we call his *realism,* acquired through contact with perpetual sorrow, through never being able to escape the perception of the nothingness of the individual life beside the power of the Earth, of Nature, of the Will of God in decreeing the lines of man's fate. Nothing keeps a man so scrupulously

honest with himself, so bitterly free from illusions and sentimentalities and romanticism, as feeling constantly within him his own weakness and ineffectualness in facing the stern, harsh facts which dominate life around him. Accordingly, the Russian nature has, in self-defence, to find *in the very recognition of the harsh reality* crushing it, the elements of its chief strength; and its feeling of its own weakness it is which creates its comprehension and love and idealization of the sufferer. This comprehension and deification of suffering is the deepest, the richest, possession of the Russian nature. It is this spirituality, arising from *unworthiness,* which forbids it to pass judgment. Without this national consciousness of suffering, this tenderness of perception and instinctive sympathy, the Russian soul could not exist; it is its way of escape from hardening into the monstrous inhumanity of acquiescence in evil. And thus Tolstoyism, as the expression of Christ's Christianity, may be said to be the long accumulating outcry of a people's accusing conscience, of their bad conscience, of the perception of the seas of human suffering, poverty, sorrow, disease, stagnation, in Russian history, in the Russian earth, and in the modern Russian state. The "cultured and educated European world," therefore, that serenely pushes forward science, education, progress as the panacea for the evils of life in Holy Russia, are like physicians called in to prescribe material remedies for the soul's anguish. Schools, science, free political institutions may be, and are, one side of the "progress" necessary; but, through the immense difficulty of introducing foreign institutions into the life of the people, this treatment, though backed by the ceaseless propaganda of two generations of Russian social and political reformers, cannot be said to have shown great results. And therefore may we not argue that to call forth, as Tolstoy does, fresh floods of the love, the brotherhood, the charity that the Russian by the necessity of his life carries ever within him, points to one of the most natural, the most simple, paths of progress that the people's development can take? Is not Tolstoyism, in this sense, the sign of a national movement in Russia of the deepest significance?

V.

Fortunately for humanity, Tolstoy has in "Resurrection" revealed his gospel, so that no thoughtful reader can possibly mis-

take it. In attacking the main institutions of the organized state, the government, the army, the law-courts, he is again giving expression to what lies at the root of the genuine Russian outlook upon life. All the modern state's complex institutions, such as the law, are in a sense opposed to the Russian genius, because they substitute for the living impulse toward the communal virtues of the individual a frigid, systematized code-morality. Now Tolstoy's life-work has been one long struggle against the sway over men's minds of rote ideas, or words of command from abstract authority in any shape—from Church dogma, class convention, the assumption of superiority of the classes, the particular science or education in fashion. To them he opposes the simple, instinctive morality of the people, the morality that has grown up out of the actual facts of life itself. The artificiality, pretentiousness, falsity, mechanical morality of cultured society, which borrows its patchwork of authoritative ideas from many heterogeneous civilizations, and does not derive them from its own work and joy in life, is shown by Tolstoy to afford but poor soil from which any fine national life, or, indeed, any deep philosophy of life, can spring.

The one question that Tolstoy, like all great creators, asks, is: What does the individual man *think and feel* amidst the imposing appearances of a society based on worldly success and power? The amazing triumph of "Resurrection" is that it demonstrates that official Russia, and the European upper classes generally, have elaborated a complex structure of state-regulated morality, equally false in relation to the facts of the people's life and the needs of their soul. In "Resurrection," we have the whole imposing machinery of State-Justice sketched for us, and we behold it at work distorting the humane instincts, the common sense, the very impulse of justice in every living man and woman brought within reach to assist at its triumph. The great state that perpetually manufactures criminals by its organization of compulsory military service, its drink traffic, its grinding taxation of the peasant, its legalized corruption among officials, its suppression of the private individual's efforts to organize education—the state that has exiled the finest flower of its intellectual youth —fabricates a false state-morality out of the very mouths of those whose livelihood depends upon keeping themselves in perpetual power.

In this sense, the modern state and state-morality are like two great wheels, continually turning men by their irresistible force from exercising their simple human instincts of justice and mercy toward their fellows. The upper classes will continue to exploit the peasants for the benefit of the state. The officials will continue to judge and persecute the victims of state-manufactured vice for the sake of governmental security. Society will continue to explain that "science," "progress," and "reform" depend upon the machinery of the state being kept in the hands of the bureaucracy—to continue the caste system *ad infinitum.* And to an outsider it would, indeed, seem that an administrative system, whereby the official world throws responsibility for evil on the machinery itself, is peculiarly calculated to foster from generation to generation the national malady of indolence. Thus the growth of state domination, and the extension of state-morality, may actually mean the *gradual putting to sleep of the national conscience.* If, for example, the governing world makes it inevitable that whole peasant communities should rot with syphilis (through the state's returning infected recruits straight back to their native villages), and science is only called in to assist in the perpetration of such enormities; and, further, if the bureaucracy devise a severe code of punishment for the Progressives who combine to introduce social reforms, may not Tolstoy's "Bind not yourself to the state" be a preservative of the moral ideas of the race, against the misapplication of Western civilization? And in a wider sense applying to the life of all European communities, Tolstoyism may signify the protest of the individual soul against the subjugation of the community's sense of right and wrong by that aggressive Spirit of the Age, which, under the plea of "civilization," would exploit nineteen-twentieths of humanity for the benefit of its masters—capitalists, commercialists, militarists, imperialistic statesmen, empire-builders.

Is not that what Tolstoy's work has always done for us, in "War and Peace" as in "Resurrection"—viz: to arraign before the judgment of each man's heart the community's dogmas, the dogmas which mankind generates whenever it gathers itself together in bodies, coteries or masses, whether as aristocratic society, or commercial classes, or democracy, or caucuses, or an army on the march, or as the churches and their flocks? Perpetually Tolstoy shows us that the oracular pronouncement of the official, or

priest, or general, or diplomatist, before which men bow their heads in awed reverence, is for the most part but an imposing falsehood to dupe the average man, stifling and strangling the human impulse, the sense of right and wrong, and the very common sense of the magnate himself. Mankind is taken in by these impressive shams, by the pomp and prestige of office, by the "glory" of military life, by the "reputation" of politicians, by the material shows of commerce, by the ceremonial of royalty, by the "scientific" laws by which economists dignify the exploitation of the multitude for the gain of the few. And if men, as Tolstoy does, could pierce through these cunningly built-up appearances by which worldly power decrees the course each generation shall take, they would be amazed at the sham sense, the sham thought, sham feeling which leads and directs the average human mind to acquiesce and assist in the world's constant folly and wrong-doing.

Examine Tolstoy's method of analysis:

THE PEASANT WORLD.

"Nekhlúdoff asked the foreman to let the women take the cows, and went back into the garden to go on thinking out his problem, but there was nothing more to think about.

"Everything seemed so clear to him now that he could not stop wondering how it was that everybody did not see it, and that he himself had for such a long while not seen what was so clearly evident. The people were dying out, and had got used to the dying out process, and had formed habits of life adapted to this process; there was the great mortality among the children, the over-working of the women, the under-feeding, especially of the aged. And so gradually had the people come to this condition that they did not realize the full horrors of it, and did not complain. Therefore, we consider their condition natural and as it should be. Now it seemed as clear as daylight that the chief cause of the people's great want was one that they themselves knew and

THE OFFICIAL WORLD.

"Count Iván Michâelovitch had been a minister, and was a man of strong convictions. The convictions of Count Iván Michâelovitch consisted in the belief that, just as it was natural for a bird to feed on worms, to be clothed in feathers and down, and to fly in the air, so it was natural for him to feed on the choicest and most expensive food, prepared by highly-paid cooks, to wear the most comfortable and most expensive clothing, to drive with the best and fastest horses, and that, therefore, all these things should be ready found for him. Besides this, Count Iván Michâelovitch considered that the more money he could get out of the treasury by all sorts of means, the more orders he had, including different diamond insignia of something or other, and the oftener he spoke to highly-placed individuals of both sexes, so much the better it was.

"All the rest Count Iván Michâelovitch considered insignificant and uninteresting beside these

always pointed out, *i. e.*, that the land which alone could feed them had been taken from them by the landlords.

"And how evident it was that the children and the aged died because they had no milk, and they had no milk because there was no pasture land, and no land to grow corn or make hay on. It was quite evident that all the misery of the people or, at least, by far the greater part of it, was caused by the fact that the land which should feed them was not in their hands, but in the hands of those who, profiting by their rights to the land, live by the work of these people. The land so much needed by men was tilled by these people, who were on the verge of starvation, so that the corn might be sold abroad and the owners of the land might buy themselves hats and canes, and carriages and bronzes, &c. He understood this as clearly as he understood that horses when they have eaten all the grass in the inclosure where they are kept will have to grow thin and starve unless they are put where they can get food off other land.

"This was terrible and must not go on. Means must be found to alter it, or at least not to take part in it. 'And I will find them,' he thought, as he walked up and down the paths under the birch trees.

"In scientific circles, Government institutions and in the papers we talk about the causes of the poverty among the people, and the means of ameliorating their condition; but we do not talk of the only one means which would certainly lighten their condition, *i. e.*, giving back to them the land they need so much."

"Ressurection" (Chapter vi.)

* * * * *

"When they came nearer the prison, and the isvóstchik turned dogmas. All the rest might be as it was, or just the reverse. Count Iván Michâelovitch lived and acted according to these lights for forty years, and at the end of forty years reached the position of a Minister of State. The chief qualities that enabled Count Iván Michâelovitch to reach this position were his capacity of understanding the meaning of documents and laws and of drawing up, though clumsily, intelligible State papers, and of spelling them correctly; secondly, his very stately appearance, which enabled him, when necessary, to seem not only extremely proud, but unapproachable and majestic, while at other times he could be abjectly and almost passionately servile; thirdly, the absence of any general principles or rules, either of personal or administrative morality, which made it possible for him either to agree or disagree with anybody according to what was wanted at the time. When acting thus his only endeavor was to sustain the appearance of good breeding and not to seem too plainly inconsistent. As for his actions being moral or not, in themselves, or whether they were going to result in the highest evil or greatest welfare for the whole of the Russian Empire, or even the entire world, that was quite indifferent to him. When he became a Minister, not only those dependent on him (and there were a great many of them) and people connected with him, but many strangers, and even he himself were convinced that he was a very clever statesman. But after some time had elapsed, and he had done nothing and had nothing to show, and when in accordance with the law of the struggle for existence others, like himself, who had learned to write and understand documents, stately and unprincipled officials, had displaced

off the paved on to the macadamized road, it became easier to talk, and he again turned to Nekhlúdoff.

" 'And what a lot of these people are flocking to the town nowadays; it's awful,' he said, turning round on the box and pointing to a party of peasant workmen who were coming towards them carrying saws, axes, sheepskins, coats and bags strapped to their shoulders.

" 'More than in other years?' Nekhlúdoff asked.

" 'By far. This year every place is crowded, so that it's just terrible. The employers just fling the workmen about like chaff. Not a job to be got.'

" 'Why is that?'

" 'They've increased. There's no room for them.'

" 'Well, what if they have increased? Why do not they stay in the village?'

" 'There's nothing for them to do in the village—no land to be had.' "

"Nekhlúdoff felt as one does when touching a sore place. It feels as if the bruised part was always being hit; yet it is only because the place is sore that the touch is felt.

" 'Is it possible that the same thing is happening everywhere?' he thought, and began questioning the isvóstchik about the quantity of land in his village, how much land the man himself had, and why he had left the country.

" 'We have a desiatin per man, sir,' he said. 'Our family have three men's shares of the land. My father and a brother are at home, and manage the land, and another brother is serving in the army. But there's nothing to manage. My brother has had thoughts of coming to Moscow, too.'

" 'And cannot land be rented?'

" 'How's one to rent it nowadays? The gentry, such as they him, he turned out to be not only far from clever but very limited and badly educated. Though self-assured, his views hardly reaching the level of those in the leading articles of the Conservative papers, it became apparent that there was nothing in him to distinguish him from those other badly educated and self-assured officials who had pushed him out, and he himself saw it. But this did not shake his conviction that he had to receive a great deal of money out of the Treasury every year, and new decorations for his dress clothes. This conviction was so firm that no one had the pluck to refuse these things to him, and he received yearly, partly in form of a pension, partly as a salary for being a member in a Government institution and chairman of all sorts of committees and councils, several tens of thousands of roubles, besides the right—highly prized by him—of sewing all sorts of new cords to his shoulders and trousers, and ribbons to wear under and enamel stars to fix on to his dress coat. In consequence of this Count Iván Michaélovitch had very high connections."

"Resurrection" (Chapter xv.)

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"Vladimir Vasilievitch Wolf was certainly *un homme très comme il faut*, and prized this quality very highly, and from that elevation he looked down at everybody else. He could not but esteem this quality of his very highly, because it was thanks to it alone that he had made a brilliant career, the very career he desired—*i. e.*, by marriage he obtained a fortune which brought him in 18,000 roubles a year, and by his own exertions the post of a senator. He considered himself not only *un homme très comme il faut*, but also a man of knightly honor. By honor he understood not accepting secret

were, have squandered all theirs. Men of business have got it all into their own hands. One can't rent it from them. They farm it themselves.' "

"Resurrection" (Chapter xii.)

bribes from private persons. But he did not consider it dishonest to beg money for payment of fares and all sorts of travelling expenses from the Crown, and to do anything the Government might require of him in return. To ruin hundreds of innocent people, to cause them to be imprisoned, to be exiled because of their love of their people and the religion of their fathers, as he had done in one of the governments of Poland when he was governor there."

"Resurrection" (Chapter xiv.)

The broad justice of this analysis of the life of the rich and the poor is indisputable. These two pictures, true to every age, might be paralleled in the literature of every people, and especially in the Old Testament, which is continually inveighing against the rich man who grinds the faces of the poor. Where Tolstoy's peculiar genius comes in, however, is in explaining how it is that, when the facts of life have been crystallized into a particularly evil system, the community, one and all, invent a special doctrine by which it is sanctioned and maintained. Against collective human greed and the contagious ideas it generates in the crowd, Tolstoy shows us there is only one weapon—the moral indignation of the heart. It is useless to enter into argument with society, for society forthwith calls upon the scientists and economists and professors to show that any particular manifestation of human lust and cruelty is, in fact, for the ultimate good, and not for the harm, of humanity at large. To combat the vice and folly and stupidity of human society, Tolstoy presents a final resource for the individual, in his simple refusal to take any part in the organization of the state.

VI.

In our judgment, Tolstoyism, as a moral force, cannot be summed up or estimated from the number of its actual adherents. It is the idea, the moral idea, it brings—the great state as a collective organization works to stultify the moral sense of its individual members—that may hereafter help intelligent men to loosen the over-tight bonds the community imposes on its members. The danger of bodies of men being led to support, collectively, acts which, in their individual judgment, each condemns,

grows in proportion to numbers, as America lately has reason to know.

And as public opinion becomes more and more cosmopolitan, and ideas are interchanged swiftly and easily among all groups, all nations and all communities, mankind may well grow more and more skeptical as to the special sanctity of each state's decrees which set the patriots of one nation busily slaughtering the patriots of the next. Tolstoyism, construed as the individual's right to act on the moral impulse of his heart, and to refuse to kill his fellow man at the dictates of State or Church, at the suggestion of politician or journalist, this may yet be a force in progress which future ages, disputing our modern scientists' dicta, may come to count as an "advance."

VII.

Leaving on one side the question of the force Tolstoyism may exercise in man's development in the future, let us state in a few words Tolstoy's place as a great representative man. It must be allowed that, at this epoch, the civilized world is in a curiously chaotic state in all that concerns its moral beliefs. The standards of science, hastily introduced, have half-destroyed for the average mind the old standards of religion; and it is very doubtful whether men can ever guide themselves by, or master, a real science of morals. Tolstoy makes his final appeal to the heart of the individual man.

Tolstoyism is not "the old dream of the millennium, the tradition of the Lollards and the Anabaptists," because, though half-resting on the faith that the altruistic life is best for man, it rests partly on the intellectual theory that man's immorality is determined by the hypnotic influence of the mass on its members, and that, where the individual man shall dare to bring into action his innate morality, he will gain in intelligence as he more and more escapes being the passive tool of others.

On the side of its propaganda of moral asceticism, Tolstoyism may, perhaps, be summed up as a reversion to primitive Christianity; but, on the side of its destructive criticism of state-morality, it must be looked upon as an emancipating intellectual movement.

Anyway, Tolstoy's significance to Russia is not to be challenged. The enormous and rapid expansion of the Russian Empire over Central Asia, from Siberia to the gates of China, her

building of great railways, subjugation of barbarous tribes, and advance to the Pacific—how has all this immense work been paid for? By the blood and sweat of the Russian peasant. Unborn Russian generations and the inhabitants of new territories may reap ultimately the benefit of Russia's advance, as the high priests of "civilization" affirm. But if the vast system is inevitable, is it well that the cry of distress from the exploited Russian workers should call forth no answering cry of indignation from those who speak for the people? We see that while Russia's masses are still kept in semi-mediæval ignorance and suffering, while the compensations of mediæval life have vanished long ago, while the discoveries of science load fresh burdens on the workers' backs, the great thinker who stands for the conscience of his race is driven deep into his own soul, into the national soul, into the depths of faith in the brotherhood of man.

Tolstoy is like a giant striding two worlds; he brings together the upper-class world, with its routine official work, its ineffectual fatherliness and dilettantism, and the peasant world, with its primitive faith, its bitter sorrows, its naïve credulity. For "culture" and for the critics to say of Tolstoy's gospel, "This ought not to be," or "This ought to be different," is like putting the question, "Do I approve of the history of Russia?" As we have said, the really great representative men stand each for the human embodiment of centuries of their people's tendencies, and centuries of their character and outlook necessitated by their history and environment. They are as great rivers of inherent nationalism, which, rising, show to the eye the rush and swollen volume of the torrent of present-day questions, but rivers whose bed, whose banks, whose course, have been carved by past ages, and cannot be otherwise than they are. For Tolstoy, the great artist and great moralist, to adequately represent his people, it was necessary for him to return to the deepest wells of their faith, and bring again before the Russian mind the vital import, to the great world of workers, of the brotherhood of men. And the protest of "Resurrection" against the onrush of humanity's materialism and greed will seem to future generations as a rescuing hand releasing the flesh of suffering men from the ordered mechanism of our modern society's vast and complex machine.

CONSTANCE GARNETT,
EDWARD GARNETT.

TO MY MISSIONARY CRITICS.

BY MARK TWAIN.

I HAVE received many newspaper cuttings; also letters from several clergymen; also a note from the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions—all of a like tenor; all saying, substantially, what is said in the cutting here copied:

"AN APOLOGY DUE FROM MR. CLEMENS.

"The evidence of the past day or two should induce Mark Twain to make for the amen corner and formulate a prompt apology for his scathing attack on the Rev. Dr. Ament, the veteran Chinese missionary. The assault was based on a Pekin dispatch to the New York *Sun*, which said that Dr. Ament had collected from the Chinese in various places damages thirteen times in excess of actual losses. So Mark Twain charged Mr. Ament with bullyragging, extortion and things. A Pekin dispatch to the *Sun* yesterday, however, explains that the amount collected was not thirteen times the damage sustained, but *one-third in excess of the indemnities*, and that the blunder was due to a cable error in transmission. The 1-3d got converted into 13. Yesterday the Rev. Judson Smith, Secretary of the American Board, received a dispatch from Dr. Ament, calling attention to the cable blunder, and declaring that all the collections which he made were *approved by the Chinese officials*. The fractional amount that was collected in *excess* of actual losses, he explains, is being *used for the support of widows and orphans*.

"So collapses completely—and convulsively—Mark Twain's sensational and ugly bombardment of a missionary whose character and services should have exempted him from such an assault.

"From the charge the underpinning has been knocked out. To Dr. Ament Mr. Clemens has done an injustice which is gross but unintentional. If Mark Twain is the man we take him to be he won't be long in filing a retraction, plus an apology."

I have no prejudice against apologies. I trust I shall never withhold one when it is due; I trust I shall never even have a disposition to do so. These letters and newspaper paragraphs are entitled to my best attention; respect for their writers and for the humane feeling which has prompted their utterances requires this of me. It may be barely possible that, if these requests for

an apology had reached me before the 20th of February, I might have had a sort of qualified chance to apologize; but on that day appeared the two little cablegrams referred to in the newspaper cutting copied above—one from the Rev. Dr. Smith to the Rev. Dr. Ament, the other from Dr. Ament to Dr. Smith—and my small chance died then. In my opinion, these cablegrams ought to have been suppressed, for it seems clear that they give Dr. Ament's case entirely away. Still, that is only an opinion, and may be a mistake. It will be best to examine the case from the beginning, by the light of the documents connected with it.

EXHIBIT A.

This is a dispatch from Mr. Chamberlain,* chief of the *Sun's* correspondence staff in Pekin. It appeared in the *Sun* last Christmas Eve, and in referring to it hereafter I will call it the "C. E. dispatch" for short:

"The Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, has returned from a trip which he made for the purpose of collecting indemnities for damages done by Boxers. Everywhere he went he compelled the Chinese to pay. He says that all his native Christians are now provided for. He had seven hundred of them under his charge, and three hundred were killed. He has collected 300 taels for each of these murders, and has compelled full payment for all the property belonging to Christians that was destroyed. He also assessed fines amounting to thirteen times† the amount of the indemnity. This money will be used for the propagation of the Gospel.

"Mr. Ament declares that the compensation he has collected is moderate when compared with the amount secured by the Catholics, who demand, in addition to money, head for head. They collect 500 taels for each murder of a Catholic. In the Wen-Chiu country 680 Catholics were killed, and for this the European Catholics here demand 750,000 strings of cash and 680 heads.

"In the course of a conversation Mr. Ament referred to the attitude of the missionaries toward the Chinese. He said:

"'I deny emphatically that the missionaries are vindictive, that they generally looted, or that they have done anything since the siege that the circumstances did not demand. I criticise the Americans. The soft hand of the Americans is not as good as the mailed fist of the Germans. If you deal with the Chinese with a soft hand they will take advantage of it.'"

In an article addressed "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, I made some comments upon this C. E. dispatch.

In an Open Letter to me, from the Rev. Dr. Smith, published

*Testimony of the manager of the Sun.

†Cable error. For "thirteen times" read "one-third." This correction was made by Dr. Ament in his brief cablegram published Feb. 20, above referred to.

in the *Tribune* of February 15th, doubt is cast upon the authenticity of the dispatch.

Up to the 20th of February, this doubt was an important factor in the case: Dr. Ament's brief cablegram, published on that date, took the importance all out of it.

In the Open Letter, Dr. Smith quotes this passage from a letter from Dr. Ament, dated November 13th. The italics are mine:

"*This* time I proposed to settle affairs *without the aid of soldiers* or legations."

This cannot mean two things, but only one: that, previously, he *had* collected by armed force.

Also, in the Open Letter, Dr. Smith quotes some praises of Dr. Ament and the Rev. Mr. Tewksbury, furnished by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, and says:

"Dr. Sheffield is not accustomed to speak thus of *thieves*, or *extortioners*, or *braggarts*."

What can he mean by those vigorous expressions? Can he mean that the first two would be applicable to a missionary who should collect from B, with the "aid of soldiers," indemnities possibly due by A, and upon occasion go out looting?

EXHIBIT B.

Testimony of George Lynch (endorsed as entirely trustworthy by the *Tribune* and the *Herald*), war correspondent in the Cuban and South African wars, and in the march upon Pekin for the rescue of the legations. The italics are mine:

"When the *soldiers* were prohibited from looting, no such prohibitions seemed to operate with the *missionaries*. For instance, the *Rev. Mr. Tewksbury held a great sale of looted goods, which lasted several days.*

"A day or two after the relief, when looking for a place to sleep in, I met the Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions. *He told me* he was going to take possession of the house of a wealthy Chinaman who was an old enemy of his, as he had interfered much in the past with his missionary labors in Pekin. A couple of days afterward *he did so*, and held a *great sale of his enemy's effects.* I bought a sable cloak at it for $125, and a couple of statues of Buddha. As the stock became depleted *it was replenished by the efforts of his converts, who were ransacking the houses in the neighborhood.*"—*N. Y. Herald, Feb.* 18.

It is Dr. Smith, not I, who has suggested that persons who act in this way are "thieves and extortioners."

EXHIBIT C.

Sir Robert Hart, in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1901.

This witness has been for many years the most prominent and important Englishman in China, and bears an irreproachable reputation for moderation, fairness and truth-speaking. In closing a description of the revolting scenes which followed the occupation of Pekin, when the Christian armies (with the proud exception of the American soldiery, let us be thankful for that,) gave themselves up to a ruthless orgy of robbery and spoliation, he says (the italics are mine):

"And even some *missionaries* took such a *leading* part in 'spoiling the Egyptians' for the greater glory of God that a bystander was heard to say: *'For a century to come Chinese converts will consider looting and vengeance Christian virtues!'* "

It is Dr. Smith, not I, who has suggested that persons who act in this way are "thieves and extortioners." According to Mr. Lynch and Mr. Martin (another war correspondent), Dr. Ament helped to spoil several of those Egyptians. Mr. Martin took a photograph of the scene. It was reproduced in the *Herald.* I have it.

EXHIBIT D.

In a brief reply to Dr. Smith's Open Letter to me, I said this in the *Tribune.* I am italicizing several words—for a purpose:

"Whenever he (Dr. Smith) can produce from the Rev. Mr. Ament an assertion that the *Sun's* character-blasting dispatch was not authorized *by him,* and whenever Dr. Smith can buttress Mr. Ament's disclaimer with a confession from *Mr. Chamberlain,* the head of the Laffan News Service in China, that that dispatch was a false invention *and unauthorized,* the case against Mr. Ament will fall at once to the ground."

EXHIBIT E.

Brief cablegrams, referred to above, which passed between Dr. Smith and Dr. Ament, and were published on February 20th:

"Ament, Peking: Reported December 24 your collecting thirteen times actual losses; using for propagating the Gospel. Are these statements true? Cable specific answer. SMITH."

"Statement untrue. Collected 1-3 for church expenses, additional actual damages; now supporting widows and orphans. Publication thirteen times blunder cable. All collections received approval Chinese officials, who are urging further settlements same line. AMENT."

Only two questions are asked; "specific" answers required; no perilous wanderings among the other details of the unhappy dispatch desired.

EXHIBIT F.

Letter from Dr. Smith to me, dated March 8th. The italics are mine; they tag inaccuracies of statement:

"Permit me to call your attention to the marked paragraphs in the inclosed papers, and to ask you to note their relation to the two conditions named in your letter to the *New York Tribune* of February 15th.

"The first is *Dr. Ament's denial of the truth of the dispatch in the New York 'Sun'* of December 24th, on which your criticisms of him in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of February were founded. The second is a correction by the *'Sun's' special correspondent* in Peking of the dispatch printed in the *Sun* of December 24th.

"Since, as you state in your letter to the *Tribune*, 'the case against Mr. Ament would fall to the ground' *if Mr. Ament denied the truth* of the *Sun's* first dispatch, and *if the 'Sun's' news agency* in Peking also *declared that dispatch false*, and these two conditions *have thus been fulfilled*, I am sure that upon having these *facts* brought to your attention you will gladly withdraw the criticisms that were *founded on a 'cable blunder.'*"

I think Dr. Smith ought to read me more carefully; then he would not make so many mistakes. Within the narrow space of two paragraphs, totaling eleven lines, he has scored nine departures from fact out of a possible 9½. Now, is that parliamentary? I do not treat him like that. Whenever I quote him, I am particular not to do him the least wrong, or make him say anything he did not say.

(1.) Mr. Ament doesn't "deny the truth of the C. E. dispatch;" he merely changes one of its phrases, without materially changing the meaning, and (immaterially) corrects a cable blunder (which correction I accept). He was asked no question about the other four-fifths of the C. E. dispatch. (2.) I said nothing about "special" correspondents; I named the right and responsible man—Mr. Chamberlain. The "correction" referred to is a repetition of the one I have just accepted, which (immaterially) changes "thirteen times" to "one-third" extra-tax. (3.) I did not say anything about "the *Sun's* news agency;" I said "Chamberlain." I have every confidence in Mr. Chamberlain, but I am not personally acquainted with the others. (4.) Once more—Mr. Ament didn't "deny the truth" of the C. E. dispatch, but merely made unimportant emendations of a couple of its many details. (5.) I did not say "if Mr. Ament denied the truth" of the C. E. dispatch: I said, if he would assert that the dispatch was not "authorized" *by him*. For example, I did not suppose that the charge that the Catholic missionaries wanted 680 Chinamen beheaded was true; but I did want to know if Dr. Ament personally authorized that statement and the others, as coming from his lips. Another detail: one of my conditions was that

Mr. Chamberlain must not stop with confessing that the C. E. was a "false invention," he must also confess that it was *"unauthorized."* Dr. Smith has left out that large detail. (6.) The *Sun's* news agency did not "declare the C. E. dispatch false," but confined itself to correcting one unimportant detail of its long list—the change of "13 times" to "one-third" extra. (7.) The "two conditions" have not "been fulfilled"—far from it. (8.) Those details labeled "facts" are only fancies. (9.) Finally, my criticisms were by no means confined to that detail of the C. E. dispatch which we now accept as having been a "cable blunder."

Setting to one side these nine departures from fact, I find that what is left of the eleven lines is straight and true. I am not blaming Dr. Smith for these discrepancies—it would not be right, it would not be fair. I make the proper allowances. He has not been a journalist, as I have been—a trade wherein a person is brought to book by the rest of the press so often for divergencies that, by and by, he gets to be almost morbidly afraid to indulge in them. It is so with me. I always have the disposition to tell what is not so; I was born with it; we all have it. But I try not to do it now, because I have found out that it is unsafe. But with the Doctor of course it is different.

EXHIBIT G.

I wanted to get at the whole of the facts as regards the C. E. dispatch, and so I wrote to China for them, when I found that the Board was not going to do it. But I am not allowed to wait. It seemed quite within the possibilities that a full detail of the facts might furnish me a chance to make an apology to Mr. Ament—a chance which, I give you my word, I would have honestly used, and not abused. But it is no matter. If the Board is not troubled about the bulk of that lurid dispatch, why should I be? I answered the apology-urging letters of several clergymen with the information that I had written to China for the details, and said I thought it was the only sure way of getting into a position to do fair and full justice to all concerned; but a couple of them replied that it was not a matter that could wait. That is to say, groping your way out of a jungle in the dark with guesses and conjectures is better than a straight march out in the sunlight of fact. It seems a curious idea.

However, those two clergymen were in a large measure right—

from their point of view and the Board's; which is, putting it in the form of a couple of questions:

1. *Did Dr. Ament collect the assessed damages and thirteen times over?* The answer is: He did *not.* He collected only *a third* over.

2. *Did he apply the third to the "propagation of the Gospel?"* The answer is this correction: He applied it to "church expenses." Part or all of the outlay, it appears, goes to "supporting widows and orphans." It may be that church expenses and supporting widows and orphans are not part of the machinery for propagating the Gospel. I supposed they were, but it isn't any matter; I prefer this phrasing; it is not so blunt as the other.

In the opinion of the two clergymen and of the Board, these two points are *the only important ones* in the whole C. E. dispatch.

I accept that. Therefore let us throw out the rest of the dispatch as being no longer a part of Dr. Ament's case.

EXHIBIT H.

The two clergymen and the Board are quite content with Dr. Ament's answers upon the two points.

Upon the first point of the two, my own viewpoint may be indicated by a question:

Did Dr. Ament collect from B, (whether by compulsion or simple demand), even so much as a penny in payment for murders or depredations, without knowing, beyond question, that B, and not another, committed the murders or the depredations?

Or, in other words:

Did Dr. Ament ever, by chance or through ignorance, make the innocent pay the debts of the guilty?

In the article entitled "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," I put forward that point in a paragraph taken from Macallum's (imaginary) "History":

EXHIBIT I.

"When a white Boxer kills a Pawnee and destroys his property the other Pawnees do not trouble to seek *him* out; they kill any white person that comes along; also, they make some white village pay deceased's heirs the full cash value of deceased, together with full cash value of the property destroyed; they also make the village pay, in addition, *thirteen times** the value of that property into a fund for the dissemination of the Pawnee religion, which they regard as the best of all religions for the softening and humanizing of the heart of man. It is their idea that it is only fair and right *that the innocent should be made to suffer for the guilty,* and that it is better that ninety

*For "thirteen times" read "one-third."—M. T.

and nine innocent should suffer than that one guilty person should escape."

We all know that Dr. Ament did not bring suspected persons into a duly organized court and try them by just and fair Christian and civilized methods, but proclaimed his "conditions," and collected damages from the innocent and the guilty alike, without any court proceedings at all.* That he himself, and not the villagers, made the "conditions," we learn from his letter of November 13th, already quoted from—the one in which he remarked that, upon *that* occasion, he brought no soldiers with him. The italics are mine:

"After our *conditions* were known many villagers came of their own accord and brought their money with them."

Not all, but "many." The Board really believes that those hunted and harried paupers out there were not only willing to strip themselves to pay Boxer damages, whether they owed them or not, but were sentimentally eager to do it. Mr. Ament says, in his letter: "The villagers were extremely grateful because I brought no foreign soldiers, and were glad to settle on the terms proposed." Some of those people know more about theology than they do about human nature. I do not remember encountering even a Christian who was "glad" to pay money he did not owe; and as for a Chinaman doing it, why, dear me, the thing is unthinkable. We have all seen Chinamen, many Chinamen, but not that kind. It is a new kind: an invention of the Board—and "soldiers."

CONCERNING THE COLLECTIONS.

What was the "one-third extra"? Money due? No. Was it a theft, then? Putting aside the "one-third extra," what was the *remainder* of the exacted indemnity, if collected from persons not *known* to owe it, and without Christian and civilized forms of procedure? Was *it* theft, was it robbery? In America it would be that; in Christian Europe it would be that. I have great confidence in Dr. Smith's judgment concerning this detail, and he calls it "theft and extortion"—even in China; for he was talking about the "thirteen times" at the time that he gave it that strong

*In civilized countries, if a mob destroy property in a town, the damage is paid out of the town treasury, and no tax-payer suffers a disproportionate share of the burden; the mayor is not privileged to distribute the burden according to his private notions, sparing himself and his friends, and fleecing persons he holds a spite against—as in the Orient—and the citizen who is too poor to be a tax-payer pays no part of the fine at all.

name.* It is his idea that, when you make guilty and innocent villagers pay the appraised damages, and then make them pay thirteen times that, besides, the *thirteen* stand for "theft and extortion."

Then what does *one-third* extra stand for? Will he give that one-third a name? Is it Modified Theft and Extortion? Is that it? The girl who was rebuked for having borne an illegitimate child, excused herself by saying, "But it is such a *little* one."

When the "thirteen-times-extra" was alleged, it stood for theft and extortion, in Dr. Smith's eyes, and he was shocked. But when Dr. Ament showed that he had taken only a *third* extra, instead of thirteen-fold, Dr. Smith was relieved, content, happy. I declare I cannot imagine why. That editor—quoted at the head of this article—was happy about it, too. I cannot think why. He thought I ought to "make for the amen corner and formulate a prompt apology." To whom, and for what? It is too deep for me.

To Dr. Smith, the "thirteen-fold-extra" clearly stood for "theft and extortion," and he was right, distinctly right, indisputably right. He manifestly thinks that when it got scaled away down to a mere "one-third," a little thing like that was something other than "theft and extortion." Why? Only the Board knows! I will try to explain this difficult problem, so that the Board can get an idea of it. If a pauper owes me a dollar, and I catch him unprotected and make him pay me fourteen dollars, thirteen of it is "theft and extortion"; if I make him pay only a dollar and thirty-three and a third cents, the thirty-three and a third cents are "theft and extortion" just the same. I will put it in another way, still simpler. If a man owes me one dog—any kind of a dog, the breed is of no consequence—and I—— But let it go; the Board would never understand it. It *can't* understand these involved and difficult things.

But *if* the Board could understand, then I could furnish some more instruction—which is this. The one-third, obtained by "theft and extortion," is *tainted money,* and cannot be purified even by defraying "church expenses" and "supporting widows and

*In his Open Letter, Dr. Smith cites Dr. Ament's letter of November 13th, which contains an account of Dr. Ament's collecting-tour; then Dr. Smith makes this comment: "Nothing is said of securing 'thirteen times' the amount of the losses." Further down, Dr. Smith quotes praises of Dr. Ament and his work (from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Sheffield), and adds this comment: "Dr. Sheffield is not accustomed to speak thus in praise of thieves, or extortioners, or braggarts." The reference is to the "thirteen-times" extra-tax.

orphans" with it. It has to be restored to the people it was taken from.

Also, there is another view of these things. By our Christian code of morals and law, the *whole* $1.33 1-3, if taken from a man not formally *proven* to have committed the damage the dollar represents, is "theft and extortion." It cannot be honestly used for any purpose at all. It must be handed back to the man it was taken from.

Is there no way, then, to justify these thefts and extortions and make them clean and fair and honorable? Yes, there is. It can be done; it has been done; it continues to be done—by revising the Ten Commandments and bringing them down to date: for use in pagan lands. For example:

Thou shall not steal—except when it is the custom of the country.

This way out is recognized and *approved* by all the best authorities, including the Board. I will cite witnesses.

The newspaper cutting, above: "Dr. Ament declares that all the collections which he made were approved by the *Chinese* officials." The editor is satisfied.

Dr. Ament's cable to Dr. Smith: "All collections received approval *Chinese* officials." Dr. Ament is satisfied.

Letters from eight clergymen—all to the same effect: Dr. Ament merely did as the *Chinese* do. So they are satisfied.

Mr. Ward, of the Independent.

The Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden.

I have mislaid the letters of these gentlemen and cannot quote their words, but they are of the satisfied.

The Rev. Dr. Smith, in His Open Letter, published in the *Tribune*: "The whole procedure (Dr. Ament's), is in accordance with a custom among the *Chinese,* of holding a village responsible for wrongs suffered in that village, and especially making the head man of the village accountable for wrongs committed there." Dr. Smith is satisfied. Which means that the Board is satisfied.

The "head man"! Why, then, this poor rascal, innocent or guilty, must pay the whole bill, if he cannot squeeze it out of his poor-devil neighbors. But, indeed, he can be depended upon to try, even to the skinning them of their last brass farthing, their last rag of clothing, their last ounce of food. He can be depended upon to get the indemnity out of them, though it cost stripes and blows, blood, tears and flesh.

THE TALE OF THE KING AND HIS TREASURER.

How strange and remote and romantic and Oriental and Arabian-Nighty it all seems—and is. It brings back the old forgotten tales, and we hear the King say to his Treasurer:

"Bring me 30,000 gold tomauns."

"Allah preserve us, Sire! the treasury is empty."

"Do you hear? Bring the money—in ten days. Else, send me your head in a basket."

"I hear and obey."

The Treasurer summons the head men of a hundred villages, and says to one:

"Bring me a hundred gold tomauns." To another, "Bring me five hundred;" to another, "Bring a thousand. In ten days. Your head is the forfeit."

"Your slaves kiss your feet! Ah, high and mighty lord, be merciful to our hard pressed villagers: they are poor, they are naked, they starve; oh, these impossible sums! even the half——"

"Go! Grind it out of them, crush it out of them, turn the blood of the fathers, the tears of the mothers, the milk of the babes to money—or take the consequences. Have you heard?"

"His will be done, Who is the Fount of love and mercy and compassion, Who layeth this heavy burden upon us by the hand of His anointed servants—blessed be His holy Name! The father shall bleed, the mother shall faint for hunger, the babe shall perish at the dry breast. The chosen of God have commanded: it shall be as they say."

I am not meaning to object to the substitution of pagan customs for Christian, here and there and now and then, when the Christian ones are inconvenient. No; I like it and admire it. I do it myself. And I admire the alertness of the Board in watching out for chances to trade Board morals for Chinese morals, and get the best of the swap; for I cannot endure those people, they are yellow, and I have never considered yellow becoming. I have always been like the Board—perfectly well-meaning, but destitute of the Moral Sense. Now, one of the main reasons why it is so hard to make the Board understand that there is no moral difference between a big filch and a little filch, but only a legal one, is that vacancy in its make-up. Morally, there are no degrees in stealing. The Commandment merely says, "Thou shalt not *steal*," and stops there. It doesn't recog-

nize any difference between stealing a third and stealing thirteenfold. If I could think of a way to put it before the Board in such a plain and—

THE WATERMELONS.

I have it, now. Many years ago, when I was studying for the gallows, I had a dear comrade, a youth who was not in my line, but still a thoroughly good fellow, though devious. He was preparing to qualify for a place on the Board, for there was going to be a vacancy by superannuation in about five years. This was down South, in the slavery days. It was the nature of the negro then, as now, to steal watermelons. They stole three of the melons of an adoptive brother of mine, the only good ones he had. I suspected three of a neighbor's negroes, but there was no proof: and, besides, the watermelons in those negroes' private patches were all green and small, and not up to indemnity standard. But in the private patches of three other negroes there was a number of competent melons. I consulted with my comrade, the understudy of the Board. He said that if I would approve his arrangements, he would arrange. I said, "Consider me the Board; I approve: arrange." So he took a gun, and went and collected three large melons for my brother-on-the-half-shell, and one over. I was greatly pleased, and asked:

"Who gets the extra one?"

"Widows and orphans."

"A good idea, too. Why didn't you take thirteen?"

"It would have been wrong; a crime, in fact—Theft and Extortion."

"What is the one-third extra—the odd melon—the same?"

It caused him to reflect. But there was no result.

The justice of the peace was a stern man. On the trial, he found fault with the scheme, and required us to explain upon what we based our strange conduct—as he called it. The understudy said:

"On the custom of the niggers. They all do it."

The justice forgot his dignity, and descended to sarcasm:

"Custom of the niggers! Are our morals so inadequate that we have to borrow of niggers?" Then he said to the jury: "Three melons were owing; they were collected from persons not proven to owe them; this is theft. They were collected by compulsion; this is extortion. A melon was added—for the widows

and orphans. It was owed by no one. It is another theft, another extortion. Return it whence it came, with the others. It is not permissible, here, to apply to any object goods dishonestly obtained—not even to the feeding of widows and orphans, for that would be to put a shame upon charity and dishonor it."

He said it in open court, before everybody, and to me it did not seem very kind.

A clergyman, in a letter to me, reminds me, with a touch of reproach, that "many of the missionaries are good men, kind-hearted, earnest, devoted to their work." Certainly they are. No one is disputing it. Instead of "many," he could have said "almost all," and still said the truth, no doubt. I know many missionaries; I have met them all about the globe, and have known only one or two who could not fill that bill and answer to that description. "Almost all" comes near to being a proportion and a description applicable also to lawyers, authors, editors, merchants, manufacturers—in fact to most guilds and vocations. Without a doubt, Dr. Ament did what he believed to be right, and I concede that when a man is doing what he believes to be right, there is argument on his side. I differ with Dr. Ament, but that is only because he got his training from the Board and I got mine outside. Neither of us is responsible, altogether.

RECAPITULATION.

But there is no need to sum up. Mr. Ament has acknowledged the "one-third extra"—no other witness is necessary. The Rev. Dr. Smith has carefully considered the act and labeled it with a stern name, and his verdict seems to have no flaw in it. The morals of the act are Chinese, but are approved by the Board, and by some of the clergy and some of the newspapers, as being a valuable improvement upon Christian ones—which leaves me with a closed mouth, though with a pain in my heart.

IS THE AMERICAN BOARD ON TRIAL?

Do I think that Dr. Ament and certain of his fellow missionaries are as bad as their conduct? No, I do not. They are the product of their training; and now that I understand the whole case, and where they got their ideals, and that they are merely subordinates and subject to authority, I comprehend that they are rather accessories than principals, and that their acts only show faulty heads curiously trained, not bad hearts. Mainly, as it seems to me, it is the American Board that is on trial. And

again, it is a case of the head, not of the heart. That it has a heart which has never harbored an evil intention, no one will deny, no one will question; the Board's history can silence any challenge on that score. The Board's heart is not in court: it is its head that is on trial.

It is a sufficiently strange head. Its ways baffle comprehension; its ideas are like no one else's; its methods are novelties to the practical world; its judgments are surprises. When one thinks it is going to speak and must speak, it is silent; when one thinks it ought to be silent and must be silent, it speaks. Put your finger where you think it ought to be, it is not there; put it where you think it ought not to be, there you find it.

When its servant in China seemed to be charging himself with amazing things, in a reputable journal,—in a dispatch which was copied into many other papers—the Board was as silent about it as any dead man could have been who was informed that his house was burning over his head. An exchange of cablegrams could have enabled it, within two days, to prove to the world—possibly—that the damaging dispatch had not proceeded from the mouth of its servant; yet it sat silent and asked no questions about the matter.

It was silent during thirty-eight days. Then the dispatch came into prominence again. It chanced that I was the occasion of it. A break in the stillness followed. In what form? An exchange of cablegrams, resulting in proof that the damaging dispatch had not been authorized? No, in the form of an Open Letter by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, the Rev. Dr. Smith, in which it was *argued* that Dr. Ament could not have said and done the things set forth in the dispatch.

Surely, this was bad politics. A repudiating telegram would have been worth more than a library of argument.

An extension of the silence would have been better than the Open Letter, I think. I thought so at the time. It seemed to me that mistakes enough had been made and harm enough done. I thought it questionable policy to publish the Letter, for I "did not think it likely that Dr. Ament would disown the dispatch," and I telegraphed that to the Rev. Dr. Smith. Personally, I had nothing against Dr. Ament, and that is my attitude yet.

Once more it was a good time for an extension of the silence. But no; the Board has its own ways, and one of them is to do the

unwise thing, when occasion offers. After having waited fifty-six days, it cabled to Dr. Ament. No one can divine why it did so then, instead of fifty-six days earlier.* It got a fatal reply—and was not aware of it. That was that curious confession about the "one-third extra"; its application, not to the "propagation of the Gospel," but only to "church expenses," support of widows and orphans; and, on top of this confession, that other strange one revealing the dizzying fact that our missionaries, who went to China to teach Christian morals and justice, had adopted pagan morals and justice in their place. *That cablegram was dynamite.*

It seems odd that the Board did not see that that revelation made the case far worse than it was before; for there was a saving doubt, before—a doubt which was a Gibraltar for strength, and should have been carefully left undisturbed. Why did the Board allow that revelation to get into print? Why did the Board not suppress it and keep still? But no; in the Board's opinion, this was once more the time for speech. Hence Dr. Smith's latest letter to me, suggesting that I speak also—a letter which is a good enough letter, barring its nine defects, but is another evidence that the Board's head is not as good as its heart.

A missionary is a man who is pretty nearly all heart, else he would not be in a calling which requires of him such large sacrifices of one kind and another. He is made up of faith, zeal, courage, sentiment, emotion, enthusiasm; and so he is a mixture of poet, devotee and knight-errant. He exiles himself from home and friends and the scenes and associations that are dearest to him; patiently endures discomforts, privations, discouragements; goes with good pluck into dangers which he knows may cost him his life; and, when he must suffer death, willingly makes that supreme sacrifice for his cause.

Sometimes the head-piece of that kind of a man can be of an inferior sort, and errors of judgment can result—as we have seen. Then, for his protection, as it seems to me, he ought to have at his back a Board able to know a blunder when it sees one, and prompt to bring him back upon his right course when he strays from it. That is to say, I think the captain of a ship ought to understand navigation. Whether he does or not, he will have to take a captain's share of the blame, if the crew bring the vessel to grief.

MARK TWAIN.

*The cablegram went on the day (Feb. 18) that Mr. George Lynch's account of the looting was published. See "Exhibit B." It seems a pity it did not inquire about the looting and get it denied.

CUBA AND CONGRESS.

BY ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM INDIANA.

To appreciate the moderation and restraint of the Cuban legislation of Congress, it is necessary to consider the previously defined national policy of the United States respecting Cuba. To this national policy American statesmen of all political parties have given continuous expression. Jefferson led off, in 1808, by deprecating the acquisition of Cuba by any other power than Spain. In 1809, he was discussing whether Napoleon would "consent to our receiving Cuba into our nation." The thought steadily grew with him until, in 1823, he announced the settled conviction of the country which every American statesman has followed. He said:

"I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Her addition to our confederacy is exactly what is wanting to advance our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest."

Monroe suggested the ownership of Cuba as a military necessity. The acquisition of Cuba was the chief aim of Pierce's foreign policy. The main effort of Polk's administration was to purchase this island. The movement was confined to no one political party. John Quincy Adams, in a formal letter, as Secretary of State, said, in 1823, of Cuba:

"Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas, the character of its population, its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of St. Domingo, its safe and capacious harbor of Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage, the nature of its products and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial—give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared and little inferior to that

which binds the different members of this Union together. Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral and political relations formed by nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now (1823) verging to maturity, that, looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."

Mr. Adams then showed that, at that particular time, we were not prepared for this event, but added:

"If an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her from its bosom."

Henry Clay, as Secretary of State, in 1825, nervously anxious as he then was, for political reasons, to state his views mildly, nevertheless said in a formal letter, as Secretary of State:

"If the war should continue between Spain and the new republics, and those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) should become the object and theatre of it, their fortunes have such a connection with the prosperity of the United States that they could not be indifferent spectators; and the possible contingencies of such a protracted war might bring upon the government of the United States duties and obligations the performance of which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline."

Even Mr. Van Buren, that fox of American statesmanship, who never said anything that was not susceptible of different meanings, said, as Secretary of State, in 1829:

"The government of the United States has always looked with the deepest interest upon the fate of those islands, but particularly upon Cuba. Its geographical position, which places it almost in sight of our southern shores, and, as it were, gives it command of the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas, its safe and capacious harbors, its rich productions, the exchange of which for our surplus agricultural products and manufactures constitutes one of the most extensive and valuable branches of our foreign trade, render it of the utmost importance to the United States that no change should take place in its condition which might injuriously affect our political and commercial standing in that quarter."

In 1848, Buchanan, in a formal letter, as Secretary of State, said:

"If Cuba were annexed to the United States we would not only be relieved from the apprehensions which we can never cease to feel for our own safety and the security of our commerce, whilst it shall remain in its present condition, but human foresight cannot anticipate the beneficial consequences which would result to every portion of our Union. This can never become a local question. With suitable fortification at the Tortugas, and in possession of the strongly fortified harbor of Havana as a naval station on the opposite coast of Cuba,

we could command the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico, between the peninsula of Florida and that island. This would afford ample security both to the foreign and coasting trade of the Western and Southern states, which seek a market for their surplus productions through the ports of the Gulf. Under the government of the United States, Cuba would become the richest and most fertile island of the same extent throughout the world."

In 1859, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate reported favorably a bill "to facilitate the acquisition of the Island of Cuba," in which report the Committee said:

"The ultimate acquisition of Cuba may be considered a fixed purpose of the United States—a purpose resulting from political and geographical necessities, which have been recognized by all parties and all administrations, and in regard to which the popular voice has been expressed with a unanimity unsurpassed on any question of national policy that has heretofore engaged the public mind. The purchase and annexation of Louisiana led, as a necessary corollary, to that of Florida, and both point with unerring certainty to the acquisition of Cuba."

And, further on, in considering the question of constitutional power, the Committee quoted the famous words of Thomas Jefferson:

"I am persuaded that no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government."

The slavery question was at this juncture thrust into this national movement; but even that was not sufficient to make the minority of the Committee, headed by Mr. Seward, protest against the acquisition of Cuba. That was the most remarkable circumstance in this whole discussion; for, if anything could have induced Mr. Seward and the abolitionists to attack the proposition, its advocacy by the slave power would have done it. But, in expressing the views of the minority of the Committee, Mr. Seward merely reported a short bill as a substitute for the majority bill, directing the President:

"To communicate to the Senate the condition of the relations which shall then (next session) be subsisting between the United States and Spain, and of any negotiations that may then be pending for the cession of Cuba to the United States, together with such statements of the conditions of the treasury, and also of the effective condition of the army and navy of the United States, as may enable Congress to judge whether at that time it will be necessary to adopt any extraordinary measures to maintain the rights and promote the interests of the United States, connected with or growing out of their relations to Spain."

In the same year, Judah P. Benjamin demonstrated that the United States must possess Cuba as a measure of safety. He said:

"Her harbors not only furnish points of rendezvous for hostile fleets, but secure harbors of refuge in which they could refit and repair, and prepare themselves for fresh attacks on our unprotected coasts. It was those harbors that afforded refuge for the British fleet after its descent on New Orleans; and in them did the French fleet refit after its bombardment of the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. In the event of a rupture with Great Britain, this would be, in her possession, a tremendous point of vantage for attack. It is for these reasons that the instincts of the American people have already taught them that we shall ever be insecure against hostile attack until this important geographical and military position is placed under our protection and control."

Benjamin was a pro-slavery man, but Edward Everett was an anti-slavery man; and yet, as Secretary of State, in a formal letter in his official capacity, Everett said:

"Cuba lies at our doors. It commands the approaches to the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the shores of five of our states. It bars the entrance to that great river which drains all of the North American continent. Geographically and commercially, Cuba would in our hands be an extremely valuable possession. Under certain contingencies it might be almost essential to our safety."

But he says that, for "domestic reasons (slavery)," the acquisition of Cuba "at the present time" (1852) was impracticable.

Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, was earnestly for annexation in 1851; and Clayton, Whig, spoke of the future annexation of Cuba as a certainty. William L. Marcy believed that if he could secure the acquisition of Cuba while Secretary of State, that single stroke would make him President. And the effort of the life of the "great Secretary" was directed to this end.

The tremendous internal questions following the Civil War diverted the attention of the American people, for almost a generation, from their national policy of expansion; and, for thirty years, there was a dearth of expression upon the subject. But the instinctive purpose of the people asserted itself as soon as conditions within the present boundaries of the Republic had become normal. Accordingly, during the last ten years, expressions similar to the above, and directed to expansion generally, have begun to come again from men of weight and judgment, growing in volume and vigor up to the present hour. With these the public is so familiar that space cannot be spared to quote them.

The fact back of these expressions and giving them meaning and vitality is, that they were the voice of the American people. This whole historic movement has been the expression of the purpose of the people, and not the plan of politicians. As

early as 1739, the American colonists petitioned England to let them capture Cuba, which they called in their petition, "that key to all America." In 1762, when the English captured Havana, they did it with the aid of American troops; and the event caused great rejoicing throughout the American colonies, the greatest public demonstration of all being held by the people of Boston. During our revolutionary war, our ships and fleets found harbor and refuge in Cuba. From the beginning, it has been with the greatest difficulty that our Presidents have held our impatient people in leash. Taylor and Fillmore issued proclamations forbidding American expeditions against Cuba. DeBow in his *Commercial Review,* at the period of its greatest influence, declared that "public opinion is uniform and unanimous that the safety and security of the United States demand the annexation of Cuba." And yet DeBow himself was hostile to the proposition. He was merely recording a fact as an editorial observer. Democratic newspapers in the South and Whig newspapers in the North, agreeing on nothing else, agreed upon this. The Whig *New York Times,* in an editorial in 1852, criticised Fillmore for not acquiring Cuba, and the *New York Tribune* quoted the *Times* editorial on November 25th, 1852. The State of Kentucky even went so far as to present to the Senate a formal petition praying for the acquisition of Cuba.

That the consummation of this national policy of the American people was inevitable, has been the uniform opinion of political thinkers of foreign countries—even of Spain itself. Speaking of 1854, Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," says: "The most sensible men of Spain were convinced that Cuba must sooner or later belong to the United States." In 1887, Froude, that keenest observer of all English historians, called America "the residuary legatee of all the West Indies."

Such was the current of American opinion and policy, and such was the view of the world, down to the moment when the Teller resolution was attached to the declaration of Congress demanding that Spain withdraw from Cuba. That resolution is as follows:

> **"That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."**

This resolution was reported to the Senate by the committee immediately before a vote was taken on the declaration to which it was attached, and was adopted as a part thereof without discussion.

If it means that the United States should utterly withdraw from Cuba, leaving that people, without aid, guidance or restraint, to work their ruin and our injury, this resolution is destructive of the unanimous conclusion of American statesmanship and public opinion from before the foundation of our government. It cannot mean such withdrawal, therefore, since it is a rule of interpretation, familiar to courts, that no law must be construed as repealing all former laws on the same subject if it admits of a meaning in harmony with them. And it is not within rational belief that Congress intended such a sudden reversal of the unbroken line of expressions of American purpose on this subject.

If the Teller resolution means the unconditional abandonment of the Cuban people by the United States, without having taken measures to secure a stable government, it was intended to prevent Cuban liberty and retard Cuban progress; for that such would be the result of such entire American desertion of Cuba I shall presently demonstrate. Such a meaning, therefore, cannot be attributed to Congress, whose purpose in going to war with Spain was to aid and not to injure the Cuban people.

If this resolution means that we were to cast Cuba adrift, a derelict on our very coasts, it was intended to impair the interests, paralyze the Cuban commerce and imperil the safety of the United States; for that such would be the result is known of all men. But a purpose so unpatriotic we dare not attribute to Congress, which, while inspired by an earnest friendship for every other people, owes its first and highest duty to the American people.

But if such be the meaning of this resolution, let us frankly admit that it was a mistake; and between the consummation of such a mistake with its ruinous consequences, on the one hand, and the frank and brave correction of it by the establishment and protection of liberty, order, rights and law, on the other hand, there is no choice. In individual morals and in national statesmanship the latter is the only course possible.

But does not a study of the whole subject give this resolution

a different meaning? Must it not be read in the light of our entire history, of which it is a part? Must it not be interpreted by the geographical, industrial, social and human conditions inherent in the situation? Such construction is natural, customary, essential. No act of American statesmanship stands alone. All that is enduring is the result of growth and outgrowth. Submitted to these usual and ordinary principles of interpretation, construed by these admitted standards of wisdom and justice, the Teller resolution does not deny, but demands, that the United States shall take measures to insure, on the one hand, the realities and not the mockery of liberty to the Cuban people and to insure, on the other hand, the welfare of the American people. Interpreted by these principles and measured by these standards, this resolution requires that the United States shall see to it that a stable Cuban government is established and maintained, and that the island is protected from all foreign interference or attack. Is any other interpretation sane? Would not any court, construing the expression of the purpose of an individual, consider the whole case of which that expression is a part? And can this result in injury to Cuba? Who so concerned as the United States that Cuba shall have law, order, prosperity and peace within and be secure from molestation from without? Who so interested as Cuba in the safety of the United States, upon whose markets, investments and active friendship Cuba's welfare depends? The resolution cannot be interpreted in hostility to the American people who made possible a Cuban government of any kind. And to construe it as requiring us to abandon the Cuban people to their fate is to do them irreparable wrong. Such construction would annul the resolution's very letter and defeat its expressed purpose. Considered even as an isolated statement, such construction is impossible; impossible, considered as a part of the unbroken current of American statesmanship; impossible, considered as a rule of procedure by which Congress was to solve the practical problem confronting it.

What was that problem? The facts define it.

Cuba was not able to expel Spain. Not all the Cuban people wanted Spain expelled. The United States ejected Spanish government from that island. In doing this, the United States expended many scores of millions of dollars. Our soldiers gladly gave their lives. And when the Spanish flag was hauled down

and the American flag had taken its place, the Administration found property destroyed, roads few and poor, school-houses scanty and abandoned. It found a postal service hardly superior to that of Spain a hundred years ago. It found an appalling illiteracy. It found cities without sanitation. It found poverty, starvation, demoralization and all but anarchy. And yet these conditions were very little inferior to those which existed before the insurrection of the Cubans against Spanish authority. No more instructive study can be found than that of the sanitary situation reported in the American census of the island for 1899.

A separate article might be devoted to a statement of the vital statistics of Cuba. One or two facts may serve as a suggestive searchlight in passing. The population of the island is 1,572,797. Of this population, 1,108,709 are single, 246,357 are married, and 131,732 are living together by mutual consent. Of this population, 1,067,354 are whites and 505,443 are colored. Of the whites, almost all are of Spanish descent. Of these more than one million whites, fifty per cent. can neither read nor write; and of the more than half a million colored, more than seventy per cent. can neither read nor write. This is the statement of our census, taken by Cuban collectors. A gentleman of unquestioned reliability, and of thorough personal familiarity with the Cuban people, informs me that at least seventy per cent. of the whites and more than ninety per cent. of the colored population can neither read nor write. And yet, under our military administration order has been restored and maintained, property and life protected, and sanitary revolution has been effected in Havana, Santiago and the other considerable cities of the island. An excellent postal service has been established, and is now in operation in every province. Under the Spanish régime, at its best estate, scarcely 10,000 children were in school. At the time we took possession, there were less than 4,000 children in school. The education was slothful, fragmentary, unscientific. To-day, there are more than 150,000 Cuban children in school, and education is systematized and conducted on approved and modern principles.

And these items are only the landmarks of what has really been accomplished. All this, too, has been done by American authority in two years' time. It is a record of administrative capacity to which history shows no parallel. Of the remarkable

achievements of the present Administration, not one is more brilliant than its conduct of affairs in the island of Cuba.

How best to preserve and continue this progress of Cuba; how, at the same time, to secure the safety and protect the interests of the United States; how to interpret the historic purpose of the American people, who had sacrificed so much treasure and blood for the Cuban people; and how to act so that the Teller resolution would not defeat itself, and so that a steady government might exist in Cuba, were the profound, complex and most delicate questions which Congress was called upon to answer, and which the Cuban Committee of the United States Senate, with Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, at its head, answered so well in the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill.

Let us consider this amendment.

That no foreign power shall establish any but trade relations with Cuba is necessary to both Cuba and the United States. It is intolerable that any foreign power shall obtain jurisdiction over an inch of Cuban soil. It is intolerable even to think of the government of Cuba giving to Germany or England or France or any other great power, a naval station. And yet, without restriction, the Cuban government could give any foreign power rights amounting to that, and keep within the Monroe Doctrine. Think of the consequences! From Tortugas to Havana is only ninety miles; from Cuba to Yucatan is little more than one hundred miles. A foreign squadron, with naval rendezvous in Havana harbor and a small patrol along the difficult Yucatan passage, could blockade the Gulf of Mexico, the Isthmian canal, the Mississippi River, and absolutely cut off our immense foreign commerce from and to our Gulf and Mississippi River ports, and our immeasurably greater coastwise trade, much more completely than the same naval strength could blockade the harbor of New York. Accordingly, the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

> "That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign Power or Powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign Power or Powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island."

But it is also necessary that the United States shall actually *possess* such naval stations along the Cuban coasts as

may be necessary to our national defence and to the defence of Cuba. The Cuban people, numbering only a million and a half, unassisted by us, could not properly fortify or equip their harbors. Certainly they could not build a fleet necessary to the island's protection; and if they could, such a fleet, in certain contingencies apparent to all men, might be a menace to the American government. But with the United States in possession of the necessary naval stations, the independence of the island and its people from every foreign Power and every combination of foreign Powers is assured, and the American Republic secured from attack in the Gulf, at the mouth of the Mississippi. Accordingly the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

"That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States."

Even this is not broad enough for the protection of the Cuban people and of American interests and safety. A familiar method by which a Power secures practical control of a desirable point inhabited by a weak people, is to seize that people's ports in order to collect the revenues for payment of debt. The first necessity of a new government is money. Its earliest condition is financial obligation. Without restriction and guidance by a friendly and experienced government whose interests are the interests of the Cuban people, it was inevitable that the new and experimental government of the island would contract debts beyond the ability of the Cuban people to pay. This has been the experience of nearly all new governments. If such a debt were contracted in England or Germany or France, it was inevitable that upon default of payment either of those Powers would seize the revenues of the island to indemnify their citizens against loss. And the United States could not prevent this, unless the United States would guarantee such debt, or go to war with the creditor Power to prevent its just collection. Every one of these contingencies is inconsistent with American safety and interests, and even more inconsistent with the interests, liberty and independence of the Cuban people. Therefore the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

"That said government (Cuba) shall not assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable

sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate."

It will be helpful to recall that the debt Spain contracted for Cuba was $400,000,000; and this debt the Cuban Amendment prevents Cuba from ever paying or being compelled to pay. The bonds issued by the revolutionary government in the insurrection preceding the last, and still held somewhere by some one, are supposed to reach into the hundreds of millions. The amount of bonds issued by the last insurrectionary government, held by persons in Cuba and the United States, is unknown; but I have heard it estimated at from $100,000 to $300,000,000. No accurate information can be had concerning the quantity of these bonds, or of the bonds of the former insurrectionary government. What part, if any, they play at present can only be surmised. It is doubtful if they affect the question; but they are useful as indicating the financial certainties of an unrestrained Cuban government.

Even with all the above, the welfare of the Cuban people was still open to attack from another enemy and at their weakest point. That point was within, and that enemy themselves. The right of the United States to intervene for the maintenance of the realities of Cuban freedom is the measure of all measures most in the interests of the Cuban people. Would it have been wise and just to neglect this most important and immediate obligation of all? If it is our business to see that the Cubans are not destroyed by any foreign Power, is it not our duty to see that they are not destroyed by themselves? It was a far-seeing benevolence which inspired Congress to provide that we may preserve the Cuban government from the hands of warring factions, and protect the individual liberty, the property and the rights of Cuban citizens. Congress actually bestowed upon Cuba the same guaranty of social order and governmental stability, which our Constitution guarantees to every one of the States of the Union. This great provision of the Cuban Amendment is as follows:

"That the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba."

The sanitation of Cuba was the pressing problem which confronted the Administration upon our occupation of the island, and it is the immediate question which will confront the island's new government. In this vital business even the best-equipped Cubans are unschooled. And yet, upon proper sanitation depends the security of the Cuban people from pestilence. Upon it depends the safety of our own people from yellow-fever. New Orleans, Mobile, Tampa, all our Southern ports, have time and again been infected, and the disease has spread northward even to the Ohio. It is a subject which admitted and admits of no trifling. It is a business to be dealt with practically and on the instant. To enthrone a plague in a permanent home at the very gates of the Republic would have been an act which a volume of resolutions, no matter how interpreted, never could have excused. And Congress never wrought more wisely than when it provided in the Cuban Amendment:

"That the Government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the Southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein."

That the sinister situations, which the Cuban Amendment are designed to prevent, would have been the results of a Cuban government unaided by the United States, is not an open question. Were no examples at hand, the character and history of the Cuban population itself proves this. But examples are at hand, and the men to whom the American people have intrusted their interests, and those of the Cuban people also, had to consider them.

These examples are the Central and South American Republics. Review them, taking the most advantageously situated first.

The Argentine Republic has the best climate, the most fertile soil and the richest resources of any portion of South America, and, with perhaps two exceptions, of the entire surface of the earth. It has a larger percentage of the solid, self-governing people of Europe than any other South American state. But its history bristles with revolt. There have been two revolutions within the last ten years. The killing and wounding of two or

three thousand people in a political riot has occurred more than once. Schemes of financial idealists have been put into reckless practice. And yet the paper constitution of this republic is admirable, its schools numerous and its system of education, in theory, excellent.

To the north of the Argentine Republic lies Brazil. It became a republic in 1890 by bloodless revolution. In one year another revolution placed Peixoto in the President's chair; and, in less than two years more, another revolution, with the army supporting one side and the navy the other, continued until Admiral Benham, in command of the warships of the United States, threatened to fire on the insurgent navy in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, thus ending the revolt. To the north of Brazil is Venezuela. From 1821, when independence was established, until 1870, Venezuela was in a state of almost continuous convulsion. And although peace has been more assured since that time, conditions have been anything but settled.

Of Colombia, from which Venezuela seceded after Bolivar had wrested independence from Spain, Hamblen Sears declares: "Its history to the present day has been one of the sudden rise of one or another of the popular leaders and his sudden fall." This, too, is largely true of Costa Rica, although the government of that state has been and is more stable than that of most Spanish-American republics.

Guatemala has been the red field of revolution and the hot bed of impracticable dreams. Of Honduras, Mr. Sears declares that, "like the other Central American republics, Honduras has been full of bloodshed and internal war." And he says that "Nicaragua, since 1860, has been most of the time in a state of war, interrupted with a change of presidents and numerous pronunciamentos." The history of Peru is the narrative of the rise and fall of dictators. Those who think that the ability of the Cuban people to frame a paper constitution with rapidity is an evidence of capacity for self-government, should remember that Peru surpasses Cuba as a rapid constitution-maker, having produced three separate constitutions in little more than ten years—one in 1828, one in 1833, and still another in 1839. And Mr. Sears despairingly writes: "The Salvadorian constitution has been so often changed that it is impossible to follow it." Until recent years, Chile has been in a state of recurrent revolution and violence.

The condition of public order was illustrated by the attack upon the peaceful seamen of the American ship "Baltimore," still fresh in the memory of all. Not a single Spanish-American republic brightens this melancholy chronicle. Paraguay has been the scene of so much strife that its male population was at one time almost extinct. And Uruguay has been called the "Battlefield of the La Platta." All these countries show a languid progress toward settled conduct and self-restraint; but every forward step has been made at terrible cost—a cost which the aid and instruction of a friendly and experienced government might have saved to each, while accelerating that progress incalculably.

It must be repeated and again repeated that the paper constitutions of these countries have been fine examples of government by manuscript. This clarifying fact must not be forgotten by those who think that government by manuscript is equivalent to government by practice.

These political phenomena, common to all Spanish-American republics, whether in the tropic, semi-tropic or temperate zone, unvaried by climate or character of soil, and occurring in spite of excellent paper constitutions, are object-lessons which Congress dared not disregard. The character of the people of these republics is similar to that of the people of Cuba. Their racial origin is the same. Their history has been the same. Their tutelage under Spanish misrule has been the same. If there is any element of difference, that element is the greater proportion of blacks in Cuba. But history and contemporaneous fact do not justify the belief that this element, left to itself, increases the Cuban capacity for self-government, unaided, unguided and unrestrained.

Hayti, directly across from Cuba, is an instance. When under the rule of the French, all writers agree that, in spite of the drawback of slavery, Hayti was a prosperous colony. But from the time French power was overthrown its condition has been serious. A late writer says that "the atrocious administration of the government all through the Haytian history of this century has been unequalled in the world." On the contrary, British Guiana and British Honduras, with government administered by those who have a capacity for administration, have enjoyed a steadiness of order and a respect for law unequalled elsewhere in South or Central America; and New Mexico, with a

population racially similar to those of Spanish America, has, under our administration, given us no trouble.

In dealing with Cuba, Congress could not ignore all this. Congress was compelled to consider the character and inexperience of Cuba's population; the history of the attempts of similar populations to govern themselves; the present condition of such experimental governments on the one hand, and the situation of the same populations, guided and restrained by the protection of an administrative people, on the other hand. Congress had to consider, too, the facts of the last two years—the expulsion of Spain from Cuba by American arms; the occupation of the island by American authority, law and order; the feeding of starving Cuban thousands with American bread; the establishment of Cuban schools, posts and sanitation upon modern methods by American administrators; the American purification of the Cuban customs service; the impartial American administration of Cuban justice; the protection of Cuban life and property by an American and Americanized police; the beginning of the development of the richest agricultural, mineral and timber resources on the face of the globe, under the faith of American protection; in a word, the American foundation in Cuba of civilization and of that liberty regulated by law which is the end and purpose of all free government. Congress had to consider, too, the American people. The sacrifices of the American people in blood and treasure and administration deserved such consideration. The geographical position of Cuba demanded it. The historian of a century hence would have properly denounced any action on the part of the American Congress which, by any possibility, might result in delivering this gateway to the American Mediterranean, to any and all Isthmian canals, to the mouth of that great artery of American commerce, the Mississippi River, to our whole gulf seaboard of 3,551 miles, over into the hands of those who, by treaty or purchase or any circumstances of peace or war, might possibly become our national foes.

Thus it appears that our Cuban legislation deprives Cuba of nothing that can help her, but bestows every benefit and erects every safeguard necessary to her settled and orderly self-government. It insures the development of the island's resources and the highest happiness possible to its people. Against the enemies of Cuba, foreign and domestic, is drawn the sword of

the Great Republic; and under its protection the infant state may grow in peace and wax strong in a sure security. It is an inspiring scene with which the young century begins—the newest government of the world aided, guided and protected by the freest.

We are not depriving Cuba of liberty; we are helping her to liberty. Land owners are not to be robbed; they are to be protected. Cities are not to be sacked; they are to be defended. Equal rights are not to be violated; they are to be preserved and enforced. Free speech is not to be suppressed; it is to be fostered. Education is not to be destroyed; it is to be built up. But anarchy is to be kept down, foreign Powers kept at bay, and the elements that oppose Cuban progress held in check. All this is not the denial of liberty; it is the bestowal of liberty. For liberty cannot live without order and law.

The Cuban people and the American people are not and are not to be enemies or strangers. We are and are still more to be friends, "close friends," to use the President's felicitous phrase. We are not yet united into a single nation as the fathers hoped we should be; and such a union never may occur. But, while establishing Cuba's independent governmental identity, the United States has given her our permanent counsel, aid and comfort. Whether that relation shall develop into a still closer connection depends upon the Cuban people. It is a question which time alone can adequately answer. No wisdom equals the wisdom of events. And the Cuban legislation of Congress permits the wisdom of events to work out its results in its own time. Meanwhile, the relation established by that legislation is admirable, considered from the view-point of the present; and it may prove the permanent solution of this hitherto vexed and vexing problem. But whether this is the final development, or whether it is an epoch in an historical evolution, growing ever happier as it proceeds, the welfare of the Cuban people and the safety of the American people are secure.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

SOME PERILS OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.—II.

BY HENRY A. CASTLE, AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

A FEW of the defects and dangers connected with our postal system, as at present operated, were detailed in the last number of the REVIEW. It was pointed out that this branch of general governmental functions is exceptional and abnormal, by reason of the fact that it earns as well as disburses money, and that it is, therefore, susceptible to the perils that are incident to a business enterprise. The whole service is a study in State Socialism. Although the exercise of paternalism in this department of the government is apparently excusable, and, indeed, necessary to a symmetrical development of civilization, the difficulties in its administration and the serious defects in its accounting methods which have been set forth must strengthen the conviction of every thoughtful student that there is, somewhere, a limit beyond which this incursion into the domains of private business should be discouraged.

It is the main purpose of this article to consider two or three proposed additions to the existing system—to point out both the alleged benefits thereof and the manifest objections thereto. Some of these propositions are apparently very near realization, as they are the subjects of multitudes of bills introduced at every session of Congress, having behind them what appears to be an increasingly favorable public sentiment.

One of these propositions is the establishment of a postal savings-bank. Very active work is being done through the press and before Congressional committees in favor of this institution. The arguments presented are numerous and weighty. Among its advantages would be its absolute safety to depositors; the stimulus to thrifty habits it would give the working classes and young people; the release of an immense aggregate of unemployed

money, now hidden away and dead for all commercial purposes; the encouragement of patriotism among all classes of citizens, since persons having a financial stake in the government, even to the extent of small deposits in a postal savings-bank, would naturally be alive to the necessity of maintaining its strength and permanence. If it is a duty of the government to stimulate thrift and patriotism, as well as to encourage education, these suggestions merit our approval, unless they are counterbalanced by adverse considerations of greater weight.

Some of the considerations adverse to the establishment of a postal savings-bank are (1.) the large number of additional employees which would be required in post offices to transact this new business; (2.) the vast and complicated work of keeping the additional accounts which would be thrown upon the Auditor's Bureau; and (3.) the difficulty of finding safe and profitable investment for the large sums that would speedily accumulate.

There is no apparent obligation resting on the government to take charge of the people's savings and handle them at a loss. Unless the business is self-sustaining, it will be another case of taxing one class for the benefit of another. We are already transmitting the people's money, through the issue of money orders, at a considerable annual loss. This should be a warning. If the savings-bank is to be made self-sustaining, some plan must be devised for investing the money of depositors to such advantage that the interest promised will be paid and, in addition thereto, sufficient revenue received to cover all the numerous and heavy expenses of handling, investing and reinvesting it, besides those of keeping the multitudinous accounts of all these transactions.

We may fairly assume, I think, that, if this business were entered upon with the promise of paying three per cent. annual interest to depositors, which is the lowest rate suggested, there would accumulate within five years an amount approaching a billion dollars of postal savings-bank deposits. The deposits would be made in small sums, and there would be an enormous outlay, in the form of large salaries to government employees, for handling funds, and for keeping the accounts at the Auditor's Office, where every deposit and every withdrawal would necessarily be debited and credited to the receiving postmaster, as well as debited and credited to the depositor, and where all remittances

made by postmasters and all transactions, including the final investments, must be carefully recorded.

How and where the government would find any secure investment for these funds at a rate of interest which would reimburse its expenditures, is the difficult problem. Extreme socialists would advocate that the money be loaned to farmers on the security of real estate, farm stock and implements, or growing crops; but no sound financial authority would approve such a plan. Even if there were probability of a permanent national debt, it is clear that there is no margin in our two per cent. bonds for such an investment. If the money were not invested, but allowed to accumulate in the Treasury, not only would the loss of interest be fatal, but one of the primary objects of the scheme—that of getting dormant funds into circulation—would be defeated. Some of the bills before Congress propose to pay depositors interest at the rate of four per cent. a year. How four per cent., or even two per cent., could be paid, and all the vast expenses of the enterprise liquidated from the proceeds of any gilt-edged securities afloat in the market at the present moment, is a conundrum.

One pending bill sagely provides that the Auditor for the Post Office Department shall be the sole judge of the securities into which the deposits shall be funded, and considerately raises his salary five hundred dollars *per annum,* in view of the enlarged responsibilities entailed upon him by this duty.

Appeals are made to the success of a similar institution in England; but it is well known that the English government finds itself unable to invest the accumulations of its postal savings-bank in such manner as to reimburse itself for the interest paid, to say nothing of the enormous cost of administration. Official reports show that England is paying its depositors $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, and investing their money in a $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. consol. For several years, she has been obliged to pay for these consols, in the open market, a premium ranging from 110 to 114. All this premium, as well as the entire expense of administration and accounting, is a dead loss. And no English government is strong enough to suggest a reduction of the interest on savings-bank deposits.

That experience would be repeated here. The interest rate once established, no matter how unprofitable the business might become, no statesman or political party would ever dare to face

the wrath of several million voters thus feeding on the bounty of the nation, by proposing to reduce it.

By as much as this country is greater than England; by as much as its wage-earners are better paid; by as much as its people are more prosperous and more aggressive—by that much would the magnitude of the operations of a postal savings-bank be increased here; by that much would complications, embarrassments and perils be multiplied.

The expense entailed by the enormously increased labor in accounting that would be required, has been alluded to. But the ceaseless vigilance that would be necessary to keep this accounting current, and the serious danger which would be involved in a relaxation of vigilance, are a still stronger incentive to caution. It is safe to say that, if postal savings-banks were established here and interest paid at a rate sufficiently high to attract deposits, at least one thousand additional clerks would be required within five years to keep these accounts in the Auditor's Office. Yet none of the bills pending in Congress shows the slightest comprehension of a necessity for minute and accurate accounting. Unless its accounts were kept up with promptness and accuracy, the whole system would fall into utter confusion; but experience has shown how reluctant Congress is to provide by adequate appropriations for the proper conduct of the branches which now exist.

Another proposition, which is already the subject of attempted legislation, is a system of postal telegraphs. Whether the government buys the existing lines through condemnation or otherwise, or builds new lines of its own, the expenditures would from the outset be very large, and the annual increment of expenditures for extending into new regions would also be immense. But, assuming the lines to be already built or purchased, their attachment to the postal service would involve greatly increased disbursements.

Additional employees would be required at most offices, and additional compensation must be paid at those offices where the present force could handle the new business. A complicated system of additional accounts must be kept at each office, with its series of frequent reports showing all the transactions in detail. These reports would be received and audited at the Auditor's Office, where, unless some simpler form of accounting than now prevails were adopted, the original or a duplicate copy of each

telegram would be demanded, that the words might be counted and the distance computed, so as to verify the postmaster's debit to himself of a sufficient fee collected. Possibly, a plan of payment by stamps could be devised and some of these complications avoided. But it is an instructive fact that, after many years' trial of stamps in prepayment of newspaper and periodical postage, their use has been found unsatisfactory, and by deliberate act of Congress abandoned.

If by governmental absorption and operation of our telegraph lines the cost of transmitting messages could be greatly reduced, there would be a reason and, possibly, some excuse for it. But when we consider the liberal salaries paid to, and the short hours of work exacted from, government employees, as compared with those of similar grades in telegraph offices, we may reasonably doubt whether any reduction in present charges could be made, unless the government were willing to add still another losing venture to the much suffering postal system.

The persistent and influential advocates of the postal telegraph in America likewise cite the experience of England as favorable to their views. But they have certainly failed to read correctly official reports readily accessible, which show conclusively that their pet scheme is conducted, even in that compact and populous land, at a large and rapidly increasing annual loss. A tabulated statement of the receipts and expenditures of the English postal telegraph every year from 1872 to 1898 shows yearly deficits. The deficit amounted to over £118,000 in 1872; to £471,000 in 1887, and to £606,006 in 1898. The total loss for the twenty-six years was £7,235,897, or about $36,000,000. The deficit now is at the rate of $3,000,000 a year, and a bonded indebtedness rests on the telegraph system representing cost of purchase and betterments amounting to over $50,000,000.

With the wide stretches of sparsely populated and wholly uninhabited territory in the United States, all of which must be liberally served to give satisfaction under government auspices, it may be left to expert mathematicians to figure out what annual deficit would result should we venture on this experiment.

And England does not secure the poor boon of extraordinary cheapness in telegraph service by thus taxing the non-users for the benefit of its patrons. On the surface, rates seem to be low—sixpence for ten words, including address and signature. Fre-

quently the ten words and more are required for the address and signature alone, leaving the actual message to be paid for in addition. As a matter of fact, the cheap rates inure mostly to the benefit of business firms and wealthy patrons, who, by paying a fee of five dollars a year, may register an address, thus saving the expense of innumerable repetitions thereof. But the plain people pay nearly or quite as much for messages as they do in this country, distance considered.

The Hon. Eugene F. Loud, of California, Chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives, discussed some of these proposed innovations in a recent speech. His closing remarks were as follows:

"Let us strive to return to original principles and put behind us this policy of paternalism. A nation is great and strong that depends upon the individual efforts of its people. Government has its legitimate functions, the people theirs. Do not seek to restrain and deprive them of the blessings of a true democracy. The people have more honesty and sense than we give them credit for. The very nature of government ownership and management tends to stifle hope and incentive, removes personal responsibility, makes man a mere machine. Let human incentive have full play; let the Government govern, and let the people strive and compete among themselves to improve and better the world. Then we will have a happy and prosperous people."

This wise admonition coming from perhaps the best living authority on postal legislation, will convince all prudent men that great caution is advisable in widening our already well cultivated fields of paternalism. All employees of the present postal service, including fourth class postmasters, many of whom receive the entire revenues of their offices as compensation, are organized by divisions, and all are pushing clamorous demands for more pay.

Even as I write, comes the revelation that fourteen postmasters and special mail carriers in the State of Georgia have been indicted for conspiracy to falsify their returns, swelling the amount of business transacted or "cancellations," in order that, under the peculiar laws governing the matter, the compensation of all might be increased. Such conspiracies are possible in many different branches of the system, and temptations thereto are numerous. They are difficult of detection, and still more difficult to punish because of the political interests involved. It is impossible to take up such derelictions purely on their merits, as would be done if personal interests only were concerned. There seems to be a prevailing sentiment that it is much less blame-

worthy to perpetrate a swindle on the Government than on a private financial or commercial institution.

The business nature of the mail service has even induced bold and open propositions to actually take the Government into partnership in the conduct of some of its collateral accessories. A bill is pending in Congress, and has been favorably reported by a majority of the Post Office Committee, under the provisions of which an outside corporation would share profits and losses with the Government on a scheme for return postal-cards. The corporation offers to furnish its customers all over the country with these return cards, which are to be mailed to the correspondents of its patrons. In case the cards ever come back through the mail, this corporation agrees to redeem them from a fund previously deposited somewhere for that purpose. Every Postmaster General to whom this thing has been submitted has vehemently protested against it, and a strong minority of the House Committee has reported adversely, denouncing it in the most vigorous terms. Nevertheless, at this writing it stands upon the calendar with a favorable majority report from the Committee, and powerful lobby influence behind it.

Only a few years ago, still another copartnership postal venture was inaugurated, this time, however, with the public instead of the Government. A corporation was organized in New York or Chicago with a capital of $1,000,000 for the avowed purpose of securing the reduction of letter postage to one cent. That was purely a money-making proposition. This corporation through its agents made contracts with banks, large jobbing houses and other heavy patrons of the letter mail, whereby the said corporation should receive one-half the total amount saved by said firms on their correspondence, during the first three years of the existence of one-cent postage. Many thousands of these contracts were made, aggregating untold millions of dollars in prospective profits. Systematic agitation for one-cent postage was carried on through commercial bodies and by all other possible means of influencing Congress. This job, if successful, would have reduced the postal revenues at once more than $30,000,000 a year, thereby fatally crippling the service at many points; but that made no difference to its energetic promoters. They pushed it with great energy and promise of success for a considerable period. Just when or why it was finally abandoned does not matter. The

possibility of its resurrection is one of the things to be kept in mind, in considering whither this tendency is likely to lead us.

Perhaps the most noteworthy excursion into State Socialism which has come to public attention is a Senate bill supported by voluminous arguments which have been printed and circulated at the public expense, and are apparently endorsed by a large element of our citizenship. This bill, consisting of more than sixty printed pages, provides for the acquisition, purchase, and condemnation by the Government of all railroads lying in the States and Territories, and for the operation of said roads by the United States, attaching their entire transportation business to the present postal system. It stipulates that eleven Assistant Postmasters-General shall be appointed at an annual salary of $10,000 each, who shall supersede the present Interstate Commerce Commission, who shall be located at convenient headquarters in different parts of the country, and who shall have entire charge and control of the management of all railroads. The bill goes into minute detail regarding rates of transportation for freight and passengers, even stipulating the price to be paid for upper and lower berths in different kinds of sleeping-cars. The money for acquiring and constructing railroads is, of course, to be provided by the issue of United States bonds. Elaborate machinery is prescribed for all the operating functions of the system. But there is almost total silence in regard to the accounting features, which would necessarily involve the organization of a central bureau connected with the Auditor's Office, with so many thousand employees that the mind is bewildered in attempting to grasp its magnitude.

One pertinent suggestion contained in the printed argument accompanying the bill is, that a postal savings-bank system can be founded on investments in the bonds issued to "acquire" the railroads. Thus, by an ingenious interlocking device, these propositions are made to support one another.

The postal railway plan is the ripe (or over-ripe) fruitage of governmental paternalism. No one can deny that it is a logical sequence of the milder schemes previously mentioned. Doubtless, it is too far in advance of current public demands to be catalogued as a menacing peril at this time. But as to postal savings-banks, postal telegraphs, and co-partnership with corporations in the postal-card business—each is a burning question of the hour.

Those who advocate Government ownership and management

of all so-called "public utilities," argue illogically from a basis of supposed success in transporting the mails with speed and accuracy. The argument is illogical, because it utterly fails to consider the fact that the government avails itself of innumerable private enterprises in accomplishing these results through the mail service. The Post Office Department owns practically nothing used in the transportation of the mails, except the bags in which they are carried and the locks which fasten the bags. The railroads, steamboats, stage coaches, street cars, wagons for hauling mails to depots in cities, even the horses and carts used by some letter carriers, are the private property of individuals or corporations, and are hired for the public use.

If the Post Office Department owned all these instrumentalities, and were obliged to keep them in repair, to increase the rolling stock and other stock, and to extend railway lines in response to public demand, the magnitude of the enterprise would be more clearly revealed. There can be no doubt that a very large share of the marvellous efficiency of our present postal service is due to the vigor, alertness, even the selfish, money-making motives, of the corporate and individual energies employed therein.

The obvious conclusion of the whole matter is, that the postal system, being a purely commercial or financial enterprise under governmental auspices, is an abnormal function, requiring special treatment and embodying peculiar risks. The branches already in operation present enough complications, defects and possibilities of perversion to warrant the strenuous efforts of the highest wisdom for their immediate improvement. Imperfections in administrative methods are both numerous and important, but they are far outweighed and outnumbered by defects at vital points in the accounting service. Until these defects are remedied, and until we can forecast a possible limit to the prodigious strides which this business venture, on its present basis, is making, the statesman, the publicist and the plain citizen may very judiciously withhold countenance from plausible innovations. So magnificent an edifice must not be allowed to fall; so splendid a structure must not be permitted to become shaky. It must be buttressed and strengthened as it stands, before we can empower theorists to superimpose additional accretions that will menace the stability of such a potent instrumentality of civilization.

HENRY A. CASTLE.

THE VICTORIAN ERA OF BRITISH EXPANSION.

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND.

I.

THE expansion of England will go down into history linked with the names of England's great Queens. Although Queen Elizabeth died before a single English colony was founded, the peculiar character of her reign entitles her to the distinction of being the founder of Greater Britain. When she ascended the throne of England in 1558 Spain was the great colonial power. The West Indies, Florida, Mexico, California, Peru, the Philippines—practically the whole of the New World, as it was then known—belonged to Spain. To this vast territory was added in 1580, by the subjugation of Portugal, the whole of the Portuguese Empire in the Old World—the settlements on the East and West coasts of Africa, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, at Aden, Socotra, Muscat and Ormus, in Ceylon and Burmah, in the Banda Islands and the Moluccas.

In 1558, England was at peace with Spain, and Philip, the Spanish monarch, was a suitor for Elizabeth's hand. But whatever small chance there may have been of this marriage taking place was destroyed by the action of Pope Paul IV., who, on being informed of the Queen's accession, notified her that England was still a fief of Rome, and that, as the Pontiff had never recognized the marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, she was illegitimate and could not inherit the Crown. From that time forward the struggle between Protestant and Catholic Europe, which terminated in the destruction of the Spanish Armada, was inevitable; and the accession of the Calvinist Henry IV., of Navarre, head of the Huguenot party in France, drew England and Protestant Europe into an alliance against Spain.

It was out of this religious strife that the beginnings of British

Empire arose. Impatient of the intolerable pretentions of Spain, the Elizabethan seamen went forth and, by war and by exploration, opened the eyes of Englishmen to the possibilities of the over-sea expansion which took place under the immediate successors of Elizabeth. It is only necessary to recall the heroic exploits of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Cavendish and Raleigh to emphasize the gallant parentage of the British Empire in the Elizabethan Age.

But critical as were the affairs of England at the accession of Elizabeth, a crisis equally grave, but for the larger unit of Great and Greater Britain, marked the early years of Victoria's reign.

The mercantile system, under which the Colonial Empire of England had labored since the days of James I., had received its death-blow in the success of the American War of Independence. The happy failure of England to conquer the American Colonies had been accompanied by a no less happy success in destroying French power in Canada, in the East and in the West Indies. One Empire had been lost; another had been gained.

A rude shock had been administered, however, to the theories on which, according to the general belief, the Empire had been built. The public sentiment of England, as well as the deliberate opinion of her statesmen, turned in the direction of giving up an Empire, which, since it could apparently be no longer maintained for the benefit of the Mother Country, could no longer afford a sufficient return for the responsibility involved in its protection. Enthusiasts who believed that the new economic doctrines of Adam Smith would be adopted by all the great Powers, and who foresaw the commencement of an era of universal free-trade, asked, with much plausibility, wherein lay the advantage of maintaining political control over territories which, under another flag, would still be open to British trade, when even under the British flag other nations were to have free rights of competition with British merchants?

In the very year of the Queen's accession the Canadian Rebellion added another argument to the persuasions of those who would have welcomed a policy of contraction. But out of the Rebellion came the great Durham Report—the charter of self-government for the British Colonies. In this Report, a new idea of Colonial Empire was advanced; not for the sake of the Mother

Country, but for the good of the Colonies themselves, should the Empire be maintained. Lord Durham, replying to the general opinion held at that time, that, as independence was the natural sequence of colonization, the sooner Canada was cast off by Great Britain the better, said: "I cannot participate in the notion that it is the part either of prudence or of honor to abandon our countrymen."

But the permanent acceptance by the British people of their destiny as the world's great colonizers was delayed for many years. Under a rule less admirable than that of the Queen, there might have sprung up in the Colonies themselves a sentiment which would have met half-way the anti-expansion views of the home-folk; and the result would then have justified the attitude of the London *Times* towards the colonial forecasts of Lord John Russell. "He does not shrink," said the *Times,* on February 11th, 1850, "from contemplating the eventual independence of our Colonies, and proposes to prepare them for it by free institutions. For our own part, we think it the merest prudery to blink that inevitable event."

Nor was the sentiment in favor of dismemberment greatly diminished until the time of the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887. In the circumstances surrounding that event, a new idea found birth—the Unity of the Empire. All that could be done to cast off the Colonies, short of absolute repudiation of the contract, had been done. The Empire had survived the disintegrative tendencies of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and had refused to accept the badge of disloyalty which he would have conferred on its several parts under the pretence of ministering to an honorable and praiseworthy spirit of independence. The joyous acclamations of the Imperial millions in 1887 showed British statesmen that the Colonies were possessed of a deeper affection for the flag, a warmer devotion to the person of their sovereign, than the measure that had been ascribed to them by the "Little Englanders."

The tide had turned at last! The loyalty which had withstood the carelessness and contempt of Ministers, which had persisted through the shameful abandonment of Gordon, through the smug insanity of the Transvaal retrocession, which had seen the downfall of the great pro-consuls Frere and Grey, and had ever waxed deeper and stronger, was now recognized and applauded at home.

"In these communities," said the London *Times* on April 21st,

1887, *"as we are all beginning to feel,* there is a great reserve of strength for the Mother Country."

From 1887 onward there followed a rapid consolidation of the Empire. The work of Seeley and Froude in one sphere of literary activity, of Kipling in another, and the strong personality of Mr. Chamberlain, backed by his indefatigable labor, combined to draw the outposts of the realm into a closer union. "The sense of possession," said Mr. Chamberlain in 1897, "has now given place to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of them as part of ourselves, as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, religion, of history and of language, and joined to us by the seas that formerly seemed to divide us."

In recent years, two events have brought the people of Great and Greater Britain still closer together. One was the Queen's Diamond Jubilee of 1897, which united the Empire in one vast pageantry in honor of its beloved Mistress. Another was the South African War, which so completely falsified the opinion of Mr. John Morley, who, seeking some years ago for a simile of the utterly impossible, said (I quote from memory): "As well might one believe that New Zealand would spend her blood and treasure to uphold British supremacy in South Africa."*

If the war has disclosed many defects in the British system, it has shown also that, when the British Empire goes to war, its sons are but sorry pupils for those who write patriotism a crime. There is not a single British land from the St. Lawrence to the Hugli, from Carlisle Bay to Spencer's Gulf, but has offered its best blood to the cause. The Canadian farmer, the West Indian planter, the Australian station-hand, English Earl and Indian Prince have nobly fulfilled the poet's challenge:

"Shedders of blood! When hath our own been spared?"

II.

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Leaving for treatment in a separate article the growth of the Colonies and India, it is my purpose to attempt a brief account of some of the principal features of the growth of the United Kingdom under the late Queen.

*For a full discussion of the growth of the British Colonial Conception see my "Tropical Colonization," pp. 5-35.

It will be readily understood that, in collecting statistics covering so wide a range of time and subject, approximate accuracy is the utmost that can be hoped for. In almost every instance the figures given are drawn from official sources; and, when the years selected do not correspond with the exact limits of the Queen's reign, it is because official data are not available here for consultation.

(1.) We shall begin with the consideration of the increase which has taken place in the Population, Revenue and Expenditure of the United Kingdom between 1837 and 1900:

POPULATION (in thousands).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.
England and Wales	15,730	19,902	25,714	31,055
Increase				97.42%
Scotland	2,600	3.054	3,705	4,218
Increase				62.23%
Ireland	8,155	5,820	5,202	4,551
Decrease				79.19%
Total, United Kingdom	26,485	28,776	34,621	39,821
Increase				50.35%

From these figures it is seen that during the Queen's reign the population of the United Kingdom has doubled, notwithstanding the fact that the population of Ireland decreased by 79.19 per cent. The change which has taken place in the distribution of the population may be observed from the following figures:

	1840.	1897.
England and Wales	59.39 per cent.	77.98 per cent.
Scotland	9.82 "	10.59 "
Ireland	30.79 "	11.43 "
	100.00	100.00

No less interesting are the statistics as to the revenue of Great Britain during the Victorian reign.

REVENUE (in thousands of pounds).

	1837.	1867.	1900.
Total	51,437	69,435	119,840
Increase			132.98%
Excise	14,518	20,670	32,100
Per cent. of total	28.22	29.77	26.79
Customs	22,908	22,303	23,800
Per cent. of total	44.53	32.12	19.86
Property and income tax	5,341	5,700	18,750
Per cent. of total	10.38	8.21	15.65
Post office	2,340	4,470	13,100
Per cent. of total	4.55	6.44	10.93
Legacy and succession duties	....	....	14,020
Per cent. of total	....	....	11.70

The salient points of the above table may be thus summed up: The total revenue increased 132.98 per cent., whilst three notable changes took place in the sources from which the revenue was derived. The establishment of a policy of free trade reduced the ratio of income from customs duties from 44.53 per cent. of a

revenue of £51,437,000 to 19.86 per cent. of a revenue of £119,840,000. The income from post-office receipts increased to very nearly six times its former amount, and its relative importance grew from a little under 5 per cent. to something over 10 per cent. of the total. The legacy and succession duties, which did not figure in the earlier years, yielded more than a tenth of the total revenue in 1900. The general tendency appears to be in the direction of throwing an increased burden of taxation on the rich.

When the Briton considers the very small number of commodities which are to-day subject to any form of tax, he may thankfully look back on Sydney Smith's famous description of the state of taxation at the beginning of the century:

"The school-boy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent., into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back on his chintz bed, which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel. His virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he will then be gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more."

Coincidently with the growth of the population and revenue, occurred a vast increase in the expenditures of the country.

EXPENDITURES (in thousands of pounds).

	1837.	1867.	1900.
Total	52,164	66,773	133,722
Increase			156.34%
Debt Charges	24,357	26,074	23,216
Per cent. of total	46.69	39.05	17.36
All Civil Charges	5,256	10,523	25,951
Per cent. of total	10.07	15.76	19.41
Army	6,522	14,675	43,600
Per cent. of total	12.50	21.98	32.60
Navy	4,750	10,676	26,000
Per cent. of total	9.11	15.99	19.44

It is seen that the total expenditure of the United Kingdom increased during the Queen's reign by 156.34 per cent. The changes in the direction of the expenditure are significant. The charges on the public debt decreased from 46.69 per cent. of the total expenditure in 1837 to 17.36 per cent. in 1900. To put the matter in another way, if the ratio of expenditure on debt to total expenditure had been the same in 1900 as it was in 1837, the amount paid out for that purpose in 1900 would have been £62,434,000, instead of £23,216,000. There is a marked increase in

the proportion of expenditure devoted to civil administration; but this has been accompanied by a still greater increase in the charges for the army and the navy. Taking the army and navy together, the absolute increase has been from £11,272,000 in 1837 to £69,600,000 in 1900; whilst the increase relative to the total expenditure has been from 21.61 per cent. to 52.04 per cent.—in other words, whilst the total expenditure of the country has increased by 156.34 per cent., the expenditure on the army and navy has increased by 617.46 per cent.

But there is another aspect of this question which is very important—namely, the ratio which the taxation of the country bears to the volume of its trade. The following table exhibits the striking change which has taken place:

	1840.	1899.
Revenue per capita	£1 19 11	£2 19 10
Value of imports plus exports per capita	4 8 5	18 14 9
Ratio of taxation per capita to value of imports plus exports per capita	45.14 to 100	15.96 to 100

From the above figures it is seen that the increase of taxation between 1840 and 1899 was 49.89 per cent., and the increase in the value of imports plus exports was 323.82 per cent.

(2.) We may now take up the growth of the imports, exports and shipping of the United Kingdom between 1840 and 1899.

Before proceeding to an examination of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, it may be well if we have before us a few facts indicative of the remarkable change which took place during the reign of Victoria in the material factors of British life. When we turn our attention to the condition of England in the years immediately preceding and following the commencement of the nineteenth century, we note three main characteristics: (1.) The people were an agricultural people, sparing only enough men from the fields and pastures to form two provincial cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants—Bristol and Norwich. One man in every three was, in fact, either a farmer or an agricultural laborer. (2.) The country raised its own food supply, and even exported food to the Continent. (3.) Government regulation of trade was the order of the day, no less than fifteen hundred Acts of Parliament being in force in 1820 relating to the entry, export and custody of goods as matters of custom-house supervision.

To-day only one man in ten is concerned with farming or agriculture. There are more than eighty towns of over 50,000 inhabitants, showing that, whilst the total population increased

four-fold, the number of large towns increased forty-fold. Again, from a position of independence in regard to food supply, England has come to be almost entirely dependent on imports, no less than 36.76 per cent. of her total imports in 1897 representing food stuffs—a round sum of $890,000,000 out of a total of $2,425,000,000. Finally, the British tariff regulations, thanks to the adoption of a free-trade policy, can be written on a single sheet of note paper; and all trade monopolies have disappeared. In 1843 there were more than a thousand articles subject to duties; to-day there are less than a score.

Many factors contributed to bring about these changes; but, from the infinite complexity of action and reaction, it is not always easy to distinguish cause from effect.

The turning point in the economic conditions of England may be placed toward the end of the eighteenth century. Arkwright and Compton had invented the spinning-jenny and mule, and in 1785 steam was first used in cotton manufacture. Up to that time, the weaving of cotton and woollen goods by hand had afforded an additional source of income to the agricultural population. While the men were in the fields, the women sat by their spinning wheels.

But at the very time when machinery began to render unprofitable the manufacture of cloth by hand, the agricultural population suffered an appalling disaster in the continual succession of bad harvests between 1784 and 1809. It became evident that food must be secured from abroad, and in 1815 the Corn Laws, hitherto maintained in the interest of the land-owner, were changed so as to admit foreign wheat free of duty when the price per quarter rose above eighty shillings. From that time onward the growth of English manufactures was rapid; not only was the home population supplied with machine-made commodities of every kind, but a large export trade gradually arose by way of compensation for food imports.

In 1839, the Anti-Corn Law League was established at Manchester, and in 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed. Gradually, barrier after barrier was swept away, and the principle of division of labor was established. Henceforth, England would draw her food supplies from countries better suited than herself, from the nature of their soil and climate, to the production of food stuffs; and, in return, she would utilize her coal and iron deposits to sup-

ply the world with manufactured goods, the raw materials for which could be drawn from abroad.

The stimulus afforded to the carrying trade, both on land and by sea, through this interchange of commodities, was enormous. The first English railroad was operated in 1830; the first ocean steamer was built in 1838. By 1843 the paid-up capital of English railroads was $347,000,000, and in 1897 the amount had reached $5,400,000,000. The effect on the foreign shipping trade was no less remarkable. In 1840 the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom was 9,000,000; by 1860 the figures had changed to 25,000,000; and, by 1897, the enormous total of 90,000,000 tons was reached.

From the above brief sketch, it will be seen that the accession of the Queen took place at a time when a complete industrial revolution was being inaugurated. The remarkable nature and extent of that revolution may be made more readily apparent by a reference to the growth of the national industry as expressed in imports, exports and shipping.

IMPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1899.
Total	65,873	210,531	411,230	484,899
Increase				636.11%
From British Colonies	....	42,959	92,519	106,670
Per cent. of total	....	20.41	22.50	22.00
From Foreign Countries	....	167,571	318.711	378,229
Per cent. of total	....	79.59	77.50	78.00
From United States	....	44,727	107,081	120,005
Per cent. of total	....	21.24	26.04	24.75
From France	....	17,774	41,970	53,281
Per cent. of total	....	8.44	10.21	10.98
From Germany	....	14,897	24,355	30,041
Per cent. of total	....	7.07	5.92	6.20
From Russia	....	16,202	14,054	18,690
Per cent. of total	....	7.70	3.42	3.85

Apart from the remarkable increase in the volume of total imports, an increase of 636.11 per cent., the most interesting feature disclosed by the above table is the even maintenance of the relative importance of the various sources of supply. Thus, whilst the imports from the British Colonies and India have increased to two and one-half times their earlier value, their ratio to the value of total imports has only increased from 20.41 per cent. to 22.00 per cent., and the change in the ratio of foreign imports has, of course, been correspondingly slight.

Considered in relation to the growth of the population, the increase of imports between 1840 and 1899 has been from £2 13s. 8d. ($12.88) *per capita* to £11 16s. 6d. ($56.76) *per capita*.

The slight increase in the relative importance of the United

States and France, as sources of supply, is compensated for by a corresponding decrease in the importance of Germany and Russia; though it must be borne in mind that the figures given above do not represent the total value of imports from Germany, as a considerable quantity of German goods reach England from Dutch ports. The change which has taken place in the relative importance of various countries as sources of supply for the United Kingdom may be seen from the following table:

ORIGIN OF BRITISH IMPORTS.

	1860.	1899.
From British Colonies	20.41	22.00
From France, Germany, Russia and United States	44.44	49.78
From other countries	35.15	28.22
	100.00	100.00

The nature of the food imports may be seen from the following table (value of wines, spirits and beer not included):

FOOD IMPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1855.	1880.	1897.
Total	143,543	411,230	484,899
Food stuffs	45,702	170,113	177,995
Per cent. food stuffs	31.82	41.36	36.76
Principal articles—			
Live stock for food	1,616	10,060	11,380
Bacon and hams	617	10,985	12,550
Beef	483	2,424	6,000
Butter and margarine	2,050	12,141	18,400
Coffee	1,689	6,861	3,585
Grain of all sorts	17,508	62,857	53,579
Fruits	1,468	6,895	10,430
Sugar	10,974	23,000	16,600
Tea	5,225	11,613	10,405
Eggs	236	2,235	4,357

The only points which need be emphasized in regard to the foregoing figures are those relating to sugar and coffee. It is seen that the value of coffee imported fell from £6,861,000 in 1880 to £3,585,000 in 1897, and that the value of sugar imported fell in the same time from £23,000,000 to £16,600,000. In the first case, the fall was due to decrease in quantity imported; in the second case to decrease in the value of sugar. The changes may be readily observed from the following figures:

	1880.	1897.
Quantity of coffee imported	1,546,000 cwts.	756,000 cwts.
Value per cwt.	£4.44	£4.74
Quantity of sugar imported	20,247,000 cwts.	32,200,000 cwts.
Value per cwt.—		
Refined	29s.	13s.
Raw	22s.	9s.

Confining ourselves to the quantity of these articles retained for home consumption, we find that the quantity of coffee consumed per head has decreased from 0.92 lb. to 0.69 lb., and that the amount of sugar used has increased from 63.40 lbs. to 80.89

lbs. The figures for sugar include the amount used in the manufacture of jams and sweetmeats, and the quantity of raw sugar refined in the United Kingdom and exported.

DOMESTIC EXPORTS (value in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1899.
Total value	51,308	135,891	223,060	264,660
Increase				415.82%
To Colonies	17,099	43,665	72,254	87,723
Per cent. of total	33.33	32.13	32.39	33.15
To Foreign Countries	34,209	92,226	150,806	176,837
Per cent. of total	66.67	67.87	67.61	66.82
To United States	5,283	21,667	30,856	18,104
Per cent. of total	10.29	15.94	13.83	6.84
To France	2,378	5.250	15,594	15,417
Per cent. of total	4.63	3.86	7.00	5.83
To Germany	5,579	13,355	16,943	25,838
Per cent. of total	10.87	9.83	7.60	9.76
To Russia	1,603	3,268	7,952	11,755
Per cent. of total	3.12	2.40	3.56	4.44

With a total increase in value of 415.82 per cent., the exports of British and Irish produce remain, as far as their general direction is concerned, almost exactly in the same position as they were in fifty years ago. Just one-third went to the British Colonies and India in 1840, and two-thirds went to foreign countries. To-day the former trade has decreased in relative importance by only nine-fiftieths of 1 per cent. The exports to France and Russia have slightly increased in proportion to the total exports, and a marked decrease is to be observed in the case of the United States. The decrease of 1.11 per cent. in the relative value of the exports to Germany is apparent rather than real, as a large amount of British and Irish goods reach Germany through Holland.

It is interesting to note that, as far as her exports are concerned, England still sends 22.43 per cent. of her produce and manufactures to the three great manufacturing countries—the United States, France and Germany.

The next point to be considered is the nature of the British and Irish exports. This aspect is dealt with in the following table:

DOMESTIC EXPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1855.	1880.	1897.
Total value	95,688	233,600	234,220
Coal and coal products, except dyes	2,446	8,865	18,320
Per cent. of total	2.56	3.79	7.82
Cotton manufactures	27,579	63,662	54,043
Per cent. of total	28.82	27.25	23.07
Machinery	1,359	13,920	15,180
Per cent. of total	1.42	5.99	6.48
Woolen and worsted manufactures	7,718	17,265	15,976
Per cent. of total	8.07	7.39	6.82
Metal and metal products other than machinery	11,600	25,117	27,640
Per cent of total	12.12	10.75	11.81
Hardware and cutlery	2,959	3,028	2,104
Per cent. of total	3.09	1.30	0.90

In absolute value an increase is to be observed in each group, with the exception of hardware and cutlery, which show the effect of German and American competition. Roughly, the export of machinery has increased to twelve times its earlier value, coal has multiplied eight-fold, whilst cotton, woollen and worsted, and metal products other than machinery have a little more than doubled. Cotton manufactures still form the bulk of domestic exports from the United Kingdom, although the relative importance of this export has decreased from 28.82 per cent. to 23.07 per cent. of the total value.

We come finally to that branch of British activity which has shown a more remarkable development than any other—shipping. Between 1840 and 1899, the combined value of total imports and total domestic exports of the United Kingdom increased by 539.65 per cent., and during the same period the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom, exclusive of coasting trade, increased by 866.18 per cent. Some details of this increase may be seen from the following table:

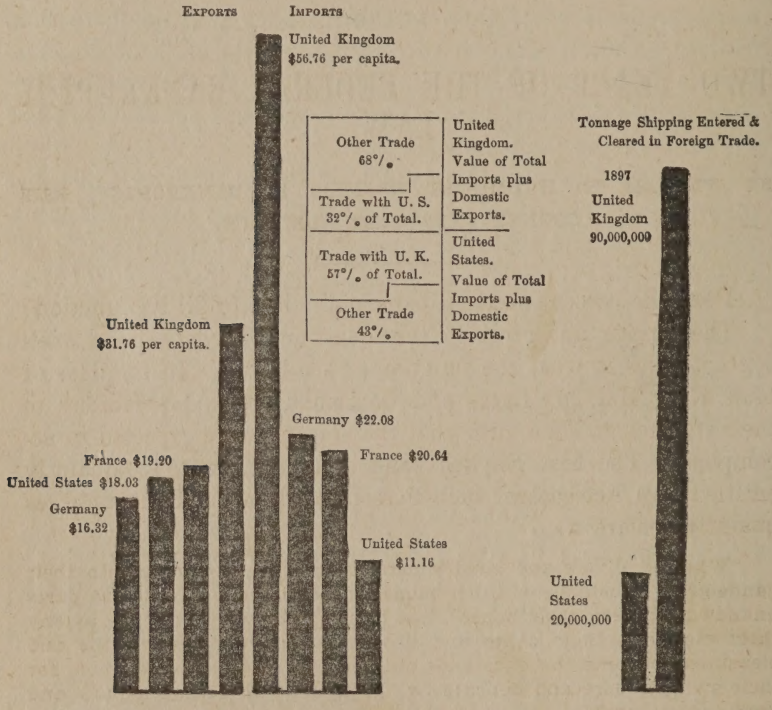
TONNAGE OF SHIPPING ENTERED AND CLEARED IN PORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, EXCLUSIVE OF COASTING TRADE (in thousands of tons).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.		1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.
British.....	6,490	13,914	41,349	64,426	Sail.....	8,648	19,722	21,522	9,145
Per cent....	68.76	56.36	70.40	71.43	Per cent.....	91.62	79.88	36.64	10.14
Foreign.....	2,949	10,775	17,387	25,772	Steam.....	791	4,967	37,213	81,053
Per cent....	31.24	43.64	29.60	28.57	Per cent.....	8.38	20.12	63.36	89.86
Total.....	9,439	24,689	58,736	90,198	Total.....	9,439	24,689	58,735	90,198

In so far as the shipping is divided into British and foreign, the United Kingdom is more than holding her own, inasmuch as seven vessels out of every ten which enter her ports fly the British flag. Steamers appear to be entirely superseding sailing vessels, which now only represent one-tenth of the shipping, instead of nine-tenths, as formerly. Even within the past seventeen years the tonnage of sailing vessels entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom has fallen from 21,000,000 to 9,000,000, whilst the steam tonnage has increased from 37,000,000 to 81,000,000.

It does not lie within the scope of the present article to attempt any forecast of British and Irish trade. We hear a great deal about the decadence of the United Kingdom as a commercial power; but Englishmen may take some comfort from the follow-

ing comparisons, which serve to show the enormous bulk of trade which still falls to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. It will be seen that the United Kingdom imports, per head of her population, more than the United States, France and Germany


Exports
Imports
United Kingdom $56.76 per capita.
Other Trade 68%
Trade with U. S. 32% of Total.
Trade with U. K. 57% of Total.
Other Trade 43%
United Kingdom. Value of Total Imports plus Domestic Exports.
United States. Value of Total Imports plus Domestic Exports.
Tonnage Shipping Entered & Cleared in Foreign Trade.
1897
United Kingdom 90,000,000
United States 20,000,000
United Kingdom $31.76 per capita.
France $19.20
United States $18.03
Germany $16.32
Germany $22.08
France $20.64
United States $11.16

put together, and that she exports of her own produce and manufactures nearly as much per head as the people of France and Germany taken together, or as the people of the United States and Germany taken together. It may also be noted that, whereas England depends on the United States for 32 per cent. of her trade, the United States does 57 per cent. of her total trade with the United Kingdom.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

TWO YEARS OF THE FEDERAL BANKRUPTCY LAW.

BY WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS, REFEREE IN BANKRUPTCY, ERIE COUNTY (NEW YORK) DISTRICT.

DOES the present national bankruptcy law fulfill its function? The answer one gives to this question will depend on one's conception as to what the function of the law is. In the days of bluff King Hal, his Lords and Commons prefixed preambles to their statutes, to show just what the statutes were expected to accomplish. The first English bankruptcy act, in 1542, quaintly entitled "An Act against such Persons as do make Bankrupt," as quaintly declares:

> "Whereas divers and sundry persons, craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men's goods, do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not mindful to pay or restore to any their creditors, their debts and duties, but at their own wills and pleasures consume the substance obtained by credit of other men, for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity and good conscience;"

and then it penalizes debt by outlawing the debtor who absconds, and imprisoning the debtor who does not. There was no doubt about the function of a bankruptcy law in those days. Englishmen never tricked out their bankrupts in green bonnets, as did the French, nor in brown and yellow coats, as did the Scotch. (How different this clothing of the bankrupt with the livery of debt, from our bestowal of bread-money in the shape of exemptions!) But England, until the fourth year of Anne, imprisoned the body, and—by denying a discharge—the spirit, for that matter, too. The function of her bankruptcy laws, for nearly two hundred years, was essentially penal.

Legislators long since forsook the preamble; debates indicate their purposes now. Had the old way pertained, we can well

fancy that the present law would have been entitled "An Act to Abolish Old Debts," and would have been captioned thus:

> "Whereas many of our citizens, through misfortune or speculation during the recent period of commercial depression, have become prisoners to their debts, and cannot through State laws secure discharges from their obligations and become productive members of society again, be it enacted,"

If such was the purpose of the law, it surely is a success. In a little over two years, forty thousand American men and women have become voluntary bankrupts, and have presumably been discharged; while obligations aggregating between six and seven hundred millions have been cancelled.

This wholesale debt-delivery is, however, not the chief function of a bankruptcy law, and, more, it is by no means the real function of the present law. Our legislators builded far wiser than they knew. Yielding to sentiment, and intending, the vast majority of them, to enact a temporary law for the relief of debtors, they have given us a statute which—its discharge features aside—has not only the elements of a true bankruptcy law, but is in itself a fairly developed system for the prevention of commercial wrongs, and for the equitable distribution of the property of failing debtors.

We Americans, as a mass, seem never to have understood the dual reason for bankruptcy legislation. Our four laws have been relief acts—the first being expressly limited to five years, the others providing that the multitude of debtors born of the panic times of 1837, 1893, and the years following the Civil War, might be dicharged and begin over again. It has been otherwise in England. There, from Henry VIII. to Victoria, the bankruptcy law has been an evolution. It is a little curious to find that the discharge feature first appeared as an inducement against crime. The statute of 1705 made a bankrupt's failure to appear for examination a felony—this to check the century-long abscondence of insolvent traders; and then, as an incitement toward honesty, it provided that a bankrupt who remained and answered all questions truthfully should be rewarded with a discharge and should obtain an allowance out of the assets. From such lowly estate did the now mighty discharge feature come.

These two functions have since proceeded side by side, the felony function growing mellower, even to desuetude, year by

year, and the discharge function more and more predominant. All the while, another function, scarcely recognized in the first law and but imperfectly in the second (that of the thirteenth year of Elizabeth), has been forcing its way through statutes and courts. To-day, it is *the* function of the English law, and though in this country fairly smuggled into our bankruptcy jurisprudence, is really *the* function of the present American law. I mean, of course, the administrative function, that which sequesters the debtor's property, which sets aside preferences, which gives to creditors the choice of the trustee, which limits the expenses for officers and attorneys, and, in the shortest possible time and at the minimum of expense—always supposing the creditors to be vigilant—renders the fictional trusteeship which every debtor holds for his creditors a reality in the *pro rata* distribution of his estate.

Said one discharged bankrupt, as he walked forth from the court the other day: "This is the first free breath I have drawn in a decade." For twenty years, a discharge effective beyond State lines has been impossible. Like an illustrious citizen of another republic, the insolvents of this period have dared scarce show their heads on the Rialto; on the contrary, they have disguised themselves as wives or relations, or else, hopeless of relief, have found employment where once they were employers, or perhaps become dependent on the friends of other days.

The statistics of the Department of Justice for the past two years are luminously in point. Somewhat over twelve thousand wage-earners have been discharged, as against only ten thousand merchants, one thousand manufacturers and the same number from the professions. Who these "wage-earners" had been may be guessed. In one of the important districts, out of 223 voluntary bankrupts for nine months of 1898-99, there were 36 commission men, 25 in real estate, and 60 foremen, builders, superintendents, salesmen and the like, all vocations requiring little or no capital, and, therefore, the frequent refuge of those who fail.

To the slaves of past misfortune, the bankruptcy law of 1898 has proven a manumission indeed. No frank philosopher will call this wrong. State laws, with their discharges good only to the State line, have proved hardly more civilized than the old English laws which, by denying a discharge, strove to compel full payment as well as equality. And yet complaints are daily lodged

against this wholesale cancellation of old debts. Merchants have carried these credits over from year to year, hoping that payment would be made at last. In most cases, all that the law has taken from the creditor is his right to sue a man by whom payment was impossible; while the community has gained a productive freeman in place of a slave.

Nor can the solvent class quite overlook the fact that nine out of ten cases show no assets—ninety per cent. represent old failures; or the other fact that the liabilities often reach into the millions; secured and contingent debts, which others will pay, enormously swell the totals. Besides, the newspapers delight to tell of flippant bankrupts who, while seeking relief, pour vinegar into their creditors' wounds; a well-known actor returned one scarf-pin as his only asset, while a Salt Lake City bankrupt scheduled certain clothing, a bicycle and four wives, and, claiming the two former as exempt, bestowed his wives on his creditors. But the business man knows that the stampede is nearly over. Voluntary no-asset cases have fallen off as much as from twenty-five to forty per cent. in the important jurisdictions during the past eight months. The country may soon expect a trial of the law on its merits, not as a statute for the release of old debtors from ancient debts.

This temporary condition is emphasized by what is now generally recognized as the chief defect in the statute. In actual practice, not only is it all but impossible to prevent a discharge, but many obligations heretofore deemed beyond the pale of bankruptcy legislation, such as alimony, seem in the majority of the districts to be released. Neither is there any limit to the number of times a man may be discharged—there are already instances of a second and even a third bankruptcy; nor is that popular but insidious transaction which we call a fraudulent preference an objection to a discharge; while the penalties for flagrant frauds on creditors are few and the frauds are not easily proven. All this is unfortunate, and calls for amendment now. There is little disagreement as to what is needed, and Congress may be relied on again to put up the bars against the fraudulent debtor and the chronic bankrupt. Once these bars are up, the discharge function, at least in new failures, will be under control.

He who knows the real purpose behind modern bankruptcy laws, however, will quickly turn from these features of the law

to those that provide for administration and distribution. There is, perhaps, a troublesome restraint on discretion. One court, in order to accomplish an advantageous sale, was forced to hold that horses were perishable property, for the reason that, if sale notices were sent to creditors, the horses would "eat their heads off" before the sale could take place; while another, to avoid a like delay, declared salt equally perishable, on the remote though satisfying authority found in the thirteenth verse of the fifth chapter of Matthew. The rules and forms provided by the Supreme Court are both Arcadian and archaic, and, often conforming neither to the law nor to each other, have led to confusion. The compensation allowed to trustees and referees has proved inadequate.

Indeed, still graver defects have discovered themselves. Of these the most serious are: (1.) that corporations can neither become voluntary bankrupts nor be halted by creditors when seeking to wind up business through family, friendly or directorial receiverships under State laws; (2.) that the federal courts, though charged with the collection of the assets, including those fraudulently transferred, must proceed to recover in the State courts, which are usually far behind in their calendars and, as a rule, unconsciously hostile to the bankruptcy system; (3.) the very unfortunate and disturbing belief that this law, unlike any other here or abroad, makes partial payments on account by an insolvent, within four months of the actual bankruptcy, preferences, irrespective of the debtor's intention to prefer or the creditor's belief that a preference was intended, and then compels the creditor so "preferred" to surrender such payments before proving the balance of his claim—a species of confiscation surely never intended by Congress.

These features aside—and amendments to meet them are already before Congress—the present law performs the administrative function better than any of its predecessors. The law of 1867 was repealed because its fees and delays permitted the looting of estates. Under the law of 1898, delays are practically impossible; while the reports furnished the Attorney-General show that the average cost of administration the country over, during the past year, is less than forty dollars for voluntary cases, and but two hundred and ten for involuntary, the latter, as a rule, involving the collection and distribution of assets. If it be true that the question of expense is the rock on which all bankruptcy

laws are split, the present statute will never be shipwrecked. Expense of administration may be said to be under the minimum.

Prior to the passage of the present law—what with dissimilar State regulations and the old-time "foot-race to the clerk's office," general assignments to friendly trustees, chattel mortgage sales by wives and affiliation creditors, confessions of judgment and judgment notes to large mercantile houses, and secret liens and fraudulent preferences to friendly banks—the small creditor was at the mercy of the large, both of them suspicious of the local bank, and all three likely to stand aside in favor of wife, or brother, or son. The twin vices of permissible preferences and friendly liquidations were sapping our commercial morality.

As was said in the law of the first year of James I.:

> "Frauds and deceits, as new diseases, daily increase amongst such as live by buying and selling to the hindrance of traffick and mutual commerce."

Fraud, that fraud which coddles its hypocrisy with the excuse that others should have looked to their dues and ducats, was masquerading in the garb of diligence and making equity old-fashioned and equality an exception. Into this condition of things came the bankruptcy law of 1898. It was needed.

It contains some clauses which should be written in letters of gold. One clause commits the administration of estates to a trustee chosen by a majority in number and amount of the creditors present at the first meeting; adequate notice of this meeting is provided for. As a result, friendly liquidations, save in States still recognizing general assignments, have ceased; the creditors of the bankrupt, not his creatures, control. Another section permits examinations, sometimes inquisitorial in character, into the debtor's transactions; while it has three provisions which distinguish it as the best creditors' law yet passed in this country. I mean (1.) the now famous third act of bankruptcy; (2.) the elimination of intent from the definition of preference, and (3.) the avoidance of all liens through suits, if obtained within four months of the bankruptcy; each of these provisions being new to our bankruptcy jurisprudence and far-reaching to an extreme.

The first, thanks to the ramification of the mercantile agencies, has armed the distant as well as the local creditor with a ready weapon to halt the sheriff when that worthy lawfully, though wrongfully, seeks to sell assets on short notice, in the interest of

the diligent few. The results have been sales on ample notice to all, larger sums realized, and, in the end, equality.

The second makes preferences easy to avoid, intent being immaterial, and insolvency and inequality, as a rule, not hard to show. The result is that, preferences being valueless unless four months old, few creditors try to secure them, and, if they do, often surrender to the bankrupt's trustee without suit. Local banks, mercantile houses and "the family" may suffer, but the other creditors, who have long been at the mercy of these, now get their share.

The third strikes at the root of commercial frauds, in wiping out every lien or priority secured through legal proceedings within four months, irrespective of intent or collusion, the only test being whether the debtor was insolvent at the time.

So warped is human nature when exhibited in the failing debtor and his complement, the "diligent creditor," that, in its ultimate analysis, a real bankruptcy law is strong or weak exactly in proportion as it prevents preferences. Judged by this standard, the present law is a strong one. The mere threat of enforced equality has reduced preferences to a minimum. Some have called it a statute for the collection of debts. It is hardly that. But it has proved a law for the prevention of preferences.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an eminent authority, Mr. William C. Sprague, editor of the *National Bankruptcy News and Reports*, after an elaborate investigation covering all lines of business and all parts of the country, in a recent address said:

> "I am firmly of the opinion that credit is being more freely given under the Bankruptcy Law than formerly, excepting in certain classes of cases where credit is given with an understanding, if not a contract, for a preference; that numerous State laws inimical to the extension of credits, and numerous practices on the part of failing debtors and their preferred creditors, by which an advantage was gained by a few creditors over the many, have been nullified; that credit and collection departments are in most cases being conducted at less expense than formerly; that there is very much greater security and safety felt by credit men in the conduct of their business under the present system; and that there are no disadvantages under the present system which either may not be speedily gotten rid of by amendatory legislation, or if suffered to remain, are not largely overbalanced by the disadvantages arising from the various State laws and practices under the former system."

Such being the results of two years' experience, the question comes: What shall be done now? Shall the law be suspended, or repealed, or amended?

Some, pointing to the ancient Jewish jubilee, and forgetting that Hebrew civilization was pastoral, not commercial, and never evolved the idea of a *pro rata* distribution, cry: "Enough! The books are balanced, debtors have gone free; let the doors be shut again." Others would provide a jubilee year at regular intervals. Thus, the Clayton bill, now pending in Congress, would suspend the operation of the law for four years and then put it in force for a year, repeating this semi-decadal amnesty *ad infinitum*. It would be interesting to speculate on the condition of credit during the last six months of the fourth year! This method was tried in England in 1742, as an escape from the evils growing out of the discharge law of the fourth year of Anne; but before the suspension clause became operative it was moved forward by an amendatory act, a process repeatedly resorted to, until Parliament banished this idea of an intermittent law from England by making the act of 1742 permanent after 1775.

The law, then, should either be repealed or amended. Already some are clamoring for repeal. The "jubileeists" demand it on principle; our mighty crop of tares having been garnered, the purpose of the law, say they, has been fulfilled. These err in understanding, not motive. The same cannot be said of a less numerous but very powerful class who seek its repeal. The past two years have witnessed association after association of bankers fulminating against the law. Scarce a week passes but the heads of certain great mercantile establishments declare publicly that it must go. Even many lawyers charge a present decrease in litigation, amounting to a quarter or a third, to the existence of this statute. The three together have raised such a clatter that repeal bills are pending in both houses of Congress.

But, should the law be repealed? Not, surely, because self-interest, nourished by the memory of secret preferences and unfair advantage, rises like a banshee to warn the one-time preferred that its repeal would be profitable to them. Those who have not been able to command preferences, or to support collection bureaus, or to increase sales by subsidizing employees, are at last safeguarded by the law. Nor should it be repealed on the ground that it is wrong for the State to cancel debts. The interests of the State are ever greater than those of the individual. More, it should not be repealed because, once repealed, the nation will bid farewell to all bankruptcy legislation until panic again

leaps through the land and furnishes an excuse for another jubilee. Meanwhile, the business world would be back again where it was three years ago, scrambling for precedence, the strong crushing the weak.

There is a much larger though not so well organized portion of our citizens who demand that the law shall stay on the books, but be amended to meet the defects already mentioned. In this class are such important bodies as the American Bar Association, the National Association of Credit Men, the Commercial Law League of America, and Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in different parts of the country. Mr. E. C. Brandenburg, the bankruptcy expert of the Department of Justice, in his three annual reports to the Attorney-General, has taken strong positions in favor of the law, but urged amendments. Congress having failed to provide for an expert commission to investigate the operation of the law and make recommendations, this work has been assumed by the referees in bankruptcy, through an association unique in our history, but already responsible for some reports on its practical workings, and for the so-called Ray Amendatory Bill, pending in Congress.

The recommendations of these bodies have been conservative and wise. At present, they are directed to the accomplishment of three objects: (1.) making it more difficult to obtain discharges, at least to shut the door on shady and chronic bankrupts; (2.) widening the law so as to include corporations within its voluntary features, as well as to prevent those friendly receiverships which are frequent sources of injustice to creditors now; and (3.) changing the law so as to meet the decisions concerning jurisdiction of suits and so-called innocent preferences, to which reference has already been made. Many also advise the increase of the fees of the trustee and referee; others would secure a specific enactment that alimony and like obligations are not dischargeable; while the American Bar Association seeks to lock the door in advance by urging an amendment to the effect that any debtor who substantially diminishes his property by gambling, speculation or reckless management of his business shall be adjudged a bankrupt on the instance of his creditors.

These and other amendments are in the hands of the judiciary committees of Congress. Theirs is a Gargantuan task. Aside from financial and tariff legislation, no statute enters more homes

or more deeply concerns every citizen than a bankruptcy law. In charge of such veterans as Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, in the Senate, and Mr. Ray, of New York, in the House, the country confidently awaits the outcome.

And when an amendatory bill shall have been passed, what then? Is it possible for Americans to have a permanent bankruptcy law? We would have had one continuously since 1867, had the law of that year provided for salaried bankruptcy judges, instead of fee-paid registers. The present law was born into a world of prejudice. Business men have not outgrown their hatred of its predecessor; the community at large has always overlooked the anti-fraud function and taken thought only of clauses whence comes the discharge. Their prejudices are so deep-seated that years of wise administration, aided by conservative amendments, will be necessary before the permanency of the law is assured.

That such a law is needed, few thoughtful men will deny. Where trade is extensive or commerce widespread, a bankruptcy law is as necessary as a process for the collection of debt. The *Lex Julia* of commercial Rome provided a complete bankruptcy system. Genoa, with Venice twin mistress of the trade of the Middle Ages, evolved a bankruptcy law in 1498; Holland found one necessary in 1531; England in 1542; France in 1560. Trade and debt-regulation must always go hand in hand.

A national law becomes peremptory where trade is interstate. When Germany became an empire, she recognized that fact, and now she enjoys a successful bankruptcy law. Nowhere is trade more extensive or interstate commerce more liquid than in the United States. Without such a law, the New York merchant is at the mercy of the Kansas legislator, the Mississippi planter must add a percentage to his price by way of insurance against the assignment laws of the Northern States. Indeed, so closely knit is commerce the world over that already there is agitation for a bankruptcy treaty between England and ourselves; while, for years, the subject of an international agreement, binding on all commercial nations, has been hopefully discussed.

When the proper time comes, Congress will do well to commit this whole subject to an expert commission. One of the first duties of the latter should be to provide a substitute for administration through referees' courts. As far as the writer has

observed, there have been no scandals involving any of the seven hundred referees now in office; as a rule, they have proved able lawyers and honest men. But a system which divides the country into county districts, and thus makes the referees in the larger cities judicial officers of power and dignity, but leaves their brethren in small country communities petty officials, practically unpaid; which permits each—associate judges in effect, if not in name—to practice in all other courts; and, worst of all, which makes emolument depend on fees, than which no method of compensation for judicial services affords greater possibilities for evil—such a system must in the end go to pieces.

Doubtless, our referees' courts will never sink to the level of that seedy and slovenly Insolvent Court of England, to which Dickens introduces Mr. Samuel Weller, and whence came the smug and oily Mr. Solomon Pell. But if we are to have a permanent law for the administration of the insolvent estates of the future, we must have a bankruptcy court with bankruptcy judges. Our English cousins long since solved this problem that way. Their bankruptcy court is all but self-sustaining. Present fees here would, if covered into the treasury, pay most of the expenses of such a court. Had we it now, we would not be troubled with a confusion of tongues concerning the meaning of the law, or the spectacle of judicial officers of broad powers compelled to demand fees, indemnities and deposits, or go unpaid, and made ridiculous by statutory restrictions which cast suspicion upon their integrity if not upon their knowledge of the law.

But, whatever the ultimate disposition of the problem, business men, lawyers and legislators will not forget Daniel Webster's words in the Senate, in May, 1841, touching the evils due to the absence of a bankruptcy law:

> "The result is bad every way. It is bad to the public and the country, which loses the efforts and industry of so many useful and capable citizens. It is bad to creditors, because there is no security against preferences, no principle of equality, and no encouragement for honest, fair and seasonable assignments of effects."

The experience of the past two years has again demonstrated the errors inherent in the State system. If given a little time to overcome prejudice and prove its necessity, the federal system, when properly amended, has come to stay.

WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS.

THE SUBMARINE BOAT: ITS PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE submarine boat permits the imaginative to create for their satisfaction and delight all manner of weird and pleasing fancies. A few of its advocates find an ineffable pleasure in picturing the charming sensation of travelling under sea without any of the dangers, annoyances, and discomforts that attend propulsion upon the waves and billows. Some derive happiness from the comforting dream that, for war purposes, the submarine will constitute our coast line of defense, such people believing the boat to be as mobile and active as a shark, and able to discharge accurately torpedoes that will be as destructive as the most carefully prepared mine of high explosives. But the vast majority of those who are enthusiastic as to the future of this type of boat look upon the weird side of the picture. These morbid persons see something very terrifying in this unseen and uncanny foe, which, operating wholly under water and guided by human intelligence, can send fleets of battleships to the bottom without suffering harm themselves. And as this fancy is dwelt upon, even a distinguished naval architect is made to say: "This boat performs in a way that can best describe it as a fish of steel with the brains of a man."

Allied with the imaginative are the sentimental in advocating the utility of the submarine boat. In the desire to make war so destructive and terrible that the nations will not dare to provoke hostilities, the sentimental see in the submarine craft a weapon which may be developed to a degree that will make war impossible.

The strength of the visionists and humanitarians has been supplemented by the endorsement of some able and distinguished

naval officers, who believe that the submarine boat will play an important part in future wars, since such craft exercise a moral effect that will do much to disconcert and discourage the personnel of a blockading squadron. It is through the advocacy of these officers that the attention of the country has been concentrated upon this question. Good is sure to result from this agitation.

As a result of this discussion the seven Holland boats now under construction will be subjected to tests that will surely show the merits and weakness of this type of craft. The number that we are now building is sufficient for experimental purposes, and before the Congress will assemble again we shall have some positive information as to their value as fighting machines.

In regard to the favorable opinion expressed by several distinguished officers concerning submarines, Admiral O'Neil, the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy Department, who has had general charge of the Holland boat since she was turned over to the Government, declares:

"I recognize the fact that favorable comments have been made concerning the 'Holland,' by several eminent naval officers, for whose judgment I entertain the highest respect, but after a careful analysis of all the information that is obtainable concerning her, I am at a loss to understand upon what such opinions are based, as the 'Holland' has never shown the ability to do anything more than run at a slow speed on the surface and make submerged runs of short duration at much slower rate of speed, always, in carefully selected localities, and under most favorable conditions. This is the sum total of her performances, which I am unable to accept as sufficient evidence that such boats are useful and efficient instruments for naval purposes."

With many exceedingly aggressive forces arrayed in favor of the submarine, it can be expected that determined efforts will be made to construct more boats of this character. The majority of naval students and experts, however, are still agnostics upon the question, because they believe that there is nothing in the capabilities of the boat which have so far been demonstrated to justify its extended use. It is possible that the type may eventually be developed to a state of reliability and efficiency; but when the serious difficulties which must first be overcome are taken into consideration, it will be evident that that hope can be realized only after important improvements have been effected.

Nearly four hundred years have elapsed since a submarine craft was experimented with at Toledo, Spain, and it is possible

that submarine navigation was seriously attempted even earlier. For over one hundred and twenty-five years, the world has had a boat which could be submerged and made to rise to the surface, and which could also be made to run either as a surface or submarine boat. At this time, we have, therefore, nothing to learn as to the fact that men can live and work under water. It may also be admitted that the crew can remain below for many hours. We also know that the boats can run under water at a slow speed. The submarine torpedo-boat of to-day is, practically, of the same design as that of a century ago. The present one is more efficient simply by reason of the fact that we now possess a lighter storage battery and can secure better material of construction, and also because the machine tool is able to turn out motors and auxiliaries which are cheaper, lighter, more compact, more reliable and more efficient than could ever be manufactured before. The promises of the past are thus nearer becoming performances. And this improvement in material and tool work really represents all the progress which has been made in the submarine torpedo-boat during a hundred years of development and experiment. The advance has been, therefore, along engineering rather than naval architectural lines.

Undoubtedly, the most careful study of the history of submarine boat construction has been made by Carl Busley, a noted German Marine Engineer and Naval Architect, who has published a monograph upon the subject, which was originally read before the German Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Berlin, Germany, in 1900. He commences in this manner:

"Of all the branches of ship construction, the ignorant have devoted most of their energy to the designing of submarine boats. According to my researches from the year 1861, in the former Prussian and the present German navies, I have found not less than 181 different designs of submarine boats which have been submitted, whose designers were in all branches of business excepting that of ship construction. It is strange in searching over these papers to note that ministers, teachers, students, bank clerks, railroad employees and other people in the peaceful walks of life, as well as simple mechanics, have devoted their time to the designing of a death-dealing submarine machine, which, after particularly fantastic performances by diving, must sink at least six lines of battleships. The explanation for the great attention paid to the designing of submarine boats by landsmen and for the great interest which the public at large will always take in such apparatus, lies, no doubt, in the fascination of horrors. Furthermore, it is noticeable what little interest in construction of this kind has been taken by legitimate builders and de-

signers in the different shipyards of all countries in past years. Latterly, the navies of several countries have interested themselves in the question as to the outlook of the submarine boat in naval warfare; and, since then, the builders have taken a more earnest interest in the different questions, so that it is possible to tabulate the different qualities and properties which the modern submarine boat requires. Submarine vessels can be divided into two large groups: No. 1, actual submarine boats which are intended to be entirely submerged; No. 2, partially submerged boats which remain very close to the surface and from which only single parts, such as the look-out tower, project above. The older boats are mostly of the first class and the boats of modern construction are of the second class."

The inherent defects which confronted the inventors of a hundred years ago still exist in the submarine type. Broadly speaking, the craft is still without an eye to direct her movements. The compass on a submarine boat must, of necessity, be an unreliable instrument. As it must be placed near masses of iron or steel which are liable to be moved, there must be a constant change of directive force. When a torpedo is fired, when a spare one is placed in the tube, or when the conning tower hatch is put on, the compass must be affected. Extraneous influences, such as chain cables, vessels at anchor, or passing ships may cause a deflection of the compass.

In an electrically propelled boat, there is so much free magnetism flying about that the compass must be of little use. It is to be remembered that the standard compass in an ordinary steel ship stands on the bridge, or on a tripod high above the hull; but in the submarine boat, the compass is inside—within, so to speak, the very body of a magnet, with all sorts of consequent and inconsequent poles.

The French boats are probably superior to all others in their ability to navigate. If any reliance can be placed on newspaper accounts, the French have perfected the Periscope to such a degree that it is now a fairly reliable instrument for the purpose intended. It is claimed that with this instrument, no matter at what depth, the commander can secure an absolutely faithful and detailed image of all that is taking place on the surface. As the tube of the Periscope must be in length as many feet as the boat is submerged, and as its top rests on the surface while the boat is moving beneath the water, any floating object on the surface may break off the end of the tube. As a matter of fact, however, some form of the Periscope has been tried at intervals for a decade and has been discarded by experts after short use.

Practically, but little advance has been made in securing increased stability. There can be little or no longitudinal stability in any boat which is designed to dive like a porpoise. Transverse stability can be secured, but longitudinal cannot be gotten without making sacrifices which would seriously interfere with the boat's efficiency. The discharge of a torpedo would instantly be followed by the rise of the boat's bow. It is true that there are compensating tanks to make up for the weights removed by the discharge of the torpedo. But the torpedo is shot out almost instantly, while an appreciable time must be required to fill the compensating tanks, and so, of necessity, there must be a tendency for the vessel to stand on end. Practically, therefore, the torpedo must be fired when the submarine is at rest. Careful investigation fails to show that one torpedo was ever fired with accuracy while the boat and target were in motion. So far as the "Holland" is concerned, it has been officially stated:

"That her efficiency with respect to torpedo practice is practically unknown, as only two torpedoes have been launched from her, one of which failed to run, and the other was at a fixed and not at a moving target."

Much has been written about the speed of the vessel, and yet there is no evidence that any submarine boat has ever been able, on a submerged run, to secure a six-knot speed for three successive hours. Even on her official *surface* endurance trial, the "Holland" averaged only 5 2-3 knots speed. The friends of the submarine craft are very fond of quoting surface runs of their own boat, or the records made by a "submersible" boat, when recounting the advantages and performances of the submarine type. But the "submersible"—which cannot completely immerse itself, but only submerges its hull, leaving exposed a portion of the dome—is simply a special launch or vidette boat. In its invisibility, the submersible may be mistaken for a submarine. It is in the direction of the submersible boat that we can probably look for a powerful weapon, and we should keep our eyes open to that fact.

Some remarkable statements have been made as to the time required to submerge and raise this type of boat. In any boat where there is but little reserve buoyancy, care must of necessity be exercised in adding, removing or shifting weights. Therefore, in filling and blowing out the submerging tanks, which hold at least twelve tons of water, a considerable period of time must be required.

The work of filling boilers direct from the sea and "blowing down" is very familiar to marine engineers. This operation must be done gradually, otherwise there is serious danger of the sea and boiler-joints becoming ruptured. And the same precautions must be taken in filling and blowing down the submerging tanks of any submarine.

It is simply a mechanical impossibility for the "Holland" to be safely submerged to even a depth of ten feet in less than one minute. Of course, she can be sunk by an enemy or ill-disposed person in less time, but it is not the purpose of her designers to have her own crew perform this evolution. It is also possible, when the boat is practically awash, to submerge her to a few feet more in depth in a comparatively short time, but, when in that position, the wake of the boat might make her presence known, and the projectile from even a machine gun would sink her.

The performance of the "Holland" in diving has been carefully watched by others than her owners. In submerging her, it may be only a few seconds from the time the conning tower is dimly visible until that structure disappears. When the boat has to sink after a surface run, sufficient time should be allowed for the motor to cool, and for the boat to be cleared of the gases.

When the French Minister of Marine inspected the submarine boat "Gustave Zede" at Cherbourg in December last, it took nine minutes to submerge that craft.

It is all very well to talk about using the horizontal rudders for causing boats of the "Holland" type to dive and rise, but the fact that the submerging tanks have to be filled with 3,300 gallons of water before the horizontal rudders will act efficiently, shows that these rudders are practically inoperative near the surface.

As the modern submarine is a spindle filled with mechanical appliances, it is of importance to inquire as to the efficiency and installation of these machines. It is because these appliances are constantly giving trouble when subjected to official tests, that it can be asserted that the boats are still in an experimental state. It may, therefore, be well at this time to refer briefly to the character of the installation of the various motors and auxiliaries.

In using three distinct systems of mechanical energy, many of the submarine torpedo-boats have an inherent weakness. In the "Holland," a small boat of 75 tons, gasoline, electricity, and compressed air are used for different purposes.

Gasoline is extremely liable to explode. At least one of its products of combustion is extremely dangerous to life. It is very attenuated, and therefore a great searcher. If there is a defective joint, or pipe, or leaky valve, the gasoline will find it.

During the official speed endurance trial of the "Holland," after the armature of the motor burnt out, it became necessary to start the gas-engine without the assistance of the electric motor. To secure the requisite amount of air for insuring an explosion at the start, recourse was had to the reduced air-pressure in the pipes. It took at least twelve minutes to start the engine in this way. During the effort, there was a slight discharge of the gas into the hull from some improper working of the valve. Even from this small leakage, the machinist in charge became much distressed.

In a boat of the character of the "Holland," it must be difficult to keep the electric motors in a high state of efficiency. The compartment must of necessity be damp, and therefore drops of water are likely to fall on every part of the motors. Salt water is liable also to fall down the hatches and ventilators, thus menacing the dynamos and storage batteries.

The air flasks may be an element of danger, since they are charged to a pressure of 2,000 pounds. The explosion of any one of these tanks would destroy the vessel. There are reducing valves for regulating this pressure; but any careless, inexperienced, or evil-disposed person might wreck the boat or cause a serious casualty by tampering with the reducing valves. These valves are so exposed that it will not be a difficult matter to alter them by any one possessing even an elementary knowledge of marine engineering.

The gas-engine is so closely installed to both electric motors that it will be a very difficult matter to do any extensive overhauling or make important repairs. In fact, the three appliances are so bunched together that it will take at least several working days to line up the shafts of this little craft.

There are three sets of gearing. The use of gearing on board any ship is at least inadvisable, for, no matter how strong the hull is made, there must be in a seaway some working of the vessel, and the gear is likely to break if it does not become impaired.

The noise in the engine-room is a serious disadvantage. The gas-engine is subjected to shock rather than to steady pressure, and therefore the engine pounds heavily. As all three sets of

gearing are running continuously, there is considerable noise from that source.

Since the explosion of the gasoline is effected by a spark from an ignition storage battery, any accident to this battery would throw the gas engine out of operation. This may prove a serious weakness since the cells of the storage battery are in such an exposed position that they could be very easily impaired.

Despite these weaknesses of the "Holland," she possesses some value in her ability to possibly reach unseen the enemy's fleet, discharge her torpedo, and immediately disappear and get away. This invisibility can be almost entirely secured by the building of a semi-submerged boat, and since such a boat could have at least double the speed that could be given the submarine craft, her chances for getting in and away would be greatly increased.

Even though every existing type of submarine boat may thus have inherent weaknesses which prevent its being a practical fighting machine, yet it is the wish of every one connected with the Navy that development and improvement may take place.

Every nation that possesses or aspires to sea-power is only too anxious to adopt any new type of craft that may contribute to its naval strength. If the development of the submarine had made any substantial progress, it is to be presumed that the British Admiralty would have utilized this craft long before now. The British estimate of its usefulness may be measured by the manner in which her naval writers refer to the boat.

In the annual competition in 1900 for the prize of the Royal United Service Institution of Great Britain, the gold medallist wrote thus upon the matter; and the views of the author are practically those of the best informed officers of the Service:

"Submarine boats are a confession of weakness and by no means to be recommended for our own Navy, whatever foreigners may think about them. Both the Americans and Spaniards were in possession of boats of this class during the late war, but as neither attempted to make any use of them, we may perhaps be permitted to conclude that they did not think they were worth the trouble of transporting to the scene of action.

"Although a very large number of a variety of types have at different times been invented and experimented with, the results of their trials, though at the time often reported as eminently satisfactory, have never been such as to lead to their construction on any large scale. Their use, too, has been condemned for what now, perhaps, would be scoffed at as sentimental reasons. But it may be remembered that even Napoleon, who was not particularly troubled by

scruples of this kind, refused to employ the fairly successful boat invented by the American, Fulton, against the British fleet, while his admiral, Decres, remarked that such craft 'were only fit for Algerines and pirates.'

"France, however, has several in hand at present, probably more with a view of pleasing the fancy of the public than from the real expectation that they will be of any particular value to her Navy."

Despite the fact that the Naval Lords are still sceptics upon this question, the Admiralty has been compelled to yield to the demand of many laymen that submarines be constructed. Five boats have been ordered, the first of which should be delivered in the autumn. Upon this action the Admiralty report says:

"What the future value of these boats may be in naval warfare can only be a matter of conjecture. Experiments with these boats will assist the Admiralty in assessing their true value. The question of their employment must be studied in all its developments, and their mechanism carefully watched in this country."

The policy of England, therefore, has been to build as few as possible to satisfy clamor, and yet a number sufficiently large to determine their true worth.

It is in France that the submarine has the most friends, and yet the total cost of all the boats built, in process of construction and authorized by the "Budget" will only approximately reach $3,000,000.

France has only four submarine boats actually in commission. These are the "Gymnote," "Gustav Zede," "Morse" and "Narval." Three more boats, the "Français," "Algerien" and "Farfadet," are about completed, and are almost ready for their official tests. According to *Le Yacht*, a French marine periodical which ought to be an authority on the question, only the seven above mentioned will be ready to go into commission in the year 1901.

In addition to the seven boats that are either in commission or about ready for their official tests, fifteen other submarine boats have been authorized or are building at Toulon, Cherbourg and Rochefort. As the United States ought to have eight submarine boats in commission before the end of 1901 (since it is stated by the Holland Company that their boats will even be completed by May), we shall actually be in advance of France by the end of this year in the number of boats that we shall have afloat.

Two of the boats that are being constructed for the French Navy were paid for by popular subscription conducted by the *Matin* of Paris. Only twenty-three, therefore, have been authorized at all times by the French Admiralty. Is it not reasonable

to presume that, since the general public presented the nation with two of these boats, the Admiralty were compelled to recognize public sentiment, and that several other boats were authorized in response to this pressure.

The following résumé shows the actual condition of submarine boat construction in France at the present time. It will be observed that the cost per ton in France has never yet exceeded $1,100, although the Admiralty of that country demand a twelve-knot speed, and therefore a very large and costly installation of storage battery is required. In this country we are paying $1,500 per ton for a seven-knot boat, with a storage battery of less than one-third the power of the French type. May we not expect, therefore, when the construction of submarine boats is open to all competitors, that we can secure boats at less than two-thirds the price that we are now paying, since the storage battery is the most costly portion of the vessel?

Name.	Tonnage.	Ordered Built.	Laid Down.	Estimated Cost.
In commission:				
"Gymnote"	30			
"Gustave Zede"	266			
"Morse"	146			
"Narval"	106	June 1, 1898	Nov. 23, 1898	
About completed:				
"Français"	146	April 8, 1899	Oct. 3, 1899	$146,699.30
"Algerien"	146	April 8, 1899	Oct. 3, 1899	146,699.30
Under construction:				
"Sirene"	106	June 20, 1899	Aug. 28, 1900	119,177.50
"Triton"	106	June 20, 1899	Aug. 28, 1900	119,177.50
"Silure"	106	May 1, 1900		119,177.50
"Espadon"	106	May 1, 1900		119,177.50
"Farfadet"	185	Sept. 20, 1899	April 2, 1900	154,428.95
"Korrigan"	185	Sept. 27, 1899	April 23, 1900	154,428.95
"Gnome"	185	Sept. 27, 1899		154,428.95
"Lutin"	185	Sept. 27, 1899		154,428.95
Authorized by the Budget of 1901—				
Eight boats	106			Each 199,177.50

The Budget for 1902 provides for *three* boats of a *new* type. It would thus appear that not only is France dissatisfied with the performance of the boats now in commission, but it is also evident that she does not place too much reliance upon the design of those now in course of construction. Submarine boat construction, therefore, in France, cannot be said to have passed beyond the experimental stage.

The French Admiralty recognizes the fact that the best interests of the nation can be subserved by giving different inventors a chance to test their appliance. The motive power is, therefore, different in the various boats. In the "Narval" steam and elec-

tricity are the motors; in the "Morse" electricity alone is the propelling force.

The French Admiralty officials must have been somewhat sceptical themselves as to the military advantages of these boats, otherwise it would not have been necessary for any Parisian journal to appeal to the general public for funds to construct any such boats. No evidence can be found that a popular subscription was needed to build either a battleship, armored cruiser, protected cruiser, or torpedo boat; in the construction of these practical fighting machines, the French Admiralty officials required no spurring from the general populace. It is not to be wondered at that the naval officials at London, Berlin and St. Petersburg repose very little confidence in the military importance of any type of boat whose most enthusiastical endorsement comes from a general public that must of necessity be unacquainted with the essential features of an innovation in naval construction.

The German Admiralty, in view of the attitude of both France and the United States, has been giving particular attention to this subject. Early in March, 1901, it was officially stated by Admiral von Tirpitz, the Naval Secretary, that he still adhered to his unfavorable opinion regarding submarine boats, and that the Naval Department would not construct a single one.

In the course of a lecture delivered early this year at the Military Casino by an officer of the Austrian Navy, it was contended that there is thus far little prospect of the submarine boat playing an important part in naval warfare, and it was maintained that Austria-Hungary therefore does well to await the results of further experiments before incurring expense for such vessels.

Even the most earnest advocate of this type gives excellent reasons why we should wait before authorizing the building of more boats.

Admiral Hichborn says:

"No vessel was ever built yet that there was not something in a second boat that could be an improvement."

Mr. Creecy, the representative of the Holland Company, says:

"They (the shipbuilders) will build the boats according to our plans; but they say, 'We will not guarantee the success of those plans'; so this company takes all the risk."

If the shipbuilders hold such views about the craft, is it surprising that others are not convinced that the boat is a finished product and successful war appliance?

It is Constructor Lewis Nixon who asserts that the new boats will be an improvement upon the "Holland." If the trifling service performed by the "Holland" could suggest improvements so important in Mr. Nixon's judgment, why cannot we assume that, when eight of these boats are in commission, we shall be able to secure data which will permit us to design boats far superior to those already authorized?

For over eight years the Construction Board of the Navy Department has been carefully investigating the question, and it is its opinion that, before building any more boats, we should find out the capabilities of the seven that are now in the course of construction. As this Board is desirous of securing for the Navy every form of boat that possesses any military or strategic value, its members had a predilection to approve rather to condemn the submarine boat when the matter was first presented to them.

In 1892, the Board commenced to give careful consideration to the question of submarine boat construction. As a result of this investigation, the Congress authorized the construction of the "Plunger," a boat of the "Holland" type. This boat, after five years' work upon it, was abandoned as a hopeless failure by the Holland people, and now that company is building another to take its place. With the "Plunger" as a complete failure, and the "Holland" turning out less than a six-knot surface boat, the members of the Board are, naturally, a little more sceptical upon the question than they were even five years ago.

This Board has not been a conservative one, apprehensive of assuming responsibility, nor has it hesitated in adopting new appliances. It has awarded battleships to shipbuilding firms that have heretofore not even constructed cruisers. It has placed superposed turrets on the "Kearsarge," "Kentucky" and other battleships—an innovation that has not been attempted by any other naval power. Even in constructing submarine boats, it has taken a step in advance of any other nation, excepting France.

The Board of Construction has never imposed conditions upon the Holland Company, except such as were deemed reasonable by the builders themselves. The Board is much more desirous than any one else can possibly be of securing an efficient boat. It is not wedded to the belief that only one firm can construct them. Past experience convinces it that much is learned from official tests. The Board believes that when a spirited rivalry has been

created between the commanders and crews of the several boats, information of the greatest value will be secured. For this reason, it is well satisfied that no additional boats should be authorized until at least several months after the boats now in course of construction shall have been placed in commission.

In case the Congress should conclude to authorize the building of any additional boats, the recommendation of the Board of Construction that no special type be specified should be carried out. The Secretary of the Navy should even be given discretion to contract for such boats as, in his judgment, are likely to prove most efficient and best suitable for naval purposes.

From a military standpoint, the field of submarine boat construction should be made as large as possible. Particularly should we strive, at least during the experimental stage, to encourage a spirited rivalry between inventors of radically different types. At the present time, the Lake Submarine Boat Company is exceedingly desirous of having an opportunity to compete for any new boats that may be authorized. Judging from the success secured by the boats of this type constructed for commercial purposes, we can certainly expect that this company is as capable as any other to make good any promises or obligations assumed. The Navy Department should be in a position to pit designer against designer, as well as builder against builder.

It would be extremely advisable to prescribe that at least one of the boats should be submersible only to the extent of having her conning tower awash. The Board of Construction has carefully and judicially studied this question, and now the members are satisfied that progress and success in the construction of submarine craft can only be secured by carefully analyzing the data that may be gathered from future official tests and experiments. From these data, important conclusions will be drawn which will undoubtedly cause marked changes from the present specifications. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that, when any additional boats are authorized, the Department will be justified in imposing higher requirements than have even heretofore been demanded.

There is no mystery about any of the mechanical features of the submarine boat. To submerge her it is only necessary to run water from the sea into tanks at the bottom of the boat. To bring her to the surface these tanks must be emptied, and to do this compressed air from the storage flask is used. To cause her

to run under water, there is a storage battery to supply the electric current for operating a motor which is geared to the propeller shaft. While under water, air is supplied to the crew for breathing purposes from the storage flasks.

Every operation for the navigation or propulsion of the boat can be effected by a commercial auxiliary, and these motors are of the most simple character. It is doubtful if a single important claim of any of the inventors would be sustained by an appellate court, in case any shipbuilding firm should care to utilize any apparently destructive appliance that is now installed on such boats.

Any shipbuilding plant that has constructed a torpedo boat will find it an easy matter to build a submarine, for the latter boat has comparatively more room for the installation of auxiliaries than the former. The hope of ultimate success for the submarine rests in the fact that, where there is a spirited and keen competition between inventors, there is sure to be progress in development. The submarine is not an expensive boat to build. A fleet of fifty could be built at the cost of a single battleship. To add ten of the best submarines to the Navy ought not to involve an expenditure of over one million dollars. Except so far as taking care that only a fair price is paid, the question of expense is of minor importance. If the boat has any military or strategic value, we should change our policy of ship construction, for nothing could justify the building of so many battleships if the submarine possessed even a portion of the advantages that her advocates claim.

In the indifference of naval officers to this question there is great danger. The boats are either valuable or they are worthless for military purposes. From the time that the Senate and House Naval Committees look with favor upon these boats, there will be a decreased construction of battleships; and the action of the Congress in striking out of the Naval Appropriation Bill of 1901 all authorization for battleships and cruisers can certainly, in part, be traced to the belief that the submarine possesses many of the qualities claimed by its advocates.

It is, therefore, high time that those who believe in the efficiency of the submarine should be compelled to make good a few of their promises. It is easy for them to tell of the vast amount of concentrated energy possessed by these boats, and of the ease with which this energy can be directed against an enemy. Con-

centrated energy, however, is usually a very awkward thing to deal with, even on a battleship. Many details as to its handling will have to be solved before it can be efficiently and quickly used in a submarine. To be able to fire one torpedo from a submarine boat, after hours and even days of preparation, is far from promising work; nor has the craft proved more satisfactory as regards stability, speed, and manœuvering qualities.

There need be no haste in deciding this question. As the boats are neither costly, large, nor intricate, they can be built in six months. It is even claimed, that a premium for speed construction would induce shipbuilders to construct a submarine in three months. There ought to be fifty firms in this country able to construct these boats in case of necessity.

All nations are capable of possessing this boat as soon as they wish; consequently, there must be very little practical advantage in experimenting for the benefit of others. The principles governing the design are so simple that no nation can seriously consider its own plans as secret.

If submarines possess any military or strategic value, the Navy Department should formulate general requirements as to what will be considered acceptable boats. Shipbuilders should be told the limit as to tonnage, the speed demanded, the period of submersion, the requirements as to navigation, and the tests as to torpedo discharge. These are the five problems that have not been solved satisfactorily. Encouragement should be given to every firm that will enter upon such construction. Premiums should be offered for every advance that will be made in the solution of any phase of the question.

The submarine boat problem is something more than the building of a few vessels of that type. It may not only mean a change in naval construction, but a revolution in naval tactics, since submarines cannot fight submarines.

However sincere the builders of submarines may be, these men must of necessity give *ex parte* testimony as to the worth of their own designs. Therefore, the Naval Construction Board and the Secretary of the Navy should be sustained in their contention that performances, and not promises, should be the factors in determining the advisability of building more of these boats, as well as the character and type of the craft best suited to our needs.

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

A CURIOUS HUMAN DOCUMENT.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON, AUTHOR OF "WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS."

In the days of our grandfathers, Philosophy, now more commonly known as Physical Science, was held guilty of clipping angels' wings, of unravelling rainbows, and generally playing the Vandal among the airy castles of romance.

Latterly, she seems to have mended her ways, and, indeed, seems eager to atone for past mischief; for we often find her employed in weaving entrancing histories, more wonderful than the romances of the poets, out of the most prosaic and unpromising materials. Thus, she will take a spadeful of garden mold, and not only evolve from it a wondrous tale concerning vast floods of molten lava, of mountains which have sunk and vanished, of rivers and oceans long since dry, and of stupendous dragons which once thronged the earth, but, in its tiny, living inhabitants, she shows us "a little people exceeding wise," who have succeeded in solving many social problems which the most civilized governments are still wrestling with in vain.

One effect of this change upon general opinion is that a noteworthy respect has grown up for many things which most of our forefathers regarded as "common or unclean," and which the *literati* of their day deemed too utterly contemptible to occupy a genteel intelligence.

Can you imagine, for instance, a literary magazine, two or three generations ago, publishing a philosophical essay upon corns? However much the editor might declare, in rotund Latin, that he was a man, and hence that nothing relating to man was a matter of indifference to him, he would assuredly have tabooed a discussion on corns—in spite of a poignant, personal interest taken therein by nearly all his readers. To-day, as this article

testifies, such matters are no longer treated as beneath our dignity; for we have learned that even the most trifling details of the human frame may prove valuable records of the early history of the race. In fact, as I hope to show in the following pages, every corn is an extremely ancient historical record, which is well worthy of careful examination.

In the standard works on Surgical Pathology, corns are, of course, described in considerable detail; but hitherto little seems to have been written as to their primary cause and origin, and nothing whatever as to their historical significance. They are usually classed among diseases of the skin, and are spoken of as a common cause of lameness; yet, there can be no doubt that, in the first place, they were not only distinctly advantageous possessions, but that their special function was to prevent lameness.

If we would understand how this odd perversion has been brought about, we must, firstly, bear in mind that the period during which man, by completely encasing his feet in hard boots, has become a sort of *amateur ungulate*, is very short indeed compared with the immeasurable epoch during which he wore no foot-covering at all. In those ancient days, also, when every man was a hunter who had to pursue game afoot—and was in danger of starvation if he did not succeed—pedestrianism was of much greater importance in the economy of life than it is now. Secondly, we must remember that little or no change has taken place in man's physical framework since those remote times when he was an absolute savage. Thirdly, Nature's methods of meeting physical emergencies, as applied to man, are appropriate, not to his recent, and, as yet, brief environment of civilization (and boots), but to the state of universal bootlessness which prevailed throughout the long stone ages.

Every one knows nowadays that the integument of the body is composed of two chief layers. The deeper part is called the *dermis,* or true skin, and consists of a fibrous network containing abundant blood-vessels and nerves. This is the part which is formed into leather when a hide is tanned. The thin, superficial layer, the *epidermis,* is of a horny character, and, under the microscope is seen to be built up of little cells, looking something like the bricks in a wall. These are round and soft where they are deep and close to the *dermis,* but they become flatter, drier and harder as they near the outside; and, by and by, having been ex-

posed to the wear and tear on the surface, they peel off, and are replaced by others from below. Now, wherever the skin has to bear an extra amount of friction, these horny cells collect more rapidly than elsewhere, because, if such were not the case, the protective covering would soon be worn through. As long as the wear at such a spot is not very great, the layers of new cells ascending from below are more or less horizontal, like the bricks in a wall. But when friction increases at some particular spot, so that a much greater number of horny cells are required to protect the tender tissues beneath, what is done to meet the emergency? As soon as such a need arises, little folds, or mounds, appear in the region where the new "bricks" are manufactured, which increase the extent of the surface from which these are given off, thus causing a great addition to the output. But in this process, as in all manufacturing processes, an increased output involves both increased material and careful superintendence. Hence, in each of these little undulations upon the vascular *dermis,* there spring up loops of new blood-vessels to convey supplies to the spot, and these are always accompanied by delicate and sensitive nerve-branches, whose duty it is to report progress, and to give orders, as it were, how the work is to be carried on.

The result of such a state of affairs can generally be seen upon the palm of the hand where it is exposed to friction, although here, as a rule, a slightly waved surface avails to produce enough horny scales to meet the loss of tissue caused by manual labor. If you wish to see a good example of small mounds, or *papillae,* which increase the cell-manufacturing area where friction is great, examine the bottom of a dog's paw, and you will find it densely crowded with a mass of horny cones (usually worn away at the apex), each of which is based on a vascular *papilla.*

Now, of course, the superficial wear and tear of the naked human foot is much greater than that of the hand. Hence, one not only finds abundant provision for the manufacture of hard and tough skin all over the sole and toes, but, if any one part of the foot is especially exposed to rub or pressure, little mounds or *papillae* form there like those on the foot of a dog.

As long as man ran barefoot, all went extremely well. If one part of the foot, owing to some personal peculiarity of gait or habit, wore away faster than the rest, and was in danger of becoming abraded, that fact alone caused small *papillae,* filled with

active blood-vessels and nerves, to spring up at the threatened spot, so that horny cells were produced in great abundance. Hence, any primitive savage who habitually rubbed one part of his foot in climbing to his rock shelter, was protected from consequent disablement; and if, through some change in his habits, another part became chafed more than the rest, the new need was met in a precisely similar fashion No accumulation of this thickened cuticle took place at such a spot, because it was rasped away by the wear and tear of locomotion just as rapidly as it was formed.

Now, let us see what takes place under modern conditions. As I have said above, civilized man has found it expedient to mimic the ungulate quadrupeds, by encasing his feet in stout coverings somewhat resembling hoofs. Even if these fitted perfectly, the enclosed feet would be subjected to conditions of wear and pressure which they were not constructed to sustain. Unfortunately, like all things constructed by human art, our artificial hoofs share the imperfections of their makers. Under the stimulus of undue local pressure caused by an ill-fitting shoe, certain nerves (forming the intelligence department of the disturbed region) become excited, and send an alarming report to headquarters.

Now, whether the blame rests with the small nerves who send the report, or with the big central department which receives and interprets it, I cannot say; but, in some way or other, a gross blunder is committed, which, both from its nature and from the difficulty one finds in tracing it home, calls to mind certain recent achievements of our controllers of warlike stores. For the sake of our argument on this occasion, let us adopt the usual policy of putting all possible blame upon the lesser officials. What happens in such an event as we are discussing may be put somewhat as follows: From the spot "where the shoe pinches," a message is dispatched along the conducting nerves to the central bureau: "Much friction here. Send help at once or skin will be abraded."

There is no delay in responding to this appeal. Help soon arrives, in the shape of large reinforcements of blood corpuscles, both red and white, and roads are at once made (by the outgrowth of *papillae* containing new blood-vessels) for their approach to the threatened region. Moreover, the intelligence department ap-

points fresh and zealous local agents, in the shape of sensitive nerve-fibres, to accompany the relief expedition.

But, alas! in spite of all the zeal shown, and all the energy expended, one venerable and obsolete system, and one only, is employed on all occasions when such emergencies have to be met. Vast numbers of wear-resisting cells are manufactured and are piled up around each new *papilla* (something like sandbags encircling a redoubt), and are pushed forward in the direction of the supposed danger. Hence, a rapid accumulation of the cuticle takes place over the spot "where the shoe pinches"; and this being artificially protected from attrition from without, continues to thicken, until it causes a severe aggravation of the pressure upon the tender parts below. The nerves in the advanced *papillae* become acutely aware that matters are going from bad to worse, and send agonized appeals for further relief to headquarters. Our central repair department, still taking it for granted that the chief thing it fears—namely, abrasion of the surface—is taking place in spite of all that has been done, redoubles its former efforts. Fresh supplies are hurried to the front, and the local authorities are instructed to increase the pile of horny cells, at the spot where the pressure is greatest, by every means permitted by the laws of Nature.

As a result, the thickened cuticle over each new *papilla,* instead of being rasped away, as in the case of the barefoot savage, is at first heaped up upon the surface like one of the horny cones covering a dog's paw. But, being unable to get any further in an outward direction, on account of the unyielding boot, it presses inward upon the tender and vascular tissues of the *papilla* itself, and at length penetrates them in the form of an inverted cone of corneous matter. By this time, that slow-moving Autocrat of All the Body whom we call "I," and who, as a rule, knows even less about the workings of his remote frontier departments than does the Czar of Russia himself, finds it impossible to stand the thing any longer; so he removes his boot, and takes the matter in hand (more or less) *secundum artem.* But, whatever he may think or do, and however much he may assert his sovereign rights over his own extremities, he gets no help or countenance whatever from his staff of permanent officials, who obstinately and insolently continue to make believe that their lord is still a wild savage, running barefoot in the woods.

It will now be easy to understand the pathological distinction which surgeons draw between corns and callosities. Corns, they say, are persistent, and tend to grow inward and penetrate the deeper tissues; whereas callosities, such as those on the hands of workmen, grow outward, and readily peel off. But, although the real explanation of this fact is not to be found in the best known works on surgery, the usual treatment recommended for a corn—the scraping or cutting away of the superfluous cuticle, and various means for relieving the spot from pressure—are undoubtedly correct from the historic standpoint.

We may see from this that it will not do blindly to "trust to Nature," in medical and surgical emergencies, until we have succeeded in convincing Nature as to the existence and worth of the appliances of modern civilization. In the case in point, I fear there is no prospect whatever of her changing her methods, unless, during the course of many hundred generations, those with corns should be steadily eliminated as "unfit"; so that, at length, the whole surviving population can wear ill-fitting foot-gear with impunity.

Every one who has used unshod horses or oxen, or who has employed sheep dogs on rough and stony ground, is aware that, in wet seasons, the natural horny coverings of the feet tend to become softened, and to wear away more rapidly than when the weather is dry. Like modern savages living on perishable food, our barefoot forefathers must have been obliged to go a-hunting in all weathers: and, such being the case, they, in common with horses and dogs, needed an especially rapid growth of sole-material during the rainy season. Now, it is demonstrable that Nature has made elaborate provision for this very need in the case of most animals.

A careful examination of numerous stabled horses and indoor dogs has shown that, in spite of their protected state, there is a tendency toward the increased growth of the horny covering of the feet, not only during the more rainy periods of the year, but at any time when a spell of wet weather is impending. What the influence actually is that provokes such profound changes in the circulation and nutrition of the extremities as this process involves, we are not able to determine. Probably, sensitiveness of the nervous system to barometric pressure has something to do with it; but I am inclined to think that many living organisms

have quite other means, of which we know nothing, for foretelling the approach of rain. When we take into account the marvellous weather-wisdom displayed by many creatures—notably the apes on the Rock of Gibraltar—which, by their action, show that they are aware of the approach of changes before the barometer or the wind-vane gives the least sign of warning, we must admit that the animal body is, after all, an infinitely more delicate meteorological apparatus than any which has been invented by men of science.

Now, can we, by turning again to our "documents," find any trace of such endowments in ourselves? Are we not all aware, either from individual experience, or from common hearsay, that, when rain is threatened, corns "shoot"? The real meaning of this phenomenon should be plain enough to every one who has followed the preceding arguments. Under normal conditions, increased sensitiveness in any part of the human frame is proof of increased vital activity. It means that the local nerves, which represent the intelligence department, and control nutrition, are especially on the alert. Pain, from whatever cause arising, is invariably a proof of nerve irritation, and is usually the result of tension or pressure. Hence, when corns "shoot" on the approach of damp weather, we owe the sharp, throbbing pain then experienced partly to a sudden increase of activity in the vascular and sensitive *papillae*, and partly to a rapid growth of the cuticle which already presses upon them—the whole being due to the fact that some senile and weather-wise commissary at headquarters, who does not believe in boots, having been appointed several thousand centuries before such things were thought of, is making provision against a rainy day. LOUIS ROBINSON.

BABISM.

BY E. DENISON ROSS, PROFESSOR OF PERSIAN IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE general reader's knowledge of Persia and things Persian is usually limited to the bare facts that the country is ruled by a Shah, and that in times past it has produced one or two poets. Some know that Mohammedanism is there the prevalent religion; but beyond such knowledge few have penetrated. Considering, then, the limitations of our general knowledge on the subject of Persia, it is a matter of small wonder that a religious movement in that country, however great its magnitude, and however far-reaching its consequences, should escape the attention of the Western world.

In the present article, we have to deal with no mere religious reformation, but with the foundation and rise, in the middle of the nineteenth century, of a new faith. In its early history, as we shall see, it has much in common with Christianity, as also in the matter of doctrine, emphasizing, as it does, the brotherhood of man, and aspiring to an universal reign of peace, love, freedom and unity of belief.

In tracing the origin and rise of any religion whatsoever, it is, where possible, fitting to examine the religion or religions which have been in vogue at its birth; for these have, of necessity, always served as a starting point for a new dispensation. Thus, for example, for the proper understanding of Mohammedanism, it is Judaism (not of the Torah, but of the Talmud), Christianity (chiefly of the Apocryphal Gospels) and Sabæanism, which we must study. In the case of Bābism, we must examine Mohammedanism from the Shiite standpoint, and beyond this a movement known as Shaykhism, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, grew out of the Shiite faith. In order, however, fully to

appreciate the exact position of Shaykhism, and in its turn of Bābism, in their relation to Islam, it will be fitting to explain, in as few words as possible, the main points of divergence between Shiism, the state religion of Persia, and Sunnism, or Orthodox Mohammedanism, as practiced in Turkey, Egypt, India and elsewhere. The divergences in teaching which divide these two factions are more sharply indicated than those which separate Protestants from Roman Catholics, and their mutual hostility is also greater. The principal difference, as is well known, lies in the recognition, or otherwise, of all the early successors of Mohammed as Vicars of God on earth. The Sunnis recognize the claims of the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali, while the Shiites maintain that Ali and his descendants were the only lawful successors. The Omayyad Caliphs and their successors, the Abbasids, are duly cursed by the Shiites, not merely as usurpers, but even more vehemently for having put to death or persecuted as many as they could of the house of Ali. Thus there arose two rival dynasties—the Caliphs of the Sunni faction and the Imams of the Shiite; the former claiming both temporal and spiritual power over the Sunni church, while the Imams are reverenced as saints, and even worshipped by the Shiites. According to the orthodox Shiites, there were twelve Imams, of whom eleven lived and died on earth; whereas the twelfth, who is known as the Imam Mahdi, disappeared and remains hidden until such time as he shall reappear and inaugurate the millennium. The person of this Imam was, from the first, enveloped in mystery. According to Shiite belief, he disappeared from the eyes of men in the year 940 A. D., and retired to the mysterious city of Jabulka, where he still lives. At first, he continued to communicate with the faithful through the medium of certain chosen persons, who were known by the name of Bāb or Gate. Of these Bābs, there were four in succession, and the period during which they acted as the temporary guides of the faithful is known as the "Lesser Occultation." On the death of the fourth Bāb, this apostolic succession came to an abrupt end, and thus began the period known as the "Greater Occultation."

In the course of centuries, many various sects and schools had grown out of the Shiite creed, and among these was Shaykhism, which originated early in the nineteenth century in the teaching of a certain Ahmed Ahsai. Space will not permit us to enter

into the details of his teaching. Suffice it to say that it was characterized, first, by a veneration for the Imams which in intensity surpassed that of the most devout Shiites; and, secondly, by a doctrine known as that of the "Fourth Support," which maintained that there must always be amongst the Shiites some "perfect man," capable of serving as a channel of grace between the Hidden Imam and his church. Shaykh Ahmed was succeeded at his death by Hajji Sayyid Kazim, who held largely attended conferences at Kerbela, the principal place of veneration and object of pilgrimage of the Shiites. Now, amongst those who attended the lectures of Sayyid Kazim was a young man of Shiraz, named Mirza Ali Mohammad, who, though very reserved in manner, attracted the attention of his teacher by his earnestness and grave demeanor. Born of a good family, he had apparently enjoyed the advantages of a distinguished education; he showed a great predilection for the occult sciences, the philosophic theory of numbers and the like. He, furthermore, had opportunities of intercourse with the Jews of Shiraz, and through Protestant missionary translations he became acquainted with the Gospels. He was strikingly handsome, and his charms of speech and manner were, it appears from all accounts, irresistible. At the age of twenty-two he married; and by his marriage had one son, who died in infancy. He was at this period settled in business at Bushire; and, from that port of the Persian Gulf, he went to Kerbela and attended, as we have said, the conferences of Sayyid Kazim. Here he remained for a few months, and then departed as suddenly as he had come, returning to Shiraz. Not long after this, Sayyid Kazim died, without, however, nominating a successor; and this fact, as will be seen, is of the utmost importance in the history of the Bāb.

Shortly after Sayyid Kazim's death, a certain Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh, who had attended the Sayyid's lectures at the same time as Mirza Ali Mohammad, came to Shiraz, and, as was only natural, took that opportunity of visiting his former fellow-student. The two at once fell to talking of the death of their lamented teacher, and referred to the strange words he had spoken as death was approaching: "Do you not desire that I should go, so that the Truth may become manifest?" though he gave no hint of the manner in which the Truth should be revealed. At this point in the conversation, Mirza Ali Mohammad, to the utter

amazement of his friend, suddenly declared that he himself was the promised guide, the new intermediary between the Hidden Imam and the faithful; in short, that he was the Bāb, or "Gate," through which men might communicate with the Imam Mahdi. Mulla Husayn, though at first inclined to doubt, soon came to believe in the truth of this declaration with a faith that thenceforth remained unshaken. This manifestation and conversion of the first disciple took place on May 23d, 1844, almost exactly one thousand years after the "Lesser Occultation." Mulla Husayn at once began to spread the "good news" among the followers of Sayyid Kazim, many of whom immediately set out for Shiraz, so that very soon there was gathered round the Bāb a devoted band of believers, which included, besides the followers of Sayyid Kazim, others who were attracted by the new faith. The various kinds of persons who were thus attracted may be summed up as follows:

1. The Shaykhis.

2. Shiites, who believed that the Bāb's teaching was the fulfilling of the Koran.

3. Men who saw in it a hope of national reform.

4. Sufis and mystics.

To these four classes we may add to-day:

5. Those to whom the life and teaching of the Bāb and Beha appeal in a general way; and among these must be numbered those Western converts who do not fall under the next head.

6. Those who regard Bābism as a fulfillment of Christianity.

At this period the Bāb had already written several works, and these were now eagerly perused by his disciples, who, from time to time, were also "privileged to listen to the words of the Master himself, as he depicted in vivid language the worldliness and immorality of the Mullas, or Mohammedan clergy, and the injustice and rapacity of the civil authorities," and the like. He further prophesied that better days were at hand. At this time, however, he did not openly attack Islam.

Thus do we find Mirza Ali Mohammad in the first stage of his mission, setting forth claims to be the Bāb or channel of grace between the Imam Mahdi and his church, and inveighing against the corruptions of the clergy and the government, by whom he naturally came to be regarded with suspicion and dislike. Not long after his Manifestation, when his fame had

already spread throughout the country, he set out to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was probably in the Holy City itself that he, once and for all, freed himself from the Prophet's Faith, and conceived the thought of "ruining this faith, in order to establish in its place something altogether differing from it." He returned from Mecca in August, 1845, possessed of more definite aims and ideals with regard to his own mission. Meanwhile, the clergy and the government had determined that the movement was dangerous, and that it bade fair to become more so. Active measures must, therefore, be taken for its suppression, while this was yet an easy matter. Several of the Bāb's disciples were, accordingly, seized in Shiraz, and, having been bastinadoed, they were warned to desist from preaching. On landing in Bushire, the Bāb was arrested and brought to Shiraz, where he underwent an examination by the clergy in the presence of the governor of that town. He was pronounced a heretic, and ordered to remain in his house until further orders. No very strict watch was, however, kept over him, and, like St. Paul before him, he was visited by and conferred with the faithful.

In the spring of 1846, he escaped to Ispahan, where he remained under the protection of the governor of that town. In the following year, this governor died, and his successor in office immediately sent the Bāb in the direction of Teheran under an armed escort. The Shah's ministers, however, deeming that the Bāb's presence in the capital might prove dangerous, gave orders that he should be taken off to the distant frontier-fortress of Maku, where he composed a great number of works and was in constant correspondence with his followers. In order to put a stop to this correspondence and to set him in closer confinement, the Bāb was removed to Chihrik, whence not long after he was summoned to Tabriz, to undergo examination by some of the leading clergy in the presence of the Crown Prince (afterward Shah Nasir-ud-Din). This examination was, of course, a pure farce and the verdict a foregone conclusion. His inquisitors hoped to catch him tripping, but their victim drove them to exasperation by the attitude of dignified silence which he adopted toward their bullying questions. Finally, they ordered him to be beaten and sent back to Chihrik, where he was now subjected to such close confinement that he was only able to communicate with his followers by means of the most peculiar devices: scraps of

paper were, for example, concealed among sweetmeats, or wrapped in waterproof and sunk in milk.

While he was confined in Chihrik his teaching underwent some development, for he now declared himself to be not merely the Gate leading to the Imam Mahdi, but to be the Point of Revelation, the Imam himself. What he had hitherto preached in parables only, he would now openly proclaim. He declared that his mission was not final, and spoke of one yet greater than himself who should come after, and should be "He whom God shall manifest." He laid great stress on this point, and expressed an urgent desire that men should receive the next Manifestation better than they had received this one. He further added: "They are to remember that no revelation is final, but only represents the measure of truth which the state of human progress has rendered mankind capable of receiving."

We cannot, within the space of an article, enter into the question of the philosophic theory of numbers which played so important a part in Bābi tenets. It must, however, be mentioned that the number 19, from a variety of causes, is held in especial esteem among them. Thus, the year, in the Bāb's reformed calendar, was composed of nineteen months of nineteen days each, and so forth. And thus, too, he elected among his followers eighteen chosen disciples, whom he called the "Letters of the Living," of whom he, the nineteenth, was the "Point of Unity" which completed the sacred number. There was a sort of apostolic succession among these "Letters," so that when one died some other Bābi was appointed to his place. The Bāb composed about a dozen works in all, the most important of which was the *"Bayan,"* a work containing a precise statement of all the doctrines taught by him during the final stage of his mission. It was in fact the Bābi Bible.

Leaving the Bâb for a while in the prison of Chihrik, we must turn to consider the fortunes and misfortunes of his now numerous followers. Of the eighteen chosen "Letters," three fill a most conspicuous place in the early history of the Bābi movement: namely, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh, who, as we have seen, was the first convert to the new faith; Mohammad Ali of Balfarush, and a woman named Kurrat ul-Ayn or "Coolth o' the Eyn." To no one does Bābism owe more for its spread throughout Persia than to Mulla Husayn, who, during the Bāb's con-

finement in prison, travelled the whole country over carrying the New Gospel: visiting, in turn, Ispahan, where he met with much success; Kashan, with like result; Teheran, whence he was expelled; Nishapur, where he made numberless converts, and Meshed, where he was seized by the Shah's uncle. He managed, however, to escape to Nishapur, whence he set out westwards with an ever-increasing band of followers.

This was in 1848, a year as eventful almost in Persia as it was in the states of Europe. The clergy were becoming more and more fearful of the growth of the Bābi movement, and bitterness on both sides was rapidly increasing; and it must be admitted that the Bābis, in the excess of their zeal, did not hesitate to employ the most insulting language toward the orthodox Shiites. Hostilities seemed inevitable, and the Mullas were apparently on the point of striking the first blow, when, suddenly, in September, 1848, Mohammad Shah died; and, the minds of the Mullas being filled with thoughts of succession and possible political revolts, the Bābis were for a moment forgotten. Mulla Husayn, profiting by this temporary preoccupation of the Mullas, saw fit to proceed into Mazanderan and effect a junction of his followers with those of Mulla Mohammad Ali of Balfarush, who had, in the meantime, been actively and successfully carrying on the propaganda of the new faith in that province. We must now pass to the summer of 1849, when we find Mulla Husayn and his followers shut up within the rude earthworks and palisades of a spot known as Shaykh Tabarsi, on the slopes of the Elburz Mountains, bidding defiance to the Shah's troops. For eight long months did this gallant band of Bābis, brought up for the most part, it must be remembered, to peaceful pursuits, hold the royal army at bay. At length, their brave leader, Mulla Husayn, having been killed, and their provisions exhausted, they surrendered conditionally to their besiegers, who promised them life and liberty. But the royalist officers put them all to the sword. Soon after this brutal suppression of the revolt in Mazanderan, a similar scene was enacted at Zanjan, in the northwest of Persia; the same story is repeated of bravery, starvation and death. While the siege of Zanjan was still in progress, another Bābi rising took place in the south of Persia, and the government, being thoroughly alarmed, determined to strike at the root of the matter, and to put the Bāb to death.

We left the Bāb in prison at Chihrik. He was now, once more, brought to Tabriz and tried by judges who were bent on his condemnation. The proceedings were as farcical and undignified as those to which he had been subjected on a former occasion. In spite of all their threats, he persistently maintained that he was the Imam Mahdi. His judges objected to his claims, on the ground that the Imam, whose return they awaited, would come as a mighty conqueror, to slay and subdue infidels and establish Islam throughout the world. To this the Bāb replied: "In this manner have the Prophets always been doubted. The Jews were expecting the promised Messiah when Jesus appeared in their midst; and yet they rejected and slew him, because they fancied the Messiah must come as a great conqueror and king, to re-establish the faith of Moses, and give it currency throughout the world."

The Bāb and his followers, no doubt, knew as well as his judges that his sentence was predetermined; it cannot, however, be doubted that the authorities entertained some hopes of making the Bāb recant by means of threats or promises. At length, finding these of no avail, they passed the fatal sentence, and the Bāb was led back to prison, to spend his last night in company with two faithful disciples, who were condemned to die with him.

On the morning of July 9th, 1850, Mirza Ali Mohammad the Bāb, Aka Mohammad Ali and Sayyid Husayn of Yezd were dragged through the crowded streets and bazaars of Tabriz. This pitiful procession lasted many hours, in the course of which Sayyid Husayn fell to the ground from exhaustion and pain. He was then told that, should he now recant, he might have his pardon. Thereupon—whether in a moment of weakness, or, as the Bābis declare, at the command of the Bāb himself, in order that he might convey a last message from the Master to the faithful—he bought his pardon at the price of renunciation of the cause, and escaped to Teheran, where two years later he suffered martyrdom.

On the arrival of the two prisoners at the spot appointed for their execution, they were suspended, by means of ropes passed under their armpits, to staples set in a wall. As the order was given to fire the first volley, the Bāb was heard to say to his companion: "Verily, thou art with me in Paradise!" But when the smoke of the volley, which had temporarily hidden the two

victims, cleared away, it was discovered that while the body of Aka Mohammad Ali hung lifeless from the staples, riddled with bullets, the Báb had disappeared, and the ends of the cords which had supported him were alone visible, the cords having been severed by bullets just above where the victim's arms had been. Here seemed to be a miracle indeed. The crowd began to murmur their expression of amazement and were prepared to believe anything. Had the Báb managed at this moment to get away to some place of concealment, he would immediately have added to his following the whole population of Tabriz, and soon after the whole of Persia. The destinies of the house of Kajar, nay, of Islam itself, hung in the balance against the New Faith. Unfortunately, however, for his cause, the Báb had no time to realize this; he was as much surprised as the people, and instead of attempting to hide, he ran by a first impulse to the neighboring guard-house, where he was soon discovered. Even now, for a few moments, the people were still ready to believe in a miracle; no one dared approach him, for was not his person inviolate? The situation was, however, saved, as situations so often are saved, by the action of a headstrong fool. A soldier, catching sight of the Báb, rushed in upon him and dealt him a blow with his sword; and, so soon as the people saw blood flowing from the wound thus inflicted on the unresisting victim, their doubts and fears were at an end, and the Báb's death was soon accomplished. Thus died the great Prophet-Martyr of the nineteenth century, at the age of twenty-seven, having, during a period of six brief years, of which three were spent in confinement, attracted to his person and won for his faith thousands of devoted men and women throughout the length and breadth of Persia, and having laid the foundations of a new religion destined to become a formidable rival to Islam.

His wonderful life needs no comment. If ever a life spoke for itself, it is the Báb's, with its simplicity, integrity and unswerving devotion to the Truth that was born in him. Though we of the West may not appreciate many details of his teaching, and though we may fail to be attracted by a faith in which the niceties of language, the mysteries of numbers and the like play so important a part, yet none of us can help admiring the life of the founder of this religion, for in it there is neither flaw nor blemish. He felt the Truth in him, and in the proclamation of

that Truth he moved neither hand nor foot to spare himself, but unflinchingly submitted to all manner of injustice and persecution, and, finally, to an ignominious death. That he should have attracted thousands to his cause is perhaps not a matter of such great surprise in a country like Persia, where all are naturally disposed toward religious speculation, and ever ready to examine a "new thing;" but his influence penetrated deeper than their curiosity and their minds, it reached their hearts and inspired them with a spirit of self-sacrifice, renunciation and devotion as remarkable and as admirable as his own.

Our sketch of the Báb's life has, of necessity, been brief, but enough has, perhaps, been told of his career to suggest to all readers a comparison with the life of Christ. Those whose curiosity or sympathy may lead them to study the Báb's life in full detail will certainly not fail to notice in many places the striking similarity which these two lives offer.

In returning to our narrative, we find the last, and by no means the least, striking of the coincidences referred to. For the Báb, too, had his Joseph of Arimathæa. The bodies of the two victims were thrown outside the city walls, to be devoured by dogs and jackals, and a guard was set over them to insure against their being buried. But, by night, a certain wealthy Bábi, named Sulayman Khan, came with a few armed companions, and offered the guards the choice of gold or the sword. The guards accepted the gold and allowed Sulayman Khan to carry off the body of the Báb, which, after he had wrapped it in fine silk, he secretly conveyed to Teheran.

If the Persian government imagined that, by putting to death the Báb, they would put a stop to the religious movement of which he was the head, they were greatly mistaken. The fortitude displayed by the Báb at his execution served only as a stimulant to the devotion and courage of his followers; and thus the government, in ordering the death of this innocent man, defeated their own ends and gave fresh impetus to the movement they hoped to quell, and doubtless added thousands of converts to the "new religion." The year 1850 witnessed the spilling of much Bábi blood. The tragic story of Shaykh Tabarsi was re-enacted in two different quarters of Persia, and in Teheran seven Bábis were "martyred" in cold blood at the instigation of the Prime Minister. Persecutions went on steadily throughout the country, and the

Bābis were obliged to maintain the utmost secrecy, being continually in danger of their lives.

In August, 1852, an event occurred which cannot be regarded as other than a blot in the Bābi annals. Three young and overzealous Bābis, mastered by an uncontrollable desire for vengeance on the monarch who had permitted the execution of their beloved Master, made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Shah Nâsir ud-Din. This act not only resulted in the deaths of the would-be assassins, but led to the adoption, on the part of the government, of the most rigorous system of inquisition, persecution and torture of their co-religionists. Vigorous search was instituted by the police in all parts of Persia to discover Bābis, and in Teheran some forty of them were surprised in the house of Sulayman Khan, of whom we have already spoken. Most of them, after bravely enduring ghastly tortures, were put to a cruel death; so appalling were the modes of torture to which these brave men and women patiently submitted that we refrain from describing them. Among the five or six who were spared was Baha Ullah, of whom we shall have occasion to speak presently. Among the martyrs were Sulayman Khan, Sayyid Husayn of Yezd, who, since he had, at any rate in appearance, renounced his master two years previously, had been eager for martyrdom, and Kurrat ul-Ayn, who is one of the most remarkable figures in Bābi history. We regret that, owing to the exigencies of space, we are unable here to describe the career of this truly great woman, whose life and death would call forth our unbounded admiration to whatever age or country she had belonged. Our wonder and our admiration must increase a hundredfold when we remember that she lived in a country where for centuries women had been kept in the background of the harem, and where they lose honor by appearing in public. She was a woman of distinguished parentage, remarkable alike for her beauty and her learning. Perhaps it was the Bāb's aim to ameliorate the position of women in Persia that first aroused her interest in his faith; however this may be, she soon became, and continued till her tragic and noble death, one of the most devoted and active of the Bāb's disciples, and was reckoned, as we have seen, among the eighteen "Letters."

Though it cannot be maintained that these would-be assassins of the Shah were the first to give a political color to the movement, it is certain that their action not merely embittered the ill-

feeling of the government and the clergy toward the Bābis, but also furnished a plausible excuse for the adoption of even stronger measures than had hitherto been employed to destroy the sect, root and branch. Thus, in spite of the utmost secrecy which the Bābis preserved among themselves, they could never feel secure from one day to another within the Shah's realms. It was on this account that their leaders now deemed it wise to fly the country, and betake themselves to a voluntary exile in Turkish territory; and Baghdad now became the heart and centre of the Bābi movement.

At this time, the head of the community, and chief "Letter of the Unity," was a certain Mirza Yahya, better known by the appellation of Subh-i-Ezel, or the "Dawn of Eternity."

Owing to the continued persecutions of Bābis in Persia, the little colony of exiles in Baghdad was constantly receiving additions to its numbers. In order to protect themselves effectually against the Persian government, they enrolled themselves as Turkish subjects; while their exemplary behavior was rewarded by kind treatment at the hands of the Ottoman authorities.

In 1864, at the instigation of the Persian government, which objected to their proximity to the frontier, they were removed first to Constantinople and shortly afterward to Adrianople. It was in this town that an important schism occurred in the Bābi community, which has never since healed.

During the first fourteen years of exile, that is from 1850 to 1864, Subh-i-Ezel was the nominal head of the Bābis, and vicegerent of the Bāb. That he received this office from the Bāb himself seems, from documentary and other evidence, to be beyond dispute. He laid no claim to prophetic rank.

Early in 1853, an elder half-brother of his, named Beha, fled from Persia and joined the community in Baghdad, having, as we have said, come very near to martyrdom in the Teheran massacre which followed the attempt on the Shah's life. Subh-i-Ezel, while at Baghdad, led a life of comparative seclusion, and trusted to Beha the business of interviewing disciples and corresponding with the Bābis in Persia. At this time, Beha certainly admitted the supremacy of Subh-i-Ezel, and claimed no superiority over his co-religionists; but certain passages in a work called the *"Ikan,"* which he wrote while at Baghdad, leave room for the supposition that he already contemplated the idea of putting forward that

claim which not long after forever divided the Bābis into two rival factions, the Ezelis and the Behais. What were his actual thoughts and ambitions with regard to himself it is impossible to say; we only know that, in 1866-7, while he was living with his exiled comrades in Adrianople, Beha announced that he was "He whom God shall manifest," so often alluded to by the Bāb in his writings.

Now, had Subh-i-Ezel been disposed to accept this claim of Beha, it is not improbable that his example would have been followed by the whole community. Subh-i-Ezel, however, absolutely denied Beha's claim, arguing that "He whom God shall manifest" could not be expected until the religion founded by the Bāb, with its attendant laws and institutions, had obtained currency at least among some of the nations of the earth. It was inconceivable that one Revelation should be so quickly eclipsed by another. He found many Bābis who concurred in his views, and were willing to remain faithful to him as the legitimate head of the Bābi Church. The majority of the Bābis, however, accepted the Manifestation of Beha, and, in the course of time, their numbers have steadily increased, while the following of Subh-i-Ezel is constantly diminishing. In fact, to-day it is a comparatively rare occurrence to meet with an Ezeli, and one which never came within the experience of the present writer while travelling in Persia or Central Asia.

The dissensions between the rival factions grew so fierce that, in 1868, the Turkish government, fearing lest this rupture might lead to public disorders, determined to separate the rival claimants to supremacy. They, therefore, sent Subh-i-Ezel to Famagusta in Cyprus, and Beha to Acre, which two localities have ever since remained the headquarters of the Ezelis and Behais respectively.*

It will not be necessary in this place to enter into the question of the merits of Beha's claims or Subh-i-Ezel's position. The matter has been fully set forth by Mr. E. G. Browne in his various works on the Bābi movement, especially in the "New History." Only a very small proportion of the Bābis to-day belong to the Ezeli faction; so it is Acre which now becomes and remains the chief centre of interest in the subsequent history of this religion.

* A few Behais were sent to Cyprus and a few Ezelis to Acre. The latter were murdered soon after their arrival by some Behais, but probably without the knowledge of Beha.

It would, in reality, be more accurate to speak of the vast Bābi community which looks to Acre for guidance as Behais rather than as Bābis; for, in many respects, their beliefs bear a relation to the teaching of the Bāb very similar to that of Christianity to the Old Testament; for the Revelation of Beha practically abrogated that of the Bāb. But it may be maintained that Beha's teaching was even more revolutionary than that of Christ; for, whereas Christ came to fulfil the Law, and whereas the Old Testament came to be embodied in the Christian Scriptures, Beha has given his followers a new Bible which has rendered superfluous the *"Bayan."*

The written works of Beha are numerous, and an authorized edition of them has been lithographed in Bombay in three volumes. Of these, the *"Kitab-i-Akdas"* is, in many respects, the most interesting, and it has the best claim to be regarded as the Behai Bible. Beha also wrote a very large number of smaller treatises and letters of exhortation and encouragement, which are known among the faithful as *"alwah"* (singular, *"lawh"*), or tablets. All these *alwah* emanating from Beha were and are carefully treasured up and diligently copied. They were usually addressed to some prominent member of a local community, and, to be the recipient of one of them, however brief, was considered a very high honor.

From the date of Beha's arrival in Acre, his writings begin to assume a very different tone and character from those which pervade the *Ikan* above referred to. Seeing that the *"Kitab-i-Akdas"** is not only the most important of Beha's writings, but that it contains a résumé of all his teaching, it is fitting in this place to present the reader with a brief account of some of its contents.

The book begins with instructions as to religious observances. Prayers are to be said three times a day. The worshipper is to turn his face toward "the Most Holy Region," by which Acre is apparently intended. All congregational prayer is abolished, except in the case of the burial service. The Bābi year, which, as we have said, contains nineteen months of nineteen days each,

* This book was at one time difficult to obtain, as it only existed in manuscript. It has, however, been since lithographed in Bombay, and is therefore fairly accessible. It is composed in Arabic. For the following summary of contents, I am indebted to an article by Mr. E. G. Browne, without whose admirable writings we should know very little of Babism in its late developments.

begins on the Persian New Year's day. The year contains 366 days in all, five intercalary days being added. Fasting from sunrise to sunset is ordained during the last month of the year.

Mendicity is prohibited in the following terms: "The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs; take hold of the robe of means, relying on God, the Cause of causes." The use of knives and forks in eating, instead of the hands, is enjoined. Cleanliness is insisted on.

Marriage is enjoined on all. Wives who for a period of nine months have had no news of their husbands are permitted to marry again, but if they are patient it is better, "since God loves those who are patient." If quarrels arise between a man and his wife, he is not to divorce her at once, but must wait for a whole year, so that, perhaps, he may become reconciled to her. The kings of the earth are exhorted to adopt and spread the new faith. Wine and opium are forbidden. The sacred books are to be read regularly, but never so long as to cause weariness. Enemies are to be forgiven, nor must evil be met with evil.

In conclusion, we must quote a very remarkable passage* with regard to future manifestations, which is noteworthy in regard to the position assumed by his son, Abbas Efendi, to-day: *"Whosoever lays claim to a matter (i. e., a Mission), ere one thousand full years have passed, verily he is a lying impostor."*

Beha died in 1892, at the age of seventy-seven, in Acre, which town he had never been permitted to leave. He was here visited by the faithful, who regarded Acre as an object of pilgrimage, and also by inquirers. He was regarded by the faithful as God Almighty Himself, and the respect and reverence they paid him were unbounded. He had four sons, of whom the two eldest were Abbas Efendi and Aga Mohammad Ali.

On the death of Beha, Abbas Efendi, as the eldest son, became the spiritual head of the Behais; though it appears that his claims to this position were not admitted by all, for he found, at the first, a rival in the person of a certain Aga Mirza Jān of Kashan, who had been the amanuensis of Beha. This rivalry did not, however, have any appreciable effect on the position of Abbas Efendi, who receives, at any rate from the vast majority of the Behais of to-day, a veneration equal to that accorded to his father.

* To be found on pp. 13 and 14 of the lithographed edition.

Aga Mohammad Ali, since his father's death, has lived a life of retirement and seclusion. It is known that he was unable to approve the course adopted by his brother, Abbas Efendi; but he has always strenuously avoided an open quarrel with him, and has refused to give written answers to the large number of Bābis who were anxious to know his views. His main object has been to avoid any further division in the Bābi Church.

In conclusion, a few words must be said in regard to the whereabouts and condition of the Bābis at the present day. It is impossible to obtain reliable statistics as to their actual numbers, but one million is probably near the mark. The majority inhabit the large towns of Persia, such as Teheran, Ispahan, Yezd and Kerman. Persecutions are nowadays of rare occurrence, though the Bābis can never feel really secure within Persian territory, partly on account of the political stigma which attaches to their name, and partly on account of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Mullas. Three years ago, Teheran alone was said to contain upwards of 10,000 Bābis, and no doubt their numbers have greatly increased in the interval. It is hard to say precisely what degree of caution they consider requisite, or to what extent they are known as Bābis to the authorities and the populace in general. Certain it is that many distinguished persons are known by all to belong to this sect, and that they are on this account put to no apparent inconvenience. The Bābis are law-abiding citizens and ply their business on an equal footing with Mussulmans. No Bābi, however, who is known to be such, is allowed to enter a mosque. They have no places of worship of their own, but hold their meetings, generally after sundown, in the houses of various members of the community. The present writer has attended many of these gatherings, and has always come away deeply impressed by the simplicity, earnestness and courtesy of the Bābis. At these meetings, a practical example of the Bābi principle of equality is to be seen. Here we find, side by side, a learned doctor, an officer, a merchant and a servant, sitting, as the Persians say, "on four knees," intent on discussing the latest news of the Bābis in other parts of the world; listening to the recitation of a poem by some Bābi poet, or hearing the contents of the latest *lawh* from Acre. During the reading of these letters, the strictest silence prevails, and pipes and cigarettes are for the time discarded. In Turkish and Russian territory, the

position of the Bābis is one of comparative immunity. Askabad in Transcaspia is a very important centre, and it is there, perhaps, that the followers of Beha enjoy the greatest freedom.

Finally, we must mention the recent spread of this religious movement in non-Mohammedan countries, which is practically confined to the United States of America. From the latest information, it would appear that no less than three thousand Americans now subscribe to the new faith. The propaganda first began in 1893, at the World's Congress of Religions in Chicago, when a certain Bābi, named Ibrahim Kheirallah, who had come to the States on business, gave a course of fifteen lectures on Mohammedanism and the various movements which had grown out of it. In the course of these "lessons," he continually referred to the teachings of the Bāb, and in a short time he is said to have secured over one hundred "believers." He next proceeded to New York City, where he published his lectures. Such were the beginnings of Bābism in the United States.

Of the subsequent history of the movement in America, it is at present hard to speak. At all events, it seems that here, too, the division between Abbas Efendi and Aga Mohammad Ali has been at work, and that the first Bābi missionary, Kheirallah, belongs to the party of the latter. The followers of Abbas Efendi, who believe him in all sincerity and devotedness of faith to be the incarnation of God, are known as the *Sabitis,* or the "Firm," while those who deny his claims have received from their opponents the name of *Nakizis,* or "Adversaries." The principal Bābi centres in the States are as follows: Chicago, about 1,000; Kenosha, Wisconsin, from 400 to 500; New York City, about 400; Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia; Wilmington and Bellevue, Delaware; Newark, Fanwood and Hoboken, New Jersey; Brooklyn and Ithaca, New York; Detroit, Michigan; Boston, Cincinnati, San Francisco and Denver.

Bābism, though still, as it were, in its infancy, is said to count to-day over one million adherents, and the possibilities of its future success are infinite, for, in spite of internal schisms and external disabilities, there is no falling off either in the number of fresh converts or in the religious fervor of believers.

E. Denison Ross.

PROFESSOR BARRETT WENDELL'S NOTIONS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

If the critic were to set down the psychology of his acquaintance with an important book, he would probably do a greater service to his reader than he does by merely recording his opinions of it. The best sort of criticism is that which gives the critic, as well as the author, to the reader's knowledge, so that he may judge not only the critic's opinions, but the motives behind his opinions, and value the opinions or not as he finds the motives worthy or not. I am going, therefore, to lay bare the facts of my personal history with regard to the present review, and to let the reader choose between my author and me, and enable or disable my judgment at the points where he thinks I have gone right from a just cause or wrong from an unjust cause. I do regard the book which Professor Wendell somewhat indescriptively calls "A Literary History of America" as an important book, and have found it impossible to ignore the sort of challenge it gives to one interested in the matter it treats of.

I.

I had seen, I confess at second hand, a praise of the book so sweeping, so overwhelming, from a critical authority which I value, that I at once made up my mind against it; and when, later, I came upon certain expressions from it, again at second hand, I was not distressed to find them priggish and patronizing, but fortified myself in my dislike upon evidence which, if it had been my own book, I should have thought partial. When, still later, I came to the book itself, I was not able to dispatch it so

* "A Literary History of America." By Barrett Wendell, Professor of English at Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

promptly as I had expected, not because I was wrong concerning its intellectual quality, but because I was not sufficiently right. It *is* priggish and patronizing, but it is several other things so very much better that one must not, on one's honor, on one's honesty, fail to recognize them. It is, throughout, the endeavor of a narrow mind to be wide, and the affair in hand receives a species of illumination in the process which is novel and suggestive. It is not the kind of mind I like, but I like it better than I did before I was so well acquainted with it. It has an elasticity which I had not suspected, and the final result is a sort of instruction which the author seems to share with the reader. One is tempted to say that if Professor Wendell had not produced in his present book the best history of American literature, he had educated himself, in writing it, to produce some such history.

His general attitude toward his subject is the attitude of superiority, but not voluntary superiority; every considered volition of his is towards a greater equality with his theme. It is as if, having been born a gentleman, he wished conscientiously to simplify himself, and to learn the being and doing of his inferiors by a humane examination of their conditions, and a considerate forbearance toward their social defects. He has his class feeling against him, but he knows it, and he tries constantly to put it aside. All this is temperamental; but, besides, Professor Wendell has certain disadvantages of environment to struggle with, and in this he exemplifies the hardship of such Bostonians as have outlived the literary primacy of Boston. A little while ago and the air was full of an intellectual life there, which has now gone out of it, or has taken other than literary forms; and, in the recent ceasing of the activities that filled it, the survivor is naturally tempted to question their greatness. The New England poets and essayists and historians who gave Boston its primacy, are in that moment of their abeyance when the dead are no longer felt as contemporaries, and are not yet established in the influence of classics. It is the moment of misgiving, or of worse, concerning them; and it is altogether natural that this doubt should be most felt where their past greatness was most felt. Elsewhere, they are still measurably Emerson and Longfellow, Whittier and Holmes and Lowell; but on their native ground, where they lately walked with other men, and the other men are still walking and they not, the other men can hardly fail to ask

themselves whether they were not unduly oppressed by a sense of the vanished grandeur. These other men, looking abroad, and seeing little such question elsewhere, cannot help feeling it a proof of discernment in themselves, and governing themselves accordingly. They occupy the places of those illustrious men, and though they no longer find them so very illustrious as people once fancied, still they cannot resist the belief that they inherit them and have somehow the right to administer upon their estates.

II.

The office has its difficulties, which will realize themselves to the imagination of any reader who has had the experience of looking over the papers of a person recently deceased, and has felt the insidious slight for the deceased which inevitably mingles with the conventional awe that all mankind pretend for the dead. The problem is how best to conceal the slight, not only from others but from one's self. If one keeps silence, one may partially succeed; but if one speaks, one inevitably takes on that air of superiority which affects the witness so disagreeably, no matter how involuntary it is. Another hard condition of such a work as Professor Wendell's is, that the author, in order to widen his survey of the subject, must get a bird's eye view of it, and if the resulting map or picture is not satisfactory to an observer on the terrestrial level, he accuses the bird of strabismus or astigmatism. But such an observer ought to guard himself from hasty censure, and ought to take into account the variety of obstacles overcome, as well as the defective character of the result. He ought to consider the exhaustive athletics by which Professor Wendell, for instance, places himself in a position to get a bird's eye view of Emerson, for instance. Then, I think, the observer on the terrestrial level will allow that he has done surprisingly well, and that the great wonder is that he should not have done worse.

Much that he suggests of Emerson is just, though I doubt if he does justice to the absolute and final and august simplicity from which the greatness of Emerson rises. He sees that, on the social side, Emerson was a villager; but he does not see that this sort of social outlook is compatible with universal and secular citizenship. He complains that, to the end, Emerson "never lost his . . . exuberantly boyish trick of dragging in allusions to all sorts of personages and matters which he knew only by

name;" but he alleges no proof that Emerson was so audaciously ignorant. He bids us "take that sentence . . . 'Pythagoras was misunderstood and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo and Newton.' These great names he mentions with all the easy assurance of intimacy; he could hardly speak more familiarly of seven Concord farmers, idling in a row on some sunny bench." But here, in the absence of proof from the critic, there is no internal evidence of the intimacy and familiarity ascribed to "the juvenile pedantry of renascent New England at a moment when Yankees . . . did not yet distinguish between such knowledge and the unpretentious mastery of scholarship." He gives, upon the whole, a notion of Emerson which would be creditable to a scholarly gentleman straining a point for the sake of liberality, in the direction of things offensive to his class instincts. It is such a view as would be acceptable to one dining well with an unusually cultivated company of people, not too critical of saws or instances that seemed to glitter or illustrate, and only very amiably contrary-minded when the praise went too far.

The paper on Holmes is more adequate, because the subject is one that may be more adequately handled in the spirit of Professor Wendell's criticism; but slighter and lighter as Holmes's meaning was in literature, the criticism has not the value in the retrospect that it had in the prospect. There is always the promise of vital consideration, which somewhere, somehow, fails to fulfill itself. One perceives that little which is true in it is new; and that little which is new is true. At first, one is struck by the notion that Holmes is a sort of Bostonian Voltaire, and all the more profoundly impressed because of the critic's care in distinguishing between the authors in their conditions and temperaments. "Yes, yes," you say, to your neighbor at table, "that is true; I wonder I never thought of that." The next morning, the facts of their radical difference in feeling, thinking and saying, present themselves against the sole fact that they were both brilliant urban wits, and the notion is not at all convincing.

In the papers on Whittier and Longfellow, there is an exterior sense of their place in literature; but if the passages quoted from them as distinctive are to be taken as proof of the critic's penetration, there is little interior sense of their quality. Rather unexpectedly, the essay on Lowell satisfies one better. He was of

greater intellectual range and weight than any of his contemporaries; he was more acquainted with books and with affairs; he had infinitely more humor, but on his social side he finally lent himself more to the measurements of worldly-minded criticism. Yet, through his humor he was apt at any time to pass impalpably into his poetry, where its divining rods were of no avail.

Professor Wendell's radical disqualification for his work seems the absence of sympathy with his subject. He is just, he is honest, he is interested, he is usually civil and too sincere to affect an emotion which he does not feel; he is versed in general literature, and he knows a great deal of his chosen ground. But he does not, apparently, know all of his ground; and his facts, when he ascertains them, are the cold facts, and not the living truth. Only those of like temperament can fail to be aware of this in him, and only those of like intellectual experience can fail to perceive the error of his ideals. The chief of these ideals is distinction, which he apparently thinks a man may seek with the same effect as if it had sought him. But distinction is something that comes by nature, like personal beauty, or lofty stature, or physical courage, or a gift for poetry or art. Short of it, one may be good, or clever, or wise; but one must be born distinguished. Most members of most aristocracies, most kings and emperors, are altogether undistinguished, and no breeding can make them so. For illustration in literature, one may say, without fear of contradiction, that the writer of the most distinction now writing English is Mr. Henry James. Every page, almost every sentence, of his testifies of his intellectual distinction. The very vulgarity which none of us escapes and which he occasionally fails to escape, has a sort of distinction. Contrast a passage of his criticism with a passage of Professor Wendell's, and you have the proof of what I am saying. Professor Wendell is so wanting in that distinction which is his ideal that his phrase is always in danger of wearing down to the warp of his undistinguished thought. This happens when, after some lumbering facetiation about "those countless volumes of contemporary biography wherein successful men of business are frequently invited to insert their lives and portraits," he goes on to assure us that "Emerson's Representative Men were of a different *stripe* from these" men. His nerves do not instruct him that *stripe*, in this sense, has remained hopelessly rustic, plebeian, common, and so

his ideal of distinction does not avail. It is somehow the same with his efforts for lightness; they affect one painfully as undignified, and of the sort that can be grateful only to the young gentlemen on the benches glad to relieve their overtaxed attention in a giggle.

III.

When he is serious, Professor Wendell is always interesting and he is often very respectable. The best part of his book is formed by the essays on Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, Whitman, and the essay on the change from Calvinism to Socinianism in New England, all papers of such good magazine quality that an editor would think twice before declining them, as a little wanting in form and a sort of final freshness. Their group is preceded by studies, varying in fulness, of our Colonial authors. Of these, one alone survives in literature; for, though Edwards is still a theologian whom the theologians cannot ignore, Franklin is the only literary man of that period whom lovers of literature can wish to know. The rest have the interest of quaintness, and of a significance among the origins of New England literature, which seems overrated in giving them a good fourth of "A Literary History of America." They were to be examined as the tough Calvinistic stock which flowered in the Unitarian poetry of the nineteenth century; but his notion of them, by no means original with Professor Wendell, is elaborated to the neglect of the truly American period which has followed the New England period of our literature. If he had called his book "A Study of New England Authorship in its Rise and Decline, with Some Glances at American Literature," one could not have taxed him with neglect, though one might still have found him wanting in proportion.

As a study of New England authorship, this book *has* value, as one may freely own, without disowning its valuelessness in specific instances. Its generalizations are at times excellent; though, from the passages of their literature which he gives, he would seem to have read about his authors rather than read them, the quotations are so far from representative. One of his most notable generalizations occurs when, after long fumbling over his material, he is able to say in summing up, "Then our ancestral America, which had so unwittingly lingered behind the mother country, awoke. In the flush of its

awakening it strove to express the meaning of life; and the meaning of its life was the story of what two hundred years of inexperience had wrought for a race of Elizabethan Puritans"; and this is so well imagined, it is so challenging and suggestive, if not convincing, that, for the moment, you feel him fit to have written that history of our literature which he has not written. It is compensation and consolation for so much priggish banality that you almost forget the priggish banality, and you try to forgive him even for saying of Victoria's accession, "When her Majesty came to the throne," as if he were a subject of her Majesty, so devoted in his loyalty as to be insensible of the greatness of a theme essentially indignant of all ceremonial self-abasement. Still, this sort of lapse makes you doubt his fitness to treat his theme with the due breadth of feeling, as more than one page of his book makes you question his literary qualification. The man, you say, who could write such a sentence as, "The Southerners of the fifties were far more like their revolutionary ancestors than were the Northerners,"—a sentence so slovenly, so uncouth, so really inexpressive—is surely not qualified to judge even the mechanism of literature; but presently he gives you pause by declaring that "no one who lacks artistic conscience can write an effective short story, and . . . the artistic conscience may be called characteristic" of American authorship. He surprises you again when he declares that "in its beginning the American literature of the nineteenth century was marked rather by delicacy than by strength, by palpable consciousness of personal distinction rather than any such outburst of previously unphrased emotion as on general principles democracy might have been expected to excite." He surprises you still again, and still more, by his divination of the purity of soul in American literary art, as where he says: "In the literature of every other country you will find lubricity, in that of America hardly any. Foreigners are apt to think this trait hypocritical; whoever knows the finer minds of New England will be disposed to believe it a matter not of conscientious determination, but rather of instinctive preference." He perceives that while purity has been the instinct of our literature, excellence has been its ideal, and he enforces the fact with an aptness of expression which yet once more is surprising. To be sure, none of these notions is quite novel; and you may question Professor Wendell's originality, if you like. But if you like

to do so, you will not be fair. He feels them originally and he imparts them cogently.

IV.

With as much reason you could say that his point of view in the study of Hawthorne was that chosen by Mr. Henry James, and perhaps sufficiently established twenty years ago; yet Professor Wendell does some thinking of his own on the subject, and he says some things which one cannot fail to heed without loss, as: "Comparing his work with the contemporary work of England, one is aware of its classically careful form, of its profoundly romantic sentiment, and of its admirable artistic conscience. One grows aware, at the same time, of its unmistakable rusticity, . . . monotony, provincialism, a certain thinness. . . . He was ideal, of course, in temper; he was introspective, with all the self searching instinct of his ancestry. . . . In a dozen aspects, then, he seems typically Puritan. His artistic conscience, however, as alert as that of any pagan, impelled him constantly to realize in his work those forms of beauty which should most beautifully embody the ideals of his incessantly creative imagination. . . . Beyond any one else, he expresses the deepest temper of that New England race which brought him forth, and which now, at least in the phases we have known, seems vanishing from the earth."

I do not think that, in my sense of the prevailing academic temper of Professor Wendell's work, I am attributing undue freshness to these remarks, though I confess that, in transferring them to my page, the freshness has seemed somehow to evaporate, and I hasten to restore my faith in their novelty by giving a passage from the paper on Irving: "One thing is pretty clear: the man had no message. From beginning to end he was animated by no profound sense of the mystery of existence. Neither the solemn eternities which stir philosophers and theologians, nor the actual lessons as distinguished from the superficial circumstances of human experience, ever much engaged his thought. Delicate, refined, romantic sentiment he set forth in delicate, refined, classic style. One may often question whether he had much to say; one can never question that he wrote beautifully."

I should object, of course, to the looseness and inaccuracy and tendency to tall talk in such phrasing as "the solemn eternities,"

and to a certain vagueness of statement, but I could not deny that a kind of truth about Irving, which is not the whole truth, was here strikingly expressed, while I should feel that the very perfection of his work was a sufficient "message."

I should be of the same divided mind, but more deeply divided, concerning Professor Wendell's saying of Poe: "From beginning to end his temper had the inextricable combination of meretriciousness and insincerity which marks the temperament of typical actors. Theirs is a strange trade wherein he does best who best shams." The first part of this saying appears to me true enough, and quite new; the last entirely false and wrong. The greatest actor is not he who best shams, but he who is the truest to reality. On the other hand, I should be inclined largely to agree with his saying, as far as it goes, about Longfellow: "Whether he ever understood his mission, it is hard to say; but what that mission was is clear; and so is the truth that he was a faithful missionary. Never relaxing his effort to express in beautiful language meanings which he truly believed beautiful, he revealed to the untutored new world the romantic beauty of the old." As far as it goes; for this saying does not get further in appreciation than the work of Longfellow's first period. As for his not knowing just what his mission was, I should hope not. Few men outside of the insane asylums are perfectly aware of what they are here for, and these are not usefully at large. In such a saying as this, however, Professor Wendell does not mean any sort of unjust limitation, and if you come to his book of a *parti pris,* with the belief that he is altogether academic, and praises or blames by rule, you will find yourself mistaken. You may say that he is narrow-minded, but that he is not open-minded you cannot say. You must own again and again that he is very open-minded, and that he is not afraid to be generous when he conceives that generosity is justice. After long years of condemnation, when there was no question of Willis's abuse of hospitality in England by turning his hosts and his fellow-guests into newspaper copy, his fame has a stout good word from an historian who does not think much of his poetry. "Superficial as you like, his letters are vivid, animated and carefully reticent of anything which might justly have displeased the persons concerned." But by far the most signal instance of Professor Wendell's open-mindedness is his recognition of Mark Twain's positive value

as a talent almost unique, his relative importance in the literature of his country, and his representativity as a Westerner.

No man, and I least of all men, will wish to question such a characterization of a humorist whom I think the greatest that has lived; yet I strongly feel the inadequacy of Professor Wendell's general statement of the literary case as regards the region which gave Mark Twain to the world. He might defend it upon the ground that he has explicitly refused to deal with our literary history in men and women still living; but he is obliged to modify this refusal again and again. He names names and he imputes qualities in the case of writers still living quite inevitably, and it is by a volition disastrous to the completeness of his argument that he leaves unmentioned the writer in whom the brief glories of the literary movement on the Pacific slope culminated. I am not disposed to exaggerate the merits of Mr. Bret Harte, but it cannot be denied that he made one of the great impressions of his time, and that his once towering reputation was solidly based upon a real power. He still disputes European popularity with Mr. Clemens, and he long enjoyed the sort of perverse primacy on the Continent which confounds us in the case of Poe. Not to speak of such a principal writer in discussing the literature of his section is to cripple the criticism attempted, and not to speak of such another writer as Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, in dealing with Western effort in poetry, is to ignore what is most vital and indigenous in it. It is as if in treating of Scottish poetry, some Professor Wendell, contemporary with Robert Burns, should refrain from mentioning him because he was still living; and the like censure may be urged against his treatment of the chief Southern authors. The literary movement in the South since the war has been of the most interesting and promising character, and in the work of several men has been of most distinguished performance. Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's contributions to our imaginative literature are of absolute novelty, and Mr. G. W. Cable has written one of the few American fictions which may be called great. These men are not fully representative of the literary advance in the South, but not to name them, not to consider their work, is to leave the vital word unsaid. But the vital word concerning the rise of American fiction since the civil war is also left unsaid, and the South only suffers with the North.

V.

As to that tendency in the North and East which, widening beyond the trend of the old New England endeavor for ideal excellence, resulted in the distinction of Mr. Henry James's work, how is any just notion of it to be given without some direct consideration of that work? Professor Wendell does not give any just notion of it, simply because he does not consider Mr. James's work either in itself or in relation to the general tendency. He has sworn to his hurt and changed not, though he swore to his hurt and changed in the case of Mark Twain with respect to the Western humor, and in the case of Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins with respect to the New England short story. It is a pity that a critic so inconsistent should be so scrupulous, but it cannot now be helped, and Professor Wendell's history of our literature must remain so far imperfect.

If this were all, if it were imperfect only in this, it would not be so bad, but it is imperfect in so many other points as not to be a history of American literature, although it may be a literary history of America, if any one can say what that is. It is not only insufficient and apparently unintelligent at the points noted, but it conspicuously ignores some incidents which even a literary history of America ought to take account of. There is, for instance, nothing in it to betray consciousness of such a resurgent spirit as produced the first *Putnam's Magazine* at New York in the early fifties, though this was a literary event of as great importance as the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* five years later at Boston. The earlier enterprise evolved and concentrated the literary elements which gave strength to the later undertaking, and it was, perhaps, more responsive and useful to the country at large. The great New England wits were contributors to *Putnam's,* while it revived and fostered the local and general literary aspiration. It completed the intellectual development of so important an American as George William Curtis, and gave American letters the humane and manly cast which it would be a pity they should ever lose. Almost more than any other agency in their annals, it dedicated them to liberty and democracy in the best and widest sense. They ceased with its coming to be servile at their worst, and to be merely elegant at their best.

But Professor Wendell ignores an incident of such prime sig-

nificance, and whether he ignores it voluntarily or involuntarily it is to be regretted that he ignores it. He scarcely offers us compensation in the story of the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and its mission to our literature. That periodical was imagined by Francis Underwood, the professional literary adviser of a successful publishing house, who had no conception of it as the avenue of Harvardized genius to the American public, or even as an outlet to the culture of New England, but who had an abiding faith in Lowell as the fittest man in the world to direct such a periodical. Lowell, as the first editor, divined that Holmes could do more than any man living to "float the *Atlantic*," and at his strong entreaty, the "Autocrat" papers were written, and the *Atlantic* was floated. Lowell, if any one, characterized the magazine. He gave it literary conscience and human responsibility, and the best that his successive successors could do was to keep it true to his conception of its mission. Fields, whose generous love of letters and wide intelligence Professor Wendell does not overrate, could do no more than this, and he did no more. He left the *Atlantic* what he found it, and what it has since remained with marvellous constancy to the original impulse from Lowell's great nature and liberal mind. It is ludicrously mistaken to suppose that after Fields left the magazine, it ceased to be in sympathy with Harvard. Fields had no special affinity with Harvard, and the young Harvard men—it is sufficient to name Mr. John Fiske alone—began writing for his successor in greater number than before, in proportion to their fitness or their willingness; if there was any change it was because Harvard was becoming less literary, and the country at large more literary. The good things began to come from the West and the South and the Middle States, and the editors took the good things wherever they came from.

VI.

No one can estimate the relative value of the New England episode of our literary growth more highly than I, but I cannot ignore the fact that our literary conscience, the wish for purity and the desire for excellence, which Professor Wendell recognizes as its distinguishing qualities, was not solely of Puritan origin. Before the New England renaissance, there was an American literature dignified by these qualities, and since the New England decadence (if he insists upon an appearance in which I do not find

so much fact as he) there is a far larger body of American literature illustrated by the original and prominent characteristics. Clever and charming and even "distinguished" writing is now of an abundance in certain kinds which would have amazed the frugal sufficiency of the great New England days. In poetry only have we declined; but so has all the world.

Yet, even as a study of the New England episode of American literature, the work is not sympathetic. It is prevailingly antipathetic, with moments of kindness, and still rarer and more unexpected moments of cordial respect and admiration. Wherever Professor Wendell scents democracy or perceives the disposition to value human nature for itself and independently of the social accidents, he turns cold, and his intellectual tradition gets the better of his nature, which seems sunny and light and friendly. Something, then, like a patrician view of the subject results. Well, it is, perhaps, time that we should have the patrician view, for the patricians are usually not very articulate and it is interesting to know how they feel. The worst of it is, perhaps, that when the other patricians get this patrician view they will not care for it any more than they care for the subject. As a class, they have never, in any country, at any time, cared generally for literature, though they have been patrons of the objective arts, which could minister to their state in the decoration of their dwellings. Otherwise, they have been preoccupied with their dogs and horses, their yachts and villas; their recreations have been boyish or barbarous; their chance pleasure in a book has been almost a brevet of its badness. The American patriciate, so far as we have any, is like every other, and will not care, even unintelligently, for a patrician view of American literature. A large class of crude people, who do not know the ground, but have the belief that the things they do not know are not worth knowing, will, perhaps, in the harshness of their crudity, find Professor Wendell's history acceptable. It will not fundamentally disturb their ignorance, and it will please their vanity with the suggestion that not they alone are contemptible. The impression they will get from it is that American literature is not worthy the attention of people meaning to be really critical.

But I doubt if the American public needed any such recall as Professor Wendell has sounded from a mad pursuit of American authorship. I doubt if they have over valued it in the pro-

ductions of our greatest poets, essayists, historians or novelists. I doubt if anything has been gained for a just estimation of Emerson by a patronizing allusion to his "guileless confusion of values," or for his interpretation by the elaborate explanation that in his saying, "hitch your wagon to a star," he had not in mind "a real rattling vehicle of the Yankee country, squalid in its dingy blue," or any such star "as ever twinkled through the clear New England nights," but that he used the "incomplete symbol" to bind together for an instant "the smallest things and the greatest." This had always been apparent to most people; and, throughout, Professor Wendell seems unaware of the fine, quaint humor lurking at the heart of Emerson's philosophy, and amusing itself with the fire it struck from such grotesque contrasts. There seems to have been a certain fantastic wilfulness in the Seer which would account for much that Professor Wendell treats as superficiality, and even ignorance. But Professor Wendell's strong point is not humor or the perception of it. His own intentions of lightness find an expression that does not add to the reader's gaiety, and he has so little humorous conscience that he can bring out that poor old moth-eaten anecdote of Emerson and Margaret Fuller watching Fanny Elssler's dancing and the one pronouncing it poetry, and the other religion. He should have been principled against this inhumanity, but he is not probably to blame for citing, in illustration of the old New Englander's sense of human equality, the story of Father Taylor's saying of his interview with the Pope: "So the Pope blessed me and I blessed the Pope." Father Taylor was a saint who loved fun, and among the sailors to whom he preached there were often sinners who could take a joke. Perhaps, however, Professor Wendell knew that Father Taylor was joking, but in his need of an instance to support his position he pressed the old man's irony into the service.

One cannot often accuse him of uncandor; but no one can call his statement of the attack on Charles Sumner in the United States Senate a candid statement. "The first blow, to be sure, was struck from behind; it was struck, however, in the most public place in America," he says; and he gives the impression that Brooks's attack was made in full session of the Senate, in the midst of a crowd of spectators, when he ought to have known that the blow from behind was dealt a man sitting at his desk

and busy over his papers, with only a few unfriendly people by. This distortion of the fact is wholly needless, even to the unhandsome effect which the literary historian of America achieves. No man, except some such angelic minded man as Longfellow, ever met Charles Sumner without feeling the impact of his gross egotism almost like a blow in the face; and there can be no question that the speech which provoked Brooks's attack was insufferably outrageous in its insolence. One is amazed in reading it that any one should permit himself such brutal terms with an opponent; but the wish to minimize the far greater atrocity which it provoked cannot be justified, even in the interest of a patrician view of American literature. Mostly, however, Professor Wendell's uncandor goes no farther than that sort of noble aloofness with which self-conscious gentlemen begin their letters to editors in the formula, "Sir, my attention has been called to an article in your paper," and so forth. In the spirit of this fine detachment he acknowledges the persistent vitality of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by owning that, "to this day, dramatized versions of it are said to be popular in the country," when he must have known, at first hand, that they were popular not only in the country, but in the suburbs of Boston itself, and wherever a summer pleasaunce large enough for the scene lent itself to the representation of a play requiring real bloodhounds in pursuit of fugitives escaping across a river of real water. At the moment I write, it is filling one of the largest New York theatres.

VII.

Is it, then, the tone of Professor Wendell's book, rather than the matter of it, that I am finding fault with? I think it is largely the tone; for I believe that I have already done justice to the recurrent excellence of its matter. When he can keep himself from instances, he deals interestingly and often convincingly with his subject. It is when he illustrates his meaning by a quotation, and interprets the passage given by comment on it, that he is least fortunate. Then you see that he has judged the poet with a narrow mind, and has failed of his real significance through natural disability, or that he has wilfully obscured it. An unpleasing instance of this sort is his remark upon that poem of Longfellow's on the dead slave:

> "Beside the ungathered rice he lay,
> His sickle in his hand;"

of which he says, "One may fairly doubt whether, in all anti-slavery literature, there is a more humorous example of the way in which philanthropic dreamers often constructed negroes by the simple process of daubing their own faces with burnt cork." Here the misconception of the artistic intention of the poet is so offensive, and put in terms of such jaunty vulgarity, that it is hard not to believe it a wilful misrepresentation. You ask yourself: "Could any one sincerely take that view of it?" and, for the credit of the human mind, you prefer to think not, bad as the insincerity would be.

Downright vulgarity Professor Wendell is not often guilty of; but something one must call commonness is rather common with him. His language is without distinction, as his thought is without precision, not always, but regrettably often. One finds it hard to forgive a writer who can suffer himself such a figure as, "Coal and oil, too, and copper and iron began to sprout like weeds." No writer of artistic sensitiveness could have written that sentence, and no critic of ultimate civility could say of Walt Whitman's "mad kind of rhythm" that it "sounds as if hexameters were trying to bubble through sewage." That is not graphic; it is simply disgusting. Yet the paper on Walt Whitman is almost the best of the whole collection, and is notable for some of the sanest and frankest and kindest criticism of a most difficult subject:

> "One begins to see why Whitman has been so much more eagerly welcomed abroad than at home. His conception of equality, utterly ignoring values, is not that of American democracy, but rather that of European. . . . The saving grace of American democracy has been a tacit recognition that excellence is admirable. . . . The glories and beauties of the universe are really perceptible everywhere, and into what seemed utterly sordid Whitman breathed ennobling imaginative fervor. . . . The spirit of his work is that of the old-world anarchy; its form has all the perverse oddity of old world decadence; but the substance of which his poems are made—their imagery, as distinguished from their form or spirit—comes wholly from our native country. In this aspect, then, though probably in no other, he may, after all, throw light on the future of literature in America."

VIII.

But what is literature in America? Almost any one can tell us what it will be, but it wants a prophet to tell us what it is and has been, and I doubt if Professor Wendell is that prophet. In the first place, it does not appear to me that a prophet begin-

ning to prophesy would give you the feeling that the things he is about to divine are not quite worthy of his powers, and I think that Professor Wendell gives you this feeling. In the next place, it does appear to me that he mistakes the nature of our literature, or seems to do so, in contrasting from time to time what we were doing in America with what they were doing in England at the same moment, and minifying our performance accordingly. Such a method might be the means of useful spiritual exercise for those vain Americans who suppose that our literature is the rival or the sister of English literature. It is the daughter or the granddaughter of that literature, or, in terms less flowery, it is a condition of English literature; and it is not interesting in its equality or likeness to the other conditions, but in its inequality or unlikeness. It has differenced itself from the mother or grandmother literature involuntarily, so far as it has differenced itself valuably, and it is an error either in friend or foe to put it in the attitude of rivalry. It would fail in that rivalry so far as it was like English literature, just as English literature would show itself inferior where it was like American literature. Professor Wendell, therefore, has not dealt wisely or kindly with it in the contrasts he makes; and, largely speaking, I should say he was not a kind or wise critic of it.

This is, of course, solely to his own disadvantage; the literature will remain for every future student, while his criticism may, perhaps, pass; and I should be sorry to pronounce him inimical where the proof would be difficult. The best I could do toward convincing the reader would be to recur again to his tone. "And what," the reader might ask, "is his tone? Come," he might continue, "you have had your flings at his tone; you have tried to disable his supposed point of view; you have accused him of this, that and the other; but where is your proof?" I might retort that I preferred to leave the proof to Professor Wendell himself; but this seems rather sneaking, and I will not make that retort. I will allege the things I have quoted from him, and I may fairly, also, allege the impression of slight for his subject which he leaves with the reader. His subject is not, as I have represented, American literature, but that episode of our literary history which he calls the New England Renaissance. It cannot be questioned by any one who observes his attitude that he has the effect of looking down upon it. I will not suppose

him capable of the charlatanry of wishing to surprise or shock his readers, or of the mistaken notion that they could be awakened to a just sense of New England literature by an occasionally rude or supercilious behavior to it. Clearly, he is sincere in not valuing it as it has been hitherto critically valued, and as it is still popularly valued. I cannot blame him for that; I myself have had my misgivings as to its perfection; and I have freely confessed them, but what I wish to make Professor Wendell observe is, that the New England literature uttered with singular adequacy the spirit of its time and place. I could also desire him to note that this spirit was generous and even sublime in its faith in humanity. He might answer me that it was weakened and intellectually dwarfed by this faith in humanity. In that case, I should say that I did not believe it, and I should like to ask what we should have faith in, if not in humanity. That would bring us to the *impasse* which people of different opinions must always come to.

W. D. Howells.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXXIV.

MAY, 1901.

INDUSTRIAL AND RAILROAD CONSOLIDATIONS

BY RUSSELL SAGE; JAMES J. HILL, PRESIDENT OF THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY; CHARLES M. SCHWAB, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION; CHARLES R. FLINT, TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES RUBBER CO.; F. B. THURBER, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES EXPORT ASSOCIATION; AND JAMES LOGAN, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE UNITED STATES ENVELOPE COMPANY.

I.

A GRAVE DANGER TO THE COMMUNITY.

It is, perhaps, ungracious to sound a harsh note in a company so happy and well content as we are to-day in Wall Street.

My excuse must be that I honestly believe that we are liable to lose our heads; that we have entered on business methods that may lead us to the brink of disaster, if, indeed, they do not land us over the brink. On the other hand, these business methods have been inaugurated, and are vouched for, by a company of men who have never known failure, and who may succeed in steering us safely over what appears to my old-fashioned eyes a very treacherous deep.

It is certain that under the direction of these men stocks are booming. Sales are making at a rate unprecedented in the financial history of the world. Everybody is accumulating money.

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Millionaires are created almost over night. Even the messenger boys are sharing in the good times. Opulence is in the air, and contentment is written on every face. The Street is in its heyday. Why, then, give a danger cry, when perhaps no danger exists?

Because, to me, there seems to be something very much like sleight-of-hand in the way in which industries are doubling up in value, as at the touch of the magician's wand. Here we have a factory—a good, conservative, productive investment—which may be turning out anything from toys to locomotives. It falls into the hands of the consolidators, and, whereas it was worth $50,000 yesterday, to-day it is worth $150,000—at least on paper. Stocks are issued; bonds are put out; and loans are solicited, with these stocks as security. The man who owned the factory could probably not have borrowed over $10,000 on it. Now, however, when the $50,000 plant is changed into a stock issue of $150,000, bankers and financiers are asked to advance $60,000 or $70,000 on what is practically the same property, and many of them, from all accounts, make the advance.

Under these circumstances, a "squeeze" seems to me inevitable. The Clearing House is reporting, from week to week, an expansion of loans far beyond anything that was dreamed of heretofore. This cannot go on forever; yet, from all appearances, the era of consolidation has only set in.

A reaction must come as soon as the banks realize the situation. A property is not worth $50,000 one day and $150,000 the next simply because a company of men, no matter how big and important they are, say so.

It is truly remarkable, the increase which has taken place in requests for loans based on industrials. No one can even estimate the amount of money that has been advanced on securities of this class; but it is a conservative estimate to say that industrial loans are as ten to one compared with conditions a few years ago. This is apparent from the business offered at my office from day to day. The volume of money in the country is entirely inadequate to meet anything like the demands that are made on collateral of this class. In fact, we have gotten away entirely from the old idea of making the money of the country the basis of our trading. Instead, there is thrown into the business world, to be used as a trading medium, millions upon millions of new stocks, the real value of which is yet to be determined. As soon as this

is thoroughly realized, we may look for trouble, pending a readjustment. This can be predicted with perfect safety. If no other cause brings this condition about, it will come when the great volume of railroad bonds now being prepared for public subscription is offered. Securities of this class always have the preference with lenders; and when they come into the market by wholesale, as they must, there will undoubtedly be considerable suffering, and interest rates will advance sharply. Loans on industrials will be called. New loans will be made only on prime railroad stocks and bonds. But it is fair to assume that the business world will adjust itself to the new conditions, for the country is undoubtedly in a prosperous condition.

As to the final value of these industrial consolidations to any class in the community, that is still to be proven.

The great success of the Standard Oil Company is always adduced by the believers in consolidation, whenever the scheme is attacked. It is true that this company has had enormous success, and that it has benefited the community. It has lowered the price of oil, bringing it down gradually from forty-five cents to seven or eight cents a gallon. Through its excellent management it has evolved methods for using all the by-products of crude oil, and, first and last, has added many hundreds of millions to the wealth of the country. It has made its owners, the capitalists, very rich, and it has acted well by its employees and by consumers.

But if consolidation has produced all these things, it has also, in the case of this company, produced a feeling of unrest and disquiet, industrial and political, that threatens, sooner or later, to bring serious results. Every Legislature in the land, almost, has attacked it at one time or another. It has become a by-word among all classes, and is pointed to in every community as one of the dangers of the Republic. Over and over again, it has been the issue in political campaigns. Men who were its competitors have accused its officers of all sorts of practices. Congressional committees have sat in inquiry on it, States have risen against it, criminal courts in many parts of the country have had its alleged crimes on their dockets. Of course, the greater part of this agitation has been entirely unjustifiable. The charges of criminal aggression, when traced, have been found to emanate almost invariably from irresponsible sources. The complaints of unfair practices have been voiced generally by men who were

driven to the wall in trade competition, because they could not dispute the market with a concern so magnificently organized.

But the very groundlessness of most of the complaints ought to be viewed by conservative men as a danger signal. Such complaints, persevered in as they have been, show that the community opposes the idea embodied in this great monopoly, and that it is willing to seize on any pretext to make clear this opposition.

Is it desirable to add to institutions that cause such commotion and keep all the newspapers in the land, rightly or wrongly, busy with denunciations? I doubt it. The chief owners of the Standard Oil business have grown so enormously wealthy that, in their individual as well as in their corporate capacity, they dominate wherever they choose to go. They can make or unmake almost any property, no matter how vast. They can almost compel any man to sell them anything at any price.

So shrewd and careful an observer as Henry Clews, in a recently published article, touching on this tremendous power as brought to bear in Wall Street, summed up the situation very clearly, saying:

"With them, manipulation has ceased to be speculation. Their resources are so vast that they need only to concentrate on any given property in order to do with it what they please; and that they have thus concentrated on a considerable number of properties outside of the stocks in which they are popularly supposed to be exclusively interested, is a fact well known to every one who has opportunities of getting beneath the surface. . . . . How much money this group of men have made it is impossible even to estimate. That it is a sum beside which the gain of the most daring speculator of the past was a mere bagatelle is putting the case mildly. And there is an utter absence of chance that is terrible to contemplate. This combination controls Wall Street almost absolutely. Many of the strongest financial institutions are at their service in supplying accommodations when needed. With such power and facilities, it is easily conceivable that these men must make enormous sums on either side of the market."

Surely that is not a desirable state of affairs, and a condition that breeds it ought hardly to be extended. And with all its vast wealth and domination to-day, the Standard Oil Company started out modestly enough. It built up conservatively from small beginnings. It bought the properties it controls to-day at fair prices, and built them up by the application of close business principles, little by little.

But under the new order it is different. The consolidations of to-day begin at the very outset with capitalizations that cast all past experiences into the shade, and that almost stagger the imagination. The steel combination now forming, we are told, is to start off with a capitalization of $1,000,000,000. This is more than one-half of the National Debt. It is one-seventieth of the entire wealth of the United States. The total money in circulation in the United States, according to the Treasurer's statistics, is $2,-113,294,983. It will be seen, therefore, that this company's issue of securities will represent practically one-half of the entire volume of money in America. In a year or two, if precedents count for anything, this capitalization will be very largely increased, and that in spite of the fact that stockholders in the Steel Company, which was the basis of the new combination, got three shares of stock in the new company for one in the old—scores of millions being thus added to the interest-earning securities in the United States, by merely the stroke of a pen. When wealth is created in that way, what security is there for the whole scheme? Not another furnace added to the plant; simply a lifting process, and what was one million before is three millions now. The great experience and strength of the men who produced this change will make us accept the new valuation, and that is all there is in it.

If any of the men in whom we very properly have this confidence should die suddenly, everything would be disorganized. Even as it is, things may break at a critical period, and then we shall have to find a new level with considerable trouble and agitation to ourselves. Just at present, no one can say, with anything like accuracy, where we stand.

The great railroad combinations we have had thrust on us recently I consider only less dangerous than the industrial combinations, because they are based on sounder considerations. Their stocks and bonds have not, in general, been doubled or trebled, nor unduly inflated. But they are bad, nevertheless. They are sure to arouse the people. And the people, once aroused, are more powerful than the railroad combinations. It is right and proper that the capitalist who invests his money in railroads or other great enterprises should be assured of a reasonable and fair return; it is right that railroads should have an agreement not to cut rates below a fair profit-making figure.

But this should be done in conventions, by meetings, by agreements—not in the stifling of competition.

Farmers will consider themselves injured by rates, States will inaugurate inimical legislation, and there will be deep hostility to combined capital.

Sir Richard Tangye, the great English iron master and economist, gives us an unprejudiced view of what may come of the wholesale attempt to kill off legitimate competition. He says:

"America will one day awake to the stern reality of the evil, and when its terrible nature is fully realized some strong legislation must follow.

"I believe if legislation does not step in and treat these men as it would treat other deadly enemies of the state, there will be such an uprising in the States as has not been since the accession of Abraham Lincoln to supreme power. There is no tyranny in the world to be compared with the tyranny of the active, scheming gold tyrant. It is inconceivable that 70,000,000 free Americans will bend their necks to such a sordid despotism. If they do, they will deserve to be enslaved."

This is a violent view, and one perhaps unjustified by the circumstances as we know them nearer home; but there was a time when we looked on the Englishman's view of our institution of legalized human slavery as violent. That something may come of Sir Richard Tangye's prophecy of retaliative legislation was made manifest during the last session of Congress. One of the leaders of the Republican party—the party that has always been the friend of capital, as it has been of labor—introduced a measure cutting off the protective duty on the products manufactured by the big steel combination. Nothing came of this measure, but its very introduction was a political straw that should exercise a restraining influence on the capitalists who are rushing pell-mell into the new system of "concentrated management," as they call it.

They had better remain content with the old-fashioned system of honest competition, under which we have grown great as a nation and prosperous as a people. RUSSELL SAGE.

II.

THEIR ADVANTAGES TO THE COMMUNITY.

ON one point Mr. Sage is undoubtedly right. There is in the community a general feeling of hostility towards the railroad

and industrial consolidations that have been effected and towards those that are now under way.

This hostility is strong, but undefined. Much of it has come, undoubtedly, through the teachings of the newspapers, and, in a measure, through the speeches of political orators. It began when the "trust" came into being as the result of an effort to obviate ruinous competition. The "trust" was found a very cumbersome structure, and the law of the land declared it illegal. It was not a consolidation in any sense of the term, and differed entirely from the business scheme under which the consolidations of to-day are being effected and operated. Under the "trust" system the stocks of various and competing organizations were trusteed in the hands of a few men, to whom was given absolute and unqualified power to do what they saw fit with the properties placed under their control. It was not on its face a healthy arrangement, and it met with violent opposition on all hands.

The new system in force to-day is neither illegal nor, so far as our experience thus far has shown, harmful to the community. But the people at large have not yet learned to distinguish between the new and the old, and the odium attaching to the "trust" is visited on the consolidation. The old scheme left intact all the corporations it found in existence. In the nature of things, no economy in production could be effected. All the old officers of the individual organizations remained.

Certain plants were shut down to restrict the output, but this process affected only the workingmen who were thrown out of employment. The high-salaried men continued to draw their pay, and large bonuses were paid regularly to the stockholders or owners of the plants that had been put out of business. Increased profits, therefore, could generally be obtained only by an increase of price for the product, which was saddled on the consumer. Under the new system, a different usage prevails. Operating expenses are reduced by combining a number of institutions under one management. Useless officers and unproductive middlemen are cut off. The systems of purchasing and distributing are simplified. Economies are effected by the direct purchase of material in large quantities, or, better still, by adding to the combination a department for the acquisition and control of the sources from which raw material is drawn. Thus, the Carnegie Company, which was the highest type of this system,

took its iron from its own mines, made its coke in its own ovens, worked up its material in its own furnaces, and shipped the finished product over its own railroad or in its own vessels. In the great Krupp Iron Works, of Germany, this system has been in operation for two generations; and, instead of arousing public antagonism, the Krupps have the admiration and good will of the entire German nation, from the Emperor down.

What has just been effected in the great steel combination is simply an enlargement of the Carnegie plan, and, when the value of the great properties combined is taken into consideration, the capitalization of one thousand million dollars is not exorbitant. The Carnegie Company by itself was a colossal institution, so colossal that it dominated the steel market absolutely. But because it happened to be a single company, its tremendous proportions aroused no particular opposition. It was considered a fine, healthy enterprise, as it should have been considered, and Mr. Carnegie and his partners were not looked upon in any sense as "trust" magnates. While hostilities to many other concerns were raging at their fiercest, the organization of the Carnegie Company was not once impugned by the anti-consolidationists.

From all accounts, the workmen of the Carnegie Company were among the best paid artisans in America. The company could afford to pay high wages, because its men worked under the most perfect and compact conditions. Nothing was wasted, nothing of the earnings went to middlemen, who are mere leeches sucking sustenance from the business body without giving anything in return.

In the nature of things, a plant bought out or added to the Carnegie Company's properties became, by the mere fact of such addition, greatly more valuable than it possibly could have been under independent management and control. There was lopped off at once the item of executive expenses. There was no president's salary to pay, no vice-president's, no office force. The purchasing agents, with their salaries and commissions, became things of the past. The product was worked up in the most scientific and economical manner and put on the market under the best conditions.

The point, therefore, made by Mr. Sage, that a factory worth $50,000 to-day is necessarily improperly rated at $150,000 to-morrow, because it has been combined with others under one

managerial head, has not all the force that might appear from the bald statement of the facts as Mr. Sage puts it. A property is not necessarily worth only what it represents in the way of real estate, building and plant. It is worth rather what it represents in earning capacity; and, if, under a combination, its earning capacity is trebled, because of the economy of production, it is not unreasonable to say that its value has been trebled, even though nothing tangible has been added to its material assets. Hard and fast rules do not apply to the value of anything. A piece of property worth $1,000 to-day may be worth $2,000 to-morrow, merely because some improvement has been made in the neighborhood which adds to the rental value of the property in question. Lands showing evidences of iron deposits, which, ten years ago, could have been bought for ten dollars per acre, or even less, are now worth $50,000,000. Not cost, but earning power, is the measure of value. This fact is exemplified every day in almost every community in the country; and no man would dream of protesting against the increased valuation, or object to the placing of a loan at such increased valuation. It is a business proposition and must be treated as such.

On the other hand, many properties are not worth the price that was paid for them, though they may have been extensively improved. English agricultural lands represent to-day a far higher type of farming than they ever did before, but they are not worth nearly as much as they were twenty-five or fifty years ago. The opening of the great West here in America has given the English farmer a competitor whom he cannot meet on an even plane. In consequence his land, though it has lost none of its productiveness, is worth very much less, because the market value of its produce is worth less.

The feeling existing against consolidations, as I said before, is undoubtedly general, but investigation will prove that it is almost invariably unreasonable. That is to say, as an open proposition, the majority of people will declare themselves against these consolidations, say they are bad for the country and speak of the danger that lurks in the "trust"—as they still call it, though it no longer is a "trust" in any sense. But they are rarely able to give any specific reasons for their belief.

There are a few men—that is, comparatively few—in the community who can advance good reasons for their opposition.

They are the ones who have been caught between the upper and the nether mill stones; they are the middlemen, and the small competitor who was unable to meet the larger concern in the open market. To them, consolidation has been a distinct injury. This is apparent, and, under our social and business system, inevitable. The aim in business, as in politics, is to do the greatest good to the greatest number; and the greatest number—so far as we can now see—is apparently benefited by the consolidations. Almost every improvement that helps the masses brings injury to individuals here and there. The building of a railroad into a new territory puts the owner of the stage coach out of business. Trolley cars that have sprung up all over the country have done grave damage to the local hackmen and livery stable keepers. But the community which is brought into touch with the outer world by a new railroad, and the village or town that gains the advantage of cheap and quick transportation by means of the trolley car, are benefited so much more than the stage owners and hackmen are injured, that the balance is easily in favor of the improvements.

In all such improvements the chief beneficiary is the workingman. The only asset he has to sell is his time. He cannot afford to pay a quarter for a hack ride, but when the trolley comes and he gets a quick ride for five cents, it is a good business investment for him. The rich man is not particularly affected by the appearance of the trolley. He still rides in his carriage.

We are, as yet, only on the threshold of the new era in the business world, and no one can say positively that the present order of things is and will be for the best. That is still to be proven, and it can be proven only by time. All we can say is that, so far as we have gone, the results are certainly favorable. Against the alleged injury that is intangible, can easily be put the benefit that can be shown by figures—benefit to the workingman, benefit to the consumer, benefit to the capitalist. Wages are higher, prices are lower, investments are safer, more productive and more certain of return.

Where great consolidations have been effected there is no longer any danger of disturbance in the trade through the erratic action of an individual owner. Strikes are much more remote where a general and uniform rate of pay is fixed by a central management.

An excellent illustration of this was seen during last year's strike in the anthracite coal regions. There the general scale of wages was depressed because of the presence of a considerable number of independent operators, who could not or would not pay their men as well as the big companies—the railroads—could pay, because the latter could look for profit both by mining the product and carrying it to market. Again, a settlement of the strike was delayed because the smaller operators felt they could not afford the increase agreed upon by the railroad mining company. The conditions in the coal region illustrate very forcibly the value to the workingman of a condition where one corporation handles the product from beginning to end, thereby ensuring larger profits, of which it can afford to give its employees a part in the shape of higher wages and steadier employment.

The workingmen benefit also in another direction, where the concern for which they work is backed by ample capital and has the benefit of concentrated management. They are assured the use of the most perfect machinery. A big concern can afford to make improvements and put in the latest machinery, because such improvements and machinery necessarily add to the productiveness of the plant at a rate that will soon make good the expenditure. The smaller concern, while it realizes this fact, is unable to avail itself of the latest appliances, because it has not the necessary capital to invest.

Another advantage of prime importance to the workingmen is that they may easily participate in the profits of these enterprises by investing their savings in the shares of the more solid and prosperous concerns. Over $2,400,000,000 are deposited in the savings banks of the United States, largely made up of the savings of the wage-earners, and this represents only a portion of their accumulations. With these vast resources at command, the workingmen of the country might, in a few years, acquire a large interest in the concerns in which they are employed. The opportunities thus afforded for safe and lucrative investment will enable them to share in the profits, and thus unite the rewards of capital and labor.

The consumer is assured of lower prices when a big concern is the producer, because such a concern must have a steady market for its output in order to keep its machinery busy. The loss of a day is a large item. Therefore, in self-defence the big con-

cern must keep its prices within the figure that will secure the greatest number of purchasers.

Moreover, if the result of these industrial consolidations is to steady and relatively reduce the prices of their products, the gravest of the speculative popular objections to them will be obviated and public opinion will speedily recognize the benefits to the people at large of this new and improved machinery of production. The very motive of self-interest, even the law of self-preservation, dictates a policy which is as necessary to the lasting business prosperity of these concerns as to that popular approval without which they cannot permanently endure.

This is the theory of the new business consolidations, and their promoters, judging by the results attained so far, believe that it will work out—that it is a good policy and a wise one for everybody. Should experience prove that it is not a good condition for the people at large, it will very soon be upset. Politically, the scheme has never been passed upon as yet; and, if it proves a good scheme, it may never be a distinct issue in politics. If the prosperity of the country (much of which, I believe, is due to the consolidations and economies effected so far) continues, the people will be content to let well enough alone. If, however, it is shown that we are on the wrong track, and that consolidations are harmful to the people in general, as has been so frequently stated, the question will undoubtedly be settled at the polls.

There was much talk during the last Presidential election of the "trusts" and the "trust" issue; but, to my mind, it had very little influence one way or the other with the voters. More pressing issues obscured it, and it was only a side affair, so that politically it is still to be settled, if the situation warrants.

There is one thing that the people who deal lightly with the new business scheme, and who want to sweep it aside as a menace, forget. We have reached a stage in our national development where business must be done on a different plan from that which served us well half a century ago. In 1865, when the War closed, we had thirty-five millions of people; to-day we have over seventy millions. That is, we have doubled our population in thirty-five years. If we are advancing at the same rate—and indications point to the conclusion that we are—we will have over one hundred and fifty millions in 1935. In other words, we are adding at the rate of one and a half to two millions a year to our

population. Thirty-five years ago, or even ten years ago, horse-cars served admirably the purposes of urban transportation. To-day, we could not possibly get along without the trolley. And as it is with physical conditions, so it must be with economical conditions; we must keep pace with the times. We have reached a period where the old-fashioned methods will prove inadequate, if the masses of the people are to continue in the enjoyment of the prosperity to which they are entitled. There are too many people to be fed, housed and clothed to permit of the wasteful system which would maintain a horde of idle middlemen. People in this country live better to-day than they ever did before in their lives. This is due, I believe, very largely to the improved methods of production. There are fewer drones in the hive, fewer people who share the results of work without doing any work themselves.

All progress is the development of order. A uniform method is the highest form of order. The benefit accruing to the people, and the extent of their progress, will be in proportion to the extent of the application of uniform methods to the production of what they require.

In railroading, consolidation so far has worked as satisfactorily as it has in other lines of business. Operating expenses have been very materially reduced by combining properties, and thus cutting down the list of high-priced officers. Where there were half a dozen or a dozen presidents, each drawing a big salary, within a certain territory, the railroads have been put under one management, and we have one president, who can easily do the work of all the others, and do it on one salary. It is a curious thing, in this connection, that, while the protests against consolidation have generally come from men and newspapers who talk as the special representatives of workingmen, the real hardship of consolidation, if there is any, has fallen upon the men who drew fancy salaries, and did very little to earn them. These men were generally stockholders in the concerns in which they held office. Every small railroad that began nowhere and ended at the cross-roads, had its president, vice-president and so on, all of whom, under the new order of things, have disappeared. These men were essential under the old order. In many cases, they were the builders of the roads, big and little, that have been merged; but their usefulness has ceased and they are now victims of the new conditions created by our ever-increasing population. They were

the men, very often, who created good, healthy competition. But the day for such competition—in railroads, at least—has pretty well passed away in this country. We now have railroads enough to insure the handling of all reasonable traffic, and to add indiscriminately to the mileage would simply increase the cost of this handling. It would benefit nobody. Indiscriminate railroad building is the worst possible thing for the public, in a well-settled community where the roads in existence are sufficient for the traffic. The public in the end pays the cost. A railroad must either earn the money to operate it, or else borrow. In either case the expense is saddled on the people. If there are two lines where one line will suffice, the added burden falls on the public.

In Europe, where the population is dense, this fact has long been recognized, and the paralleling of a railroad is forbidden by law. Good service can only be given by a road that is making money. A road operated at a loss will inevitably run down, and the people who are compelled to use it will be the chief sufferers.

The road that can give the longest haul in its own cars over its own lines, can make the lowest rates, and yet earn more money than could be made on a haul of the same length where the cars have to run over half a dozen lines, each separately operated by a staff of expensive officials. If, at the end of the haul, the railroad can transfer the goods or passengers from its own cars to its own steamships for carriage across the ocean, the process is continued. Having no separate company and office organization to be supported out of the earnings of the steamships, it can give better service for less money than its competitor less fortunately situated. That is a self-evident business proposition.

There is no longer danger of an unjust squeezing of the public by the railroads through exorbitant rates. The law of the land distinctly provides that the charges a railroad makes for freight or passenger traffic must be "reasonable." Now, what is a "reasonable" charge? It is based entirely on the cost of operation and maintenance, and its relation to the value of the property used. In this item are included the payment of interest on bonds and a fair return, in the shape of dividends, to the stockholder.

If there are two roads to be maintained and operated where there is use for only one, the traffic must somehow be made to bear the burden, and the basis of the "reasonable rate" is neces-

sarily raised. Competition for traffic may force a temporary reduction, but, ultimately, the public must make up its mind to foot the bill.

Where rate wars are precipitated, the injury to the people along the line is about as great as it is to the railroads. This is true particularly in the smaller towns, which are at a considerable distance from the great distributing centres, and where, therefore, freight rates have a determining influence on the prices of commodities. The rate wars unsettle values, and the business man knows hardly from day to day where he stands. One merchant may be put to a heavy loss because he has brought in a big consignment of goods at one rate, while his neighbor across the way brings in his consignment the next day at a much lower figure. Stable and reasonable rates are absolutely necessary to the consistent well-being of the community. There was a time, perhaps, when railroads gouged people at non-competitive points, but that time has passed. Both business prudence and the law now regulate these things. Therefore, railroad consolidation, with its more economical operation, means as much to the advantage of the producer and the consumer as it does to the stockholder of the road. Each will share with the other in the result—the one in the shape of more "reasonable" rates, and the other in more certain dividends.

JAMES J. HILL.

III.

WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED IN THE STEEL AND IRON INDUSTRY.

THE larger the output, the smaller, relatively, is the cost of production. This is a trade axiom. It holds good whether the output consists of pins or of locomotives. Where the output is produced by fixed processes the rule applies with especial force. It is much more economical, proportionately, to run three machines under one roof than it is to run one. It is cheaper to run a dozen than it is to run three, and cheaper still to run a hundred. Therefore, the large plant has an undoubted advantage over the small plant, and this advantage increases almost indefinitely as the process of enlargement continues.

It is the recognition of this principle that has brought about

the era of business consolidation now in full swing in the United States. Of course there are limits beyond which this cannot be carried. It is possible to conceive of an enterprise so huge that it would be unwieldy, but, thus far, the danger point in this direction is not in sight. Our enterprises have grown steadily, and at present they have reached proportions that would have been deemed impossible twenty-five years ago. The fact that they are possible now, that they run absolutely without friction, demonstrates that our economical progress is no more rapid than our enlarged knowledge warrants. We handle a hundred thousand men to-day as easily as we handled a hundred fifty years ago. This has been made possible by our superior machinery and by the development of a superb industrial system.

One of the most considerable items of cost in manufacture has always been the labor of supervision. This class of labor produces nothing, yet, in a measure, it is the most important division in the industrial scheme. Under the system of concentrated management, this item is considerably diminished. Useless officials are lopped off in all directions, and that without impairing the efficiency of the service. On the contrary, the efficiency is increased; for the new system brings a specialist of a high class to do the work that was performed under the old by a dozen or two dozen men who had no special fitness for the work, but who, nevertheless, being generally large stockholders, drew large salaries as president, vice-president and so on. An excellent illustration of this point in favor of the new system is furnished by the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of New York City. This company acquired eighteen distinct lines, each supporting a full complement of officers. The lines were consolidated, the officers wiped out. Mr. H. H. Vreeland was made president of the combined system. He performs all the duties that formerly fell to the eighteen separate presidents, and, being a high grade specialist, performs them very much better. The improved street-car service of the metropolis bears eloquent testimony to this. Eighteen vice-presidents and secretaries and treasurers have given place to one official of the same rank under the combination, and so the process has been carried out all along the line.

Can any one doubt that here is a distinct and an excellent economy? It has been the cutting off of a lot of dead wood. No injury has been done to any one by this process, and the

benefit that has accrued from it is immeasurable. The community has better service than it could have looked for in fifty years under the old scheme. The stockholders have more certain and growing returns, for the business of the old companies has been trebled by the new, thanks to the improved service. The number of workingmen employed in the service has been increased five-fold and their wages have been increased from 25 to 100 per cent. All this has come about because the roads under combined management could avail themselves of expert services the employment of which, under separate management, was out of the question. Real greatness in all business depends mainly on the degree of skill exercised in supervision. The industry that is in a crude state requires little direction. As it progresses, this requirement grows steadily in importance. It grows also in cost, as the degree of skill demanded becomes greater. In the original state where society is thoroughly primitive, every man is at once his own producer and his own supervisor. The frontiersman fells the trees in the forest out of which he builds his cabin. A little later, as the scheme of settlement proceeds, the work of the people separates naturally into specialties. The farmer no longer builds his own house, but hires a carpenter for the purpose. Then the carpenter becomes a contractor, employing masons, carpenters, painters, bricklayers, etc. And so the scheme goes on, until all enterprises are laid out in distinct divisions.

Heretofore, it has been considered that this system could continue indefinitely along natural lines. The whole scheme of business was distinctly individual and self-formative. Competition was deemed the life of trade. The more competition, the better for all concerned. A few saw the wastefulness of this system, but there seemed apparently nothing better to take its place. Here and there, a venturesome soul tried to apply the logical solution, combination, but this was cried down on all sides. It meant, according to the popular conception, monopoly and industrial tyranny. Men who knew nothing of the science of business proclaimed the doctrine that combination meant oppression of the workingman and the domination of a plutocracy. In spite of this opposition, the system developed, though slowly, because its merit forced the most unwilling to give it a hearing. Its larger application proved that, instead of grinding the workingman and victimizing the consumer, it produced a higher

standard of wages and a lower cost in the market. The effect of combination was found to be that it cut down the cost of supervision, the non-productive element of labor; that it made possible the highest development of mechanical appliances; that it displaced the middle-man who, at every step between production and consumption, was wont to take a big slice of profit, adding so much to the ultimate cost without adding anything to the value. The combination proved that the principle of economy that was found effective where a hundred machines were worked under one roof instead of ten, applied where one hundred plants were conducted under one consolidated management, instead of under one hundred separate managements.

It was such a logical result that the only marvel is the opposition which the combination has had to overcome. Still greater is the marvel that to-day, when the wisdom of combinations has been so thoroughly demonstrated, such opposition to the scheme is still to be found in the most intelligent quarters. That there should be political agitators who oppose the idea, and that there should be newspapers who war against it, is conceivable. Both politicians and newspapers are dependent upon a division of popular sentiment. There is still a considerable body of our people who find the cry against combination attractive. Necessarily there must be found political men and newspapers to lead this body. With them it is a question of bread and butter. But that men like Mr. Sage, and others similarly situated, who have unlimited opportunities for investigation and observation, and who have nothing to gain by hitching their fortunes to popular clamor, should be unwilling or unable to see the wisdom of consolidation in business, is remarkable. The question is not at all debatable if it is dispassionately investigated. Its advantages to all classes are so great that opposition to it has just as much reason as opposition to the present railway post-office system would have. The men who exclaim against the combination idea might just as reasonably exclaim against the scheme of carrying the mails on the railroads, instead of by pony express as they used to be carried.

From every standpoint, the benefit that comes from a combination managed on sound business principles is apparent, provided it is capitalized on a conservative basis and is not made up of dead plants in part or whole. The consumer gets better

goods for lower prices. Here and there, a combination may have been effected with the idea of increasing the cost to the buyer, but wherever this has been the case the combination has failed. It was bound to fail. Any industry that is important enough to warrant combination is important enough to attract capital in competition, if it endeavors unfairly to increase the price of its production. A combination, like an individual concern, can only hold its trade provided it gives the best goods at the lowest market price consistent with a reasonable profit. No matter how great an industry may be, it cannot possibly hope to monopolize the trade in its line, unless it controls some peculiar process or patent. In that event, there is no need of combination, and the monopoly is no greater, even if a combination is effected, than it was before. The Standard Oil Company, which was one of the pioneers in the scheme of combination, and which undoubtedly stands to-day as one of the highest types of the possibilities of the scheme, was never at any stage able to effect a monopoly. It has to-day, and always has had, a very considerable competition. It made hundreds of millions of dollars for its chief stockholders, not because it increased the price of oil, but because it lowered it. That was the only reason why it continued to exist and to flourish, to meet all competition and to overcome it. It gave the consumer more for his money than he had ever received before; and, therefore, the consumer made the company great and prosperous. Wise business men realize that a successful trade is an expanding trade, and that an expanding trade can only be had by steadily making concessions to the consumer, where the conditions of the trade warrant.

That there is danger to the state in the combination is a preposterous idea. On the contrary, the well managed combination is a distinct gain to the state. Any one who doubts this need only consult the foreign newspapers. Everywhere, he will find a cry of industrial alarm levelled, not at the individual American manufacturer, but at the American nation. This is because the combination has done for the American state what the individual was never able to do—put it in industrial control of the world. A system that in a few years can do this ought certainly to be encouraged, and as it benefits the state it necessarily benefits the individuals who make up the state. The capitalist and the laborer are equal sharers in the advantages the

new scheme offers. Capital finds itself more amply protected, and labor finds an easier route to a partnership with capital. To the workingman, the combination offers the most feasible scheme of industrial co-operation ever presented. Without waiting for any one's invitation, he may secure a partnership in the combination for which he works by investing his savings in the open market in the stock of the concern. Under the individual system, the ordinary workingman, the plodder, could no more aspire to a share in the profits of the business he helped to create than he could aspire to a coach-and-four. As soon as the advantages of the new scheme in this direction are made generally manifest, the workingman may be relied on to improve the opportunities offered, and in a comparatively few years we will undoubtedly see that a very large percentage of the stock in industrial enterprises is held by the workers. Already, ownership in these enterprises has become tremendously enlarged. Where a comparatively few men held interests in our factories and mills a few years ago, the number is now increased a hundred fold, and the process of distribution is continuing steadily.

For the exceptional worker the advantages are even more manifest. In the first place, his pay is larger and will continue to grow larger; and his services will, with each succeeding year, be more eagerly sought for. Great enterprises depend to a much more pronounced degree on high grade skill than do smaller ones. They must continually create new trade in order to live and grow. They can only do this by having and holding in their service the best men. As the advantages they get out of such men are scattered over a much wider field, they can naturally afford to pay better than the concern whose sphere is limited. This brings about a natural and continuous increase in remuneration for the high grade specialist. Under the old individual business scheme, the skilled worker had only limited opportunity for increased pay, and practically no opportunity for a partnership participation. Business enterprises, with a few notable exceptions, were held as close family corporations. Outsiders were rarely admitted. No matter how expert these outsiders were, they were held all their lives on a salary. The concerns where this rule did not apply expanded much more rapidly than their competitors, but the example so set was apparently not sufficiently attractive to induce its general application. It remained for the

system of combination to make the scheme general, and to open up for young men of brains opportunities that heretofore have been closed to them. Instead, therefore, of restricting the opportunities for the mass of men, as the political agitators and others tell us is the case, the era of combination has very materially enlarged these opportunities. The spread of the system will make for general financial competency, at a rate that will astonish the unthinking when they see the results.

One of the greatest advantages that will come of the concentration of industries is the development that it will bring to our latent resources. Under the expensive system of individual control, much of our natural wealth remained unavailable, and would have so remained for a long time to come. Where each step in the process of production had to yield a distinct profit to a certain class of men, the margin was not sufficiently large to warrant the exploitation of many fields rich with raw material. A concern that produces its own raw materials, and works them up through the various processes until it delivers the manufactured product in the domestic or foreign market, can work on a narrower margin all around, and yet do full justice to its stockholders and employees. Naturally, it can control in the markets and develop its trade, where a concern working under less scientific processes would be shut out. The iron business was kept back in this country for many years, because there was no connection between the various industries on which it depended. The ore deposits were owned by one set of men. The coal deposits were owned by another set. The coke was made in a hundred different places, scattered throughout several States, under separate management. The mills and furnaces, in turn, were owned separately; and, when these mills and furnaces, having bought their iron here and their coke there, and their other products elsewhere, finally produced their iron and steel, there were still other processes that the product had to go through at other points, before it could finally be landed in the market. Everything was disconnected and disjointed. It was not until the whole process was welded into a continuous chain under one management that the American iron industry began to make the giant strides which have now carried it into a position where it dominates the whole world. Now we mine our own iron and our own coal; we make our own coke. We carry these products

on our own vessels and on our own railroads to our own furnaces, and then we carry the raw steel and the raw iron to our own mills and other plants, to be worked up under our own supervision into final shape for direct use in construction. Nothing is left to chance. Every step of the process is carefully worked out in advance. All waste is cut off. Every hand that is laid on the production pushes it along. Instead of being jerked here and there on side tracks, and paying for the privilege, the material, from its raw state to the finished product, is held under one control.

The reasonable man must admit that such a process cannot harm the community; that where all wasteful side issues are cut out and no one is paid except the actual worker, the results must be beneficial to the people at large, as well as to the persons directly concerned. If the system has worked so well in a comparatively restricted field, its enlarged application is certain to bring even better results relatively. The men concerned in this enlargement feel very certain of the ground on which they stand. They have proceeded on the most conservative basis. They have depended, not on speculation and theory, but on facts and figures. They have gauged the future very carefully by the past. They have built the new enterprises, not in the belief that they can effect a monopoly, but in the belief that they can so expand the system of economies that every one will profit, the consumer and the workingman most of all.

Supremacy in handling and transforming the raw products of the earth is to be won, not by monopolizing their production, but by handling them in such a scientific manner, in the process of manufacturing, that the cost is kept down to the lowest possible figure. A monopoly in the iron and steel business is an impossibility. No man, or set of men, could possibly bring such a thing about. No rational person would dream of attempting it. A monopoly of the wheat fields of Minnesota and the Dakotas, or of the fruit groves of California, would be simple by comparison.

No great amount of harm can be done hereafter by the men who continue to agitate against the science of business consolidation. The system is here to stay, and the people, confronted on every hand by the benefits accruing to them from it, will refuse to be seriously misled. At one time, there was danger that the

development of the plan might be checked by unwise political action, but in my opinion even this danger is past. The politicians who get in the way of human progress always come to grief. The politicians who attempt to obstruct industrial development on the line along which it is moving are attempting to obstruct human progress, and the result will be inevitable. The question is really not a political one at all, and those who persist in making it political may find that they have been playing with fire. If the issue should come before the voters to-day, even though it were stated flatly as a "trust issue," it is my belief that the verdict would be, "Hands off." The country has never been so prosperous, and in a large measure this prosperity is undoubtedly due to the fact that we are managing our business affairs on an advanced basis. The most prosperous industries are those in which the consolidation idea has been carried to the greatest extent under wise management. In those industries, work is the steadiest and wages the highest. In the face of such a showing, no body of intelligent people, such as our voters are, would deliberately fly against their own interest. The chance is remote, however, that the issue will ever come up squarely at the polls, and with each succeeding day the prospect of this is bound to grow less. In spite of the politicians, who, with the fatuity often manifested by their class, misconceive public sentiment entirely upon the matter, the question will, I believe, be permitted to work itself out, as it should, in the factory and in the counting room. It is a clean-cut business proposition, and has no more place in politics than a question prescribing a general style of type in newspapers would have. Both, in a measure, are public questions; but both are of a character that hardly warrants political interference. The use of newspapers is so general that the size and style of their type has undoubtedly serious influence on the eyes of the masses, but he would be a bold politician, or a foolish one, who would agitate this question in a campaign.

The iron and steel industry of America is not apprehensive of antagonistic political action toward it either by the people or by Congress. It has done more than any other industry to make this nation great and prosperous, to give America commercial supremacy in the foreign markets. The improved processes that have come out of its pursuit have revolutionized many other industries, and made them in turn great and prosperous. The iron

workers are among the most highly paid artisans in this country of high wages. The iron centres are among the wealthiest cities on earth. The consumers of iron and steel are getting the greatest value for their money known in the history of the business.

In the face of this satisfactory state of affairs all around, the political and other straws that Mr. Sage sees blowing about the atmosphere, as a menace to "consolidated management," fail to awake any apprehension in the minds of the men in the steel business.

C. M. SCHWAB.

IV.

INDUSTRIAL CONSOLIDATIONS: WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED FOR CAPITAL AND LABOR.

WHILE Mr. Sage's article has little value as an exposition of facts that exist, it has this merit: Coming from a man who is as wealthy and as prominent as he is, who controls one of the great fortunes of America, the paper offers an excellent vehicle on which the general popular ignorance regarding the question of industrial consolidations may be carried to the public market-place and exhibited in the stocks. The people who lack either the time or the inclination to examine into the truthfulness of things set forth are so numerous in the world that it is a comparatively easy thing to set a fallacy afloat as a fact. Thanks to this condition of the public mind, an entirely false notion regarding industrial properties prevails. Out of every ten thousand men in the community, there is hardly one who would not state it as a hard and fast proposition that the industrial enterprises of the country that have been brought together under the present system of consolidation are all outrageously over-capitalized, and that their stocks present about the most hazardous investment conceivable. Mr. Sage himself, though a potent factor in Wall Street, actively concerned every day in its transactions, apparently holds this general view. As it is his business, or should be, to keep thoroughly posted on the intrinsic value of the properties handled on the stock market, the views he has on this subject would be surprising, were it not that they are so general, even in the financial district; it being such an easy matter to arrive at the true conditions behind stock values, it

seems strange that people who are so intimately concerned with these values as are Mr. Sage and the others in Wall Street who think as he does, do not figure out for themselves just how matters stand. A few hours devoted to this task would prove many things that would be valuable both to the speculator and the investor, not to mention the general public which is discussing the political status of consolidations from an entirely false standpoint.

As a test of what is really behind the industrial stocks that are being dealt in on the Stock Exchange and on the curb, I have gone into the figures of forty-seven among the most prominent companies. These companies were selected at random from a circular issued on March 13th by Henry Clews & Co. No special preference was given to any property. The entire list was taken, where annual net earnings were given in the report. The greatest industrial of all, the Standard Oil Company, which last year paid 48 per cent. on the par value of its stock, is purposely not included in the list. Nor need the Standard Oil Company be included, for without it we arrive at an average that will, I believe, astonish many even among those who have been most active in the handling of these stocks. The statement, giving the name of companies, the capital stock, common and preferred, the net income, the market value of the stocks, and the percentage of earnings, is given in tabular form at the foot of pages 666-7. It will repay close study by any person who really wants to get at the true condition of values to-day. He will find that, instead of inflated values and boom quotations, we are trading on a very sound basis. He will find that the industrials, almost without exception, are worth a great deal more, judged by their earning capacity, than they are selling for in the open market. Some of these industrials are earning over 25 per cent. a year on their market values, and the average for the entire forty-seven is 13.6 per cent. How does this compare with Manhattan Elevated, which Mr. Sage would, no doubt, tell everybody is a good investment? Manhattan Elevated earns 4 per cent. Even more astonishing than the earnings on the market value are the earnings on the par value. A very popular impression exists that industrials are composed principally of water. The best answer to this is, that the forty-seven companies included in the appended table show an average earning rate of 7.44 per cent. on their total capitalization at par.

Choosing between two evils, Mr. Sage says, if we must have consolidations, the danger lurking in the consolidation of railroads is perhaps not as great, "because," as he puts it, "they are based on sounder considerations. Their stocks and bonds have not been doubled or trebled or unduly inflated." In other words, Mr. Sage concludes that railroad stocks rest on a sounder basis than do industrials.

Even if this statement were accurate, though it is not, it would call for this commentary, that scarcely one of the great railroads of this country whose shares are now quoted at favorable prices on our Exchanges, has not undergone the process of reorganization, growing out of the fact that they were injudiciously organized. And while the common stock of many of these great

INDUSTRIAL SECURITIES.

TITLE OF COMPANY.	Capital Stock Outstanding— Common.	Preferred.	Six months' net income.
Am. Agri. Chem. Co.	$16,500,000	$17,000,000	$839,320
Am. Bicy. Co.	20,000,000	10,000,000	363,348
Am. Car & Foundry Co.	30,000,000	30,000,000	2,457,834
Am. Caramel Co.	1,000,000	1,000,000	92,500
Am. Hide & Leather Co.	11,500,000	13,000,000	208,741
Am. Linseed Co.	16,750,000	16,750,000	1,014,200
Am. Radiator Co.	4,893,000	3,000,000	328,581
Am. Ship Bldg. Co.	7,600,000	7,900,000	412,746
Am. Smelting & Ref. Co.	27,400,000	27,400,000	1,762,480
Am. Steel Hoop Co.	19,000,000	14,000,000	2,513,448
Am. Steel & Wire Co.	50,000,000	40,000,000	2,815,000
Am. Strawboard Co.	6,000,000	.....	146,263
Am. Tin Plate Co.	28,000,000	18,325,000	2,929,708
Am. Tobacco Co.	54,500,000	14,000,000	3,110,989
Am. Type Founders' Co.	4,000,000	.....	140,121
Am. Window Glass Co.	13,000,000	4,000,000	186,678
Am. Woolen Co.	29,501,100	20,000,000	1,419,526
Am. Chicle Co.	6,000,000	3,000,000	610,000
Col. Fuel & Iron Co.	17,000,000	2,000,000	970,831
Cons. Rubber Tire Co.	4,000,000	4,000,000	105,981
Cons. Coal Co.	10,250,000	.....	301,843
Continental Tobacco Co.	48,844,600	48,846,100	1,016,378
Diamond Match Co.	14,750,000	.....	1,007,419
Elect. Storage Batt. Co.	11,875,000	5,000,000	462,244
Elect. Vehicle Co.	10,450,000	8,125,000	399,930
Federal Steel Co.	46,484,300	53,260,900	2,555,519
General Chemical Co.	7,070,300	8,126,400	575,817
Glucose Sugar Ref. Co.	24,027,300	13,638,300	1,316,492
Havana Com'l Co.	10,600,000	6,000,000	331,896
International Paper Co.	17,442,800	22,406,700	1,141,787
National Biscuit Co.	29,236,000	23,935,100	1,659,177
National Enamel. & Stamp Co.	14,038,100	7,658,600	721,294
National Lead Co.	14,905,400	14,904,000	538,220
National Salt Co.	7,000,000	5,000,000	602,011
National Starch Co.	2,544,300	4,027,800	276,587
National Steel Co.	32,000,000	27,000,000	2,661,859
National Tube Co.	40,000,000	40,000,000	7,330,742
Pressed Steel Car Co.	12,500,000	12,500,000	1,037,590
Republic I. & Steel Co.	27,352,000	20,852,000	1,561,596
Rubber Goods Mfg. Co.	16,941,700	8,051,400	973,117
Sloss-Sheffield S. & I. Co.	7,500,000	6,700,000	639,895
J. B. Stetson Co.	1,500,000	1,500,000	182,415
Union Bag & Paper Co.	16,000,000	11,000,000	747,084
United Fruit Co.	12,369,500	.....	785,897
U. S. Bobbin & Shuttle Co.	1,000,000	650,000	88,400
U. S. Cast I. Pipe & Fdry. Co.	12,155,447	12,500,000	536,037
U. S. Rubber Co.	23,666,000	23,525,500	1,503,944

industrial corporations may be said to have been issued not to represent tangible property, nevertheless, it represents a fair equivalent for tangible property, namely good will or earning power long-established, which, for obvious reasons, is as rightfully a matter of valuation as the manufacturing plant itself.

On the other hand, when our great railroads were built, the whole projects were ventures, pure and simple, with earnings estimated, and hoped for, but not realized; and yet, under such circumstances, the capital stock, as a rule, was given away to the subscribers of the bonds, sold frequently below par, and it was out

INDUSTRIAL SECURITIES—(Continued).

TITLE OF COMPANY.	March 13. Stock Quotations. Com.	Pref.	Total Market Value.	Annual Earning Rate. On Market Value. Per ct.	On Par of Total Capitalization. Per ct.
Am. Agri. Chem. Co.	29	84	$19,065,000	8.8	5.
Am. Bicy. Co.	6	26	3,800,000	19.1	2.4
Am. Car & Foundry Co.	24⅛	75	29,737,500	16.5	8.1
Am. Caramel Co.	60	105	1,650,000	11.2	9¼
Am. Hide & Leather Co.	9½	36	5,772,500	7.2	1.7
Am. Linseed Co.	8¼	37	7,579,375	26.7	6.
Am. Radiator Co.	36	107½	4,986,480	13.1	8.3
Am. Ship Bldg. Co.	35	95	10,165,000	8.1	5.3
Am. Smelting & Ref. Co.	54¾	94	40,757,500	8.6	6.4
Am. Steel Hoop Co.	36½	81½	18,345,000	27.4	15.2
Am. Steel & Wire Co.	39	97⅜	58,450,000	9.6	6¼
Am. Strawboard Co.	31	..	1,860,000	15.7	4.8
Am. Tin Plate Co.	62	102	36,051,500	16.25	12.6
Am. Tobacco Co.	122½	147	87,342,500	7.1	9.
Am. Type Founders' Co.	61	..	2,440,000	11.4	7.
Am. Window Glass Co.	48	85	9,640,000	3.8	2.
Am. Woolen Co.	15	72	18,825,165	15.	5.7
Am. Chicle Co.	85	79	7,470,000	16.3	13.5
Col. Fuel & Iron Co.	45¼	120	10,092,500	19.2	10.2
Cons. Rubber Tire Co.	3¼	25	1,130,000	18.7	2.6
Cons. Coal Co.	59	..	6,047,500	9.9	5.8
Continental Tobacco Co.	45½	102¾	72,413,660	2.8	2.
Diamond Match Co.	135	..	19,912,500	10.1	13.6
Elect. Storage Batt. Co.	72	74	12,250,000	7.5	5.4
Elect. Vehicle Co.	14½	25	3,546,500	22.5	4.3
Federal Steel Co.	43¼	89⅜	67,706,389	7.5	5.1
General Chemical Co.	70	100	13,075,610	8.8	7.5
Glucose Sugar Ref. Co.	48¼	98	24,958,706	10.5	6.9
Havana Com'l Co.	13½	54½	4,701,000	14.1	3.9
International Paper Co.	23½	75⅝	20,988,108	10.8	5.7
National Biscuit Co.	41¼	95	34,798,195	9.5	6.2
National Enamel. & Stamp Co.	18	80	8,653,738	16.6	6.6
National Lead Co.	15½	87	15,276,810	7.	3.6
National Salt Co.	43⅝	77	6,903,750	17.4	10.
National Starch Co.	45	90	4,769,955	11.6	8.4
National Steel Co.	45⅝	102	42,060,000	17.4	12.4
National Tube Co.	53½	101⅞	62,150,000	23.5	18.3
Pressed Steel Car Co.	35⅝	74¼	13,734,375	15.	8.3
Republic I. & Steel Co.	17	66⅝	18,542,485	11.4	6.4
Rubber Goods Mfg. Co.	28¼	76½	10,945,351	17.7	7.7
Sloss-Sheffield S. & I. Co.	24½	71	6,594,900	19.4	9.
J. B. Stetson Co.	95	115	3,150,000	11.5	12.1
Union Bag & Paper Co.	15½	73	10,510,000	14.2	5.5
United Fruit Co.	135	..	16,698,825	9.4	12.7
U. S. Bobbin & Shuttle Co.	65	112	1,378,000	12.8	10.7
U. S. Cast I. Pipe & Fdry. Co.	4½	30	4,296,995	24.9	4.3
U. S. Rubber Co.	19⅛	58⅛	18,200,319	16.5	6.3
Average, 47 companies				13.6	7.44

of the proceeds that the railroads were built and equipped. Subsequent defaults, foreclosures and reorganization, have demonstrated not only that the capital stock had no basis of value, but that the amount of the bonds themselves, and the interest reserved on them, were unjustified.

The large industrial corporations have been long enough in evidence to make it clear, that very many of those who are responsible for the creation of these organizations have profited by the financial experience of railroad companies; and have organized these business corporations on a basis, where reorganization is likely to be no part of their business history.

Mistakes have been made, but the comparison between the usual organization of railroads and of so-called "Trusts" is not by any means unfavorable to the latter.

I think it not inconsiderate on my part to suggest that Mr. Sage refresh his recollection as to the financial story of the building of the elevated railroads of New York, now constituting the Manhattan System, in which he is such an important figure. When his recollection is thus refreshed, he will find that the Printing Press and the Receiver played no inconspicuous part before this great property had demonstrated its ultimate solvency and ability to survive as an efficient transportation agency.

As a matter of fact, however, railroad properties even as they stand to-day in their reorganized form are not nearly so good an investment as are the industrials, and their only hope of improvement lies in the extensive application of the principle of consolidation which has done so much for the industrial stocks, and which Mr. Sage opposes in railroads, as he does in other directions. If the consolidation movements now on foot by Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan and the other great railroad men are carried out, railroad values will undoubtedly be much improved. As they stand to-day, they rank, as earners, about half as high as the industrials. This is shown by the list, printed at the foot of pages 670-1, which, for the purposes of this article, I have made up in the same way as the industrial table. Taking thirty-seven railways, including the best properties in the market, they show an average rate of earnings on their market value of 4.85 per cent., and on their par of total capitalization of 4.85 per cent. On the face of it, this would show a very substantial situation so far as the railroads are concerned, placing

them as a whole almost on a level with government bonds. Unfortunately, however, the average is more a matter of accident than of anything else, as the earnings fluctuate from 2 per cent. on the market value up to 8 per cent., and from one-half of one per cent. on the par value up to 16 per cent.

Surely, on this comparative showing, there is no better investment anywhere than is offered by the industrial stocks of to-day. The cold figures dispute absolutely the charge of general over-capitalization, so freely made by people who have but a superficial knowledge of the situation.

Of course there have been cases of over-valuation. These stand out very plainly in the table of earnings referred to. But the average showing is far ahead of that of the railroads, and, on the whole, even the over-valued industrials have not been a bad thing. They came early in the day, when the idea was new, and they have served as an evil example. They have made investors more careful. They have convinced the promoters and the persons owning the properties of the wisdom of great care in bringing about such consolidations. In other words, the tendency to over-valuation has been checked by the natural law of trade. The careless banker has lost his reputation, the careless investor has lost his money, and the result is that more care has been, and will be, exercised all along the line. Over-valuations have been an education, pretty expensive for some people, but salutary.

To pretend that the industrials, or "trusts," as people are fond of calling them, constitute a political or economic menace is absurd. Instead of concentrating the wealth of the country in the hands of a few people, the consolidations have had exactly the reverse effect. Where, under the old conditions, there were a hundred stockholders, there are to-day a thousand or two thousand. Never before was there such a wide distribution of manufacturing interests. The great bulk of the stocks is held, not by the very rich, but by the moderately well-to-do. The control under the new system is not vested, as it was under the old, in the hands of a few abnormally rich men, but it rests with the majority of stockholders, whose numerical strength is growing every day. The danger to the community to-day lies not in the centralization of manufactures, in industrial consolidations, but in the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few men. This centralization

was made possible by the old conditions of individualism. Unfortunately, the new economic ideas which prevail to-day arrived so late that they have not proven sufficient, up to this time, to check the accumulation of great fortunes by individuals. As the new scheme works itself out naturally, such accumulations will, in the future, be rare. As it is, legislation may be necessary to cope with the evil as we find it to-day. What would Mr. Sage say to a law limiting individual fortunes?

There is no danger, either to the community or to business, in such consolidation as has been effected in the case of the steel trust. Its capitalization is based on solid properties. That it runs into a thousand millions is not a cause of apprehension, but rather the reverse, for it typifies the acme of scientific business. If its securities equal, as Mr. Sage points out, nearly one-half the amount of money in circulation in America, the country has cause, not to fear, but to rejoice. Money, when based on

RAILROAD SECURITIES.

TITLE OF COMPANY.	Capital Stock Outstanding—Common.	Capital Stock Outstanding—Preferred.	12 months' net income.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé	$102,000,000	$114,199,530	$9,739,305
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	45,000,000	59,272,576	6,613,791
Buff., Roch. & Pittsburg Ry.	6,000,000	6,000,000	565,976
Central R. R. of New Jersey	27,159,800	.....	2,619,363
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway	60,543,100	.....	1,156,582
Chicago, Burl'n & Quincy	109,206,400	.....	7,928,762
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	7,197,800	6,830,700	990,372
Chicago, Mil. & St. Paul	47,148,600	41,003,900	6,975,440
Chicago Northwestern	39,114,678	22,395,160	10.061.554
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific	50,000,000	.....	4,462,062
Cleveland, Chi., Cin. & St. Paul	27,989,310	10,000,000	2,273,983
		1st 8,500,000	
Colorado & Southern Ry.	31,000,000	2d 8,500,000	245,344
Delaware & Hudson Co.	34,800,000	.....	3,187,392
Denver & Rio Grande	38,000,000	23,650,000	1,314,462
		1st 42,892,400	
Erie Railroad Co.	112,378,900	2d 16,000,000	1,663,431
Evansville & Terre Haute	3,987,383	1,282,417	196.632
Great Northern Ry. Co.	.....	98,417,250	8,626.542
Hocking Valley R. R. Co.	10,383,100	13,991,300	1,168,548
Illinois Central R. R. Co.	66,000,000	.....	3,340,600
Iowa Central Ry.	8,512,900	5,672,215	175,973
Lake Erie & Western R. R.	11,840,000	11,840,000	735,636
Louisville & Nashville R. R.	52,800,000	.....	3,619,235
Missouri Pacific Ry. Co.	50,432,150	.....	3,411,760
N. Y. Central & Hudson River	115,000,000	.....	7,979,027
N. Y. Ontario & Western Ry.	58,113,982	.....	859,024
Norfolk & Western Ry. Co.	64,479,400	22,742,900	3,388,312
Northern Pacific Ry.	80,000,000	75,000,000	6,483,819
Pennsylvania R. R. Co.	151,700,000	.....	17,277,530
Pittsburg, Chi., Cin. & St. Louis	25,173,689	22,698,062	1,485,692
		1st 23,000,000	
Reading Co.	70,000,000	2d 42,000,000	1,938,001
St. Louis Southwestern Ry.	16,500,000	20,000,000	630,292
Southern Railway Co.	120,000,000	60,000,000	2,917.251
Texas & Pacific Ry.	38,720,280	.....	1,137,277
Union Pacific Ry.	95,955,800	99,435,400	13,540.479
Wabash R. R. Co.	28,000,000	24,000,000	420,099
		1st 4,135,600	
Wheeling & Lake Erie R. R.	20,000,000	2d 11,567,800	206,235
Wisconsin Central Ry. Co.	15,831,300	11,154,700	492,915

sound considerations, as our currency is to-day, is but an expressed form of wealth. Stocks and bonds issued on a substantial basis, as are the stocks and bonds of the new steel combination, represent quite as much an expressed form of wealth as the currency. They supplement the money in circulation, and, always provided that they are not the mere output of a printing press, serve as tokens of valuable property. Such stocks and bonds are quite as important an item in the wealth of a country as its currency. As the business system of a country expands, the need, relatively, of money grows less. Instead of the actual interchange of gold and silver in commercial transactions, there comes a system of credit. The amount of business transacted on credit in the United States to-day is over

RAILROAD SECURITIES—(Continued).

TITLE OF COMPANY.	Stock quotations as per April 4, 1901 Com.	Pref.	Total Market Value.	Rate of Earnings on Market Value. Per ct.	Rate of Earnings on Total Capitalization. Per ct.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé	63	96	$173,891,549	5.6	4.5
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	92¼	91½	95,746,907	6.9	6.3
Buff., Roch. & Pittsburg Ry.	82	121½	12,210,000	4.6	4.7
Central R. R. of New Jersey	157½	..	42,776,685	6.1	9.6
Chesapeake & Ohio Railway	47⅞	..	28,833,651	4.	1.9
Chicago, Burl'n & Quincy	185⅞	..	202,987,396	3.9	7.2
Chicago & Eastern Illinois	117	133½	17,540,410	5.6	7.
Chicago, Mil. & St. Paul	156	191	151,869,265	4.5	7.9
Chicago Northwestern	189½	224¾	124,455,437	8.	16.3
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific	150¼	..	75,125,000	5.9	8.9
Cleveland, Chi., Cin. & St. Paul	82¼	115¾	34,596,207	6.5	5.9
Colorado & Southern Ry.	11¼	1st 47 / 2d 22	9,352,500	2.6	0.5
Delaware & Hudson Co.	182	..	63,336,000	5.	9.
Denver & Rio Grande	44½	96	39,614,000	3.3	2.1
Erie Railroad Co.	38½	1st 70½ / 2d 59⅜	83,205,018	1.9	0.9
Evansville & Terre Haute	56	92	3,412,758	5.7	3.7
Great Northern Ry. Co.	..	203	199,787,017	4.3	8.7
Hocking Valley R. R. Co.	55	76¾	16,449,028	7.1	4.7
Illinois Central R. R. Co.	143¾	..	94,875,000	3.5	5.
Iowa Central Ry.	32¾	62⅛	6,311,838	2.7	1.2
Lake Erie & Western R. R.	63	127½	22,555,200	3.2	3.1
Louisville & Nashville R. R.	105¼	..	55,572,000	6.5	6.8
Missouri Pacific Ry. Co.	104	..	52,449,436	6.5	6.7
N. Y. Central & Hudson River	153⅜	..	176,381,250	4.5	6.9
N. Y. Ontario & Western Ry.	35½	..	20,630,464	4.1	1.4
Norfolk & Western Ry. Co.	51½	87	52,993,214	6.3	3.8
Northern Pacific Ry.	97⅜	94½	148,775,000	4.3	4.1
Pennsylvania R. R. Co.	158½	..	240,444,500	7.1	11.3
Pittsburg, Chi., Cin. & St. Louis	67½	95	38,555,399	3.8	3.1
Reading Co.	36½	1st 76⅝ / 2d 53¾	69,580,000	2.7	1.3
St. Louis Southwestern Ry.	37¼	65½	19,246,250	3.2	1.7
Southern Railway Co.	28⅛	79	81,150,000	3.5	1.6
Texas & Pacific Ry.	37⅝	..	14,568,505	7.8	2.9
Union Pacific Ry.	93½	85	173,878,929	7.7	6.9
Wabash R. R. Co.	19⅝	39⅝	15,005,000	2.7	0.8
Wheeling & Lake Erie R. R.	19⅛	1st 58½ / 2d 35½	10,350,895	1.9	0.5
Wisconsin Central Ry. Co.	19¾	45¼	8,154,183	6.	1.8
Average, 37 railways				4.85	4.85

two thousand times as great as that transacted in exchange for gold and silver. As soon as the volume of trade mounts into great proportions, it is impossible to transact it on the basis of an actual exchange of currency. Instead, every means of exchange is utilized. Drafts and checks are the chief mediums now known in the commercial world. Actual money is scarcely ever passed from hand to hand. It is idle, therefore, and absolutely valueless, as an object lesson, to set forth the proportion that any bond issue or stock issue bears to the amount of money in circulation. We have passed the point here in the United States where such a statement carries any weight, and we have passed it because we have grown to such enormous proportions as an industrial nation. Not so very long ago, it was different. Then, a dollar in cash was more important, and it went further because it had more to do. When Mr. Evarts, at Mount Vernon, in his exquisitely humorous defence of the accuracy of the tradition that Washington had once thrown a dollar from the Virginia shore to the Maryland shore of the Potomac, stated that a dollar went further in those early days, he may be said to have suggested a great truth, and without being too serious, we may not only enjoy the delightful humor, but profit by it.

We traded in times gone by in a measure on the basis of the money in circulation. The result was often disastrous. It left the country in a position where the close-fisted money-lenders had the market at their mercy whenever the notion seized them, or whenever they felt that there was a situation, real or imaginary, that warranted a demand for extortionate interest rates. This condition was a severe handicap to our merchants and manufacturers; but, despite this fact, they managed, by their enterprise and industry, to forge steadily ahead. Now, owing to these qualities, and to an economical and conservative administration of their affairs for the past ten years, they are in a stronger financial condition, and comparatively free from the domination of the money-lender. And, as in the case of individuals, so it is in the nation. Instead of depending upon the good-will of the money-lenders of Europe, instead of trembling, as we used to do, for fear that they would call their loans, we have now reversed the situation. We are no longer borrowers from, but lenders to, Europe. Consequently, the money market has few terrors for us. From a debtor nation we have grown

to be a creditor nation, and this is due very largely to the fact that we are conducting our business affairs over here on the most scientific and advanced basis, thanks to the industrial consolidations.

At all times, there have been found plenty of people to oppose progress. The railroad and the steamship and the telegraph and the telephone all had to make their way in the face of violent opposition on the part of supposedly intelligent men. Where new economical conditions are suggested, the opposition is invariably stronger than is met by proposed new physical conditions. It is not strange, therefore, that we should find ourselves face to face with men of standing in the community who combat the introduction of a business system that is, on its face, wholesome and profitable to every one. Benefits arising from the centralized management of our industries are not confined to any one class of people. The greatest proportion of the benefit accrues to the workingman, but capital has its share of advantage as well in the new scheme. Capital's advantage comes, not so much in the shape of larger dividends, as in more certain dividends. The investor knows more certainly what he may expect, if the enterprise to which he subscribes is conducted on the basis that is at the foundation of the new order of things. There is a minimum of risk, which compensates very fully for the sentimental independence which has been lost. Business enterprises are no longer subject to all sorts of unforeseen contingencies. The danger from strikes, lockouts, over-production and ruinous competition is largely eliminated.

Viewing the matter from every standpoint, the business man is benefited when he operates as a member of a combination instead of as an individual. His property is in the shape of stocks and bonds which he can market at a moment's notice, instead of in the shape of a plant, on which it would be impossible to realize anything like its value at a forced sale. In case of his death or disability, he leaves to his family a property that runs along uninterruptedly. The death of any one individual has little, if any, effect on the general business prosperity of the combination, and the tokens of interest held by the family of a deceased stockholder continue to bring their return just as steadily as though the man himself stood at the helm. In the case of an individual corporation, no matter how well organized or how well estab-

lished, business failure is almost inevitable when the head of the corporation dies. Had A. T. Stewart been a member of an industrial combination at the time of his death, of which combination John Wanamaker had also been a member, the business of A. T. Stewart & Co. would never have declined. It would have continued just as prosperously after Mr. Stewart's death as before. That is one of the many advantages of business consolidation.

Another great advantage is that a combination can generally arrange to run its best factories on full time. The saving in production in this one item alone—that is, where a factory is run on full time instead of half time—is from 4 per cent. to 8 per cent. Over-production, which is one of the most prolific sources of panic, can be largely prevented under the present system, and that without throwing any great body of workingmen out of employment. This was made very clear in the industries in which I am interested, during the period of depression from 1893 to 1897. Although the volume of business fell off very materially in those years, our factories were kept running and our help was regularly employed during all that period, and at the same time our stockholders received a fair return on their investments, considering the reduction in volume of goods turned out. There were no failures. Without combination at that time, there would certainly have been a considerable number of very serious failures.

The combination is stronger than the individual, because it can institute a system of credits that prevents any great losses through bad debts. In one industry, with which I am identified, the losses from this source were reduced, approximately, from one hundred thousand dollars during the year before consolidation to a thousand dollars last year on a volume of business amounting to $25,000,000. This may be a hardship to people who have not been in the habit of paying their debts, but I think the honest men in the community will be able to bear it with equanimity.

The business man in combination can take advantage of cheap transportation facilities, which, as an individual, would be out of his reach. An excellent illustration of this is to be found in one of the large corporations of which I am a director, which, since consolidation of the plants constituting its property, has built a large storage warehouse at Chicago. During the sum-

mer months, when the waterways are open, freight rates to the West are much cheaper than they are in the winter. This corporation takes full advantage of this fact by sending out its goods for Western consumption during the warm months, and laying them down in its storage warehouse in Chicago. The process of distribution from this point is comparatively simple, and very much more economical than it would be if the stock had to be transported from the East as orders were taken.

All these advantages redound directly to the benefit of capital, but indirectly they redound to the benefit of the consumer. They lessen the cost of production, and the consumer is bound to receive his share in this saving.

Labor is immeasurably benefited by the new conditions. The tendency under natural laws would be for wages to gradually decline to the level of the wages paid in other countries, but the industrial combinations have sustained the wages of the American wage-earner. To-day, the tendency is to a minimum of profits and a maximum of wages. Any concern whose profits become abnormal at once invites competition. Naturally, these profits are reduced, and the consumer, who is the workingman, reaps the benefit. If the profits are not sufficiently abnormal to invite competition, the workingman again comes to the front, for he demands a larger share of the earnings in the form of increased wages. In either case, then, the wage-earners, as the great body of the community, reap the greatest advantages that come out of more economical production.

Every one knows, of course, that the American workingman to-day earns higher wages than are paid in any other country. This condition has been made possible, not because the American employer is any more liberal than his European competitor, but because the American workingman produces more, and he produces more because he has been supplied with the most perfect system of labor-saving machinery on earth. To supply this machinery, large capital is necessary. The individual manufacturer, standing alone, is not in a position to perfect his machinery in the same measure as the consolidated enterprise. The result is that the workingmen benefit again in being supplied under consolidation with superior tools. The great body of the American wage-earners realize the advantages that come to them under the new order of things, and as the years go on will pay less and

less attention to the clamor of the uninformed, and of the agitators who seek notoriety by opposition to "trusts."

The workingmen and their employers, instead of being separated by the application of the new ideas of consolidation, are coming closer together. A manager, or superintendent, who is responsible to a large body of stockholders for the successful operation of a big plant, is, on the whole, much more likely to treat with his men on friendly terms, where differences arise, than is the individual owner of a plant. The latter, in many cases, will feel that his dignity has been outraged if his workmen presume to find fault with his management in any respect. He knows that he is the court of last resort, and that any one should dictate to him as to the method of administering his own property is not to be tolerated. Instead, therefore, of discussing grievances, listening to remonstrances, and taking advice, the individual employer takes a high-handed course, and a strike ensues. Where, however, the plant is controlled by a combination, and the operator is simply a manager for this combination, no matter how large his holdings of stock may be, he is responsible to a higher court, the Board of Directors; and, before inviting a strike or a shut-down, he will exhaust every possible means to arrive at a settlement with his disaffected men. This is almost invariably the case, and the records will show that where combinations have been effected strikes decrease. It is one of the great sources of satisfaction to me that none of the industrial combinations with which I have ever been connected has had a strike.

People generally will come to realize very soon that the maintenance of the high standard of wages now paid in the United States is absolutely dependent upon the advantages which come through superior organization. We are to-day shipping manufactured goods to countries where the rate of wages is, on the average, 40 per cent. less than our wage-earners are receiving. But we can only do this to advantage in those industries that are controlled by large corporations. Of our total exports of manufactured goods, which reached over five hundred million dollars last year, 80 per cent. were made by the so-called "trusts." Articles not made by "trusts" are being supplied almost entirely to the neutral markets by Germany, Belgium and England, the cheap-labor countries.

America is now at the front in the race for industrial suprem-

acy. The main factor that has placed her there is the system of consolidation which Mr. Sage warns us against. It has won us the lead in less than ten years' trial. Surely, such results do not argue for a restriction, but rather for the continuance and enlightened development, of the system.

CHARLES R. FLINT.

V.

THE INFLUENCE OF "TRUSTS"* UPON PRICES.

A FURTHER evolution in the organization of industries by the formation of "a Trust of Trusts" in the steel industry, with a capital approximating a billion of dollars, has given fresh occasion for discussion of the so-called "Trust" question, and has increased the already large number of citizens who fear evil from such consolidations. There is a widespread impression that "Trusts" result in unreasonable prices, through which the many are taxed for the benefit of the few, and it may be interesting to inquire how far this impression is confirmed by the facts—not single and sporadic facts, but facts which cover a sufficient time and a sufficient field to indicate the general tendency. Let us, then, examine their effect upon prices, as indicated in the following statistics taken from United States Government reports.

I.

The first great organization of industry in the United States was the consolidation of railway lines, and its effect upon the prices of transportation is shown in the following table:

AVERAGE RECEIPTS PER TON PER MILE OF LEADING RAILROADS IN 1870, 1880, 1890 AND 1899, INCLUSIVE.

Railway Lines.	1870. Cents.	1880. Cents.	1890. Cents.	1899. Cents.
Lines East of Chicago	1.61	0.87	0.63	0.51
West and Northwest Lines	2.61	1.44	1.00	0.92
Southwestern Lines	2.95	1.65	1.11	0.93
Southern Lines	2.39	1.16	0.80	0.62
Transcontinental Lines	4.50	2.21	1.50	0.99
Average	1.99	1.17	0.91	0.70

This result has been attained largely through combinations and consolidations, which, contrary to the impression generally entertained, have not resulted in abolishing competition, but rather in economies of operation and improvement in service, accompa-

*The word is a misnomer, but it is understood by the public to mean any large aggregation of capital.

nied by a steady reduction in rates. Railway freight rates in the United States are less than one-half those of other principal countries. Our railways carry our chief products one thousand miles to our seaboard for less than the railroads of other countries charge for carrying these products two hundred miles inland from the seacoast after they have crossed the ocean.

Passenger rates have not declined as largely as freight rates, but there has been a material decline in passenger rates also in the period covered by the above statistics, while the quality of the service has been greatly improved, with a corresponding increase in its cost to the railways.

The railroad of twenty years ago, with its equipment, would not be tolerated to-day. How many of us appreciate the privilege of stepping into a parlor on wheels and being hurled through space at the rate of forty miles an hour, with as much safety as if we sat in our drawing-rooms or were sleeping in our beds at home?

II.

The next great "Trust" was the Standard Oil Company, and its influence on prices is evidenced by the following statistics:

PRICES OF REFINED ILLUMINATING OIL, PER GALLON, EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES, 1871 TO 1900.*

Year.	Cts.	Year.	Cts.	Year.	Cts.
1871	25.7	1881	10.3	1891	7.0
1872	24.9	1882	9.1	1892	5.9
1873	23.5	1883	8.8	1893	4.9
1874	18.3	1884	9.2	1894	4.2
1875	14.1	1885	8.7	1895	4.9
1876	14.0	1886	8.7	1896	6.8
1877	21.1	1887	7.8	1897	6.3
1878	14.4	1888	7.9	1898	5.7
1879	10.8	1889	7.8	1899	5.6
1880	8.6	1890	7.4	1900	7.8

This great decline in the price of oil is attributable partly to the increase in production, but more largely to improvements in manufacture and transportation, which were only attainable through the aggregation of capital in this industry.

III.

The next great "Trust" in the order of formation was the American Sugar Refining Company, or the "Sugar Trust," a corporation formed under the laws of the State of New Jersey for the purpose of consolidating the sugar-refining interests of the country. Until recently, when additional capital flowed into this

*The prices represent the market value of article at time of exportation.

channel, it did about eighty-five per cent. of the sugar-refining business in the United States. The tendency of prices under its influence is shown by the next two tables, giving, respectively, the average price of both raw and refined sugar, with the differing margins, during the nine years prior to and the nine years immediately following its consolidation in 1887:

Year.	Centrifugals, Raw, per lb. Cents.	Granulated, Refined, per lb. Cents.	Difference, per lb. Cents.
1879	6.93	8.81	1.88
1880	7.88	9.80	1.92
1881	7.62	9.70	2.08
1882	7.29	9.35	2.06
1883	6.79	8.65	1.86
1884	5.29	6.75	1.46
1885	5.19	6.53	1.34
1886	5.52	6.23	.71
1887	5.38	6.02	.64
Average, nine years	6.43	7.98	1.55

For nine years after the formation of the "Trust," prices were:

Year.	Centrifugals, Raw, per lb. Cents.	Granulated, Refined, per lb. Cents.	Difference, per lb. Cents.
1888	5.93	7.18	1.25
1889	6.57	7.89	1.32
1890	5.57	6.27	.70
1891	3.92	4.65	.73
1892	3.32	4.35	1.03
1893	3.69	4.84	1.15
1894	3.24	4.12	.88
1895	3.23	4.12	.89
1896	3.62	4.53	.91
Average, nine years	4.34	5.33	.98

Since 1896 prices have been affected by changes in the tariff, and more recently by increased competition, consequent upon the construction of new refineries, which at times have reduced margins to an absolutely unremunerative point.

The figures for succeeding years are as follows:

Year.	Centrifugals, Raw, per lb. Cents.	Granulated, Refined, per lb. Cents.	Difference, per lb. Cents.
1897	3.56	4.50	.94
1898	4.24	4.97	.73
1899	4.42	4.92	.50
1900	4.57	5.32	.75
March, 1901	4.09	5.04	.95
Average, five years	4.17	4.95	.77

This reduction in price to the consumer has been effected, partly by increased production, and largely through buying the raw material more cheaply than when a large number of separate refiners were competing for the product. Large economies were also effected by closing inferior plants and enlarging and extending superior ones. The American Sugar Refining Company has

bought its raw material at cheap rates, but it has given the public the benefit of such purchases, merely retaining as its profit about one-third of a cent per pound, which, considering the nature of the business, is a reasonable one. It employs more labor and pays higher wages than were employed and paid before the organization of this industry.

In the three years preceding the formation of the "Trust," twelve sugar refineries failed, throwing thousands of operatives out of employment. There is such a thing as unreasonable competition as well as reasonable competition. The first drives the selling price of the article so low as to be incompatible with living profits, humane hours, honest wages and good quality. The organization of industry is a protest against unreasonable and destructive competition. The nine refineries consolidated into the "Trust" had twenty-seven partners; now the "Trust" representing these nine refineries has over 11,000 partners in the form of stockholders. Is this consolidation or distribution?

IV.

Among the more recent organizations is the "Paper Trust," known as the International Paper Company, organized in 1897. The contract prices of ordinary newspaper paper for ten years covering a period before and after its formation afford interesting material for study.

CONTRACT PRICES FOR NEWSPAPER PAPER FOR TEN YEARS.

Year.	Cents, per lb.	Year.	Cents, per lb.
1890	3.61	1896	2.35
1891	3.12	1897	2.18
1892	3.12	1898	2.02
1893	2.90	1899	2.00
1894	2.75	1900	2.50
1895	2.40		

Notwithstanding the advance which, owing to the increased demand, has taken place since 1899, prices for paper are far below those of ten years ago, and it is safe to say that neither the tariff nor trusts have had any appreciable effect upon the price of paper.

The prices above quoted are the lowest contract prices from first hands. Jobbing prices are somewhat higher; and, on an advancing market, jobbers sometimes advance their prices unduly, and lay the blame on "trusts," when the trusts have had nothing to do with the advance.

V.

The latest and, according to many journalistic utterances, the most startling of the trust organizations is "the billion dollar steel trust." This is a consolidation of trusts in that line; and, while we cannot give figures to show its effect upon future prices, the following figures for iron and steel in the past furnish a basis for future comparison which will be interesting. I foretell results similar to those indicated by the foregoing illustrations in other lines.

The fluctuations in iron and steel have been greater than in most staples, as is shown by the following statistics, giving the prices for "Bessemer pig iron" for a period of ten years:

Year.	Dollars, per ton.	Year.	Dollars, per ton.
1890	18.85	1896	12.14
1891	15.95	1897	10.13
1892	14.37	1898	10.33
1893	12.87	1899	19.03
1894	11.38	1900	19.49
1895	12.72	March, 1901	16.50

That the tariff had nothing to do with the advance in prices since 1898 is shown by the following comparison of English and American prices for steel rails for each month during 1899, which illustrates the influence of supply and demand.

1899.	English.	American.
January	$22.44	$18.00
February	23.24	20.50
March	23.04	22.00
April	23.64	25.00
May	24.90	25.00
June	24.90	25.00
July	25.50	26.00
August	30.96	31.33
September	30.36	32.00
October	32.76	33.00
November	32.76	35.00
December	34.02	35.00

The steel trust has not abrogated competition; it has simply elevated it to a higher plane. There are several plants outside of the trust, which are capable of being a David to the Goliath, if the Goliath should prove unreasonable.

VI.

Let us now consider the fluctuations of prices in staples which are not controlled by "trusts," but some of which are supposed to be influenced by tariffs.

The following prices are for "washed Ohio fleece wool," which

grade is less subject to variations than most of the other grades, and thus furnishes a better basis for comparison:

Year.	Cents, per lb.	Year.	Cents, per lb.
1890	33	1896	19
1891	33	1897	19
1892	30	1898	29
1893	29	1899	26½
1894	23	1900	32½
1895	17½	March, 1901	27

For several years coffee has been declining in price, owing to the fact that the supply has exceeded the demand, as is shown by the following statistics:

AVERAGE ANNUAL COST OF NO. 7 RIO COFFEE.

Year.	Cents, per lb.	Year.	Cents, per lb.
1890	18.03	1896	12.15
1891	16.40	1897	9.80
1892	14.43	1898	6.80
1893	17.42	1899	6.25
1894	16.41	1900	8.30
1895	15.80	March, 1901	7.35

When prices declined below the cost of production, production decreased, consumption increased, and prices began to advance again. Good times and speculation helped the advance along.

Prices have advanced from the lowest point, but what their fluctuations will be depends upon supply and demand.

In cotton we have the same phenomena that we have in coffee, as is illustrated by the following statistics of prices for middling cotton, and we have the same cause and effect:

Year.	Cents, per lb.	Year.	Cents, per lb.
1890	11.07	1896	7.93
1891	8.60	1897	7.00
1892	7.71	1898	5.94
1893	8.56	1899	6.88
1894	6.94	1900	9.25
1895	7.44	March, 1901	8.75

VII.

Power and machinery brought to bear upon natural resources have so increased production, that wider and more frequent fluctuations in prices are to be looked for in the future than have occurred in the distant past.

The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, and one of our most conservative statisticians, recently published the result of his investigations into the relative productive power of hand and machine labor.

A thousand paper bags could formerly be made by hand in six hours and thirty minutes; they are now made in forty minutes with the aid of a machine. To rule ten reams of paper on both

sides by hand required 4,800 hours; with a ruling machine, the work is done in two hours and thirty minutes of one man's time. In shelling corn by hand, sixty-six hours and forty minutes would be required to shell a quantity which can be handled by a machine in thirty-six minutes. A mowing machine cuts seven times as much grass per hour as one man can cut with a scythe. These examples might be extended indefinitely; but a more forceful illustration will be found by considering the total horse-power applied to machines in this country and calculating how many men it would require to do the same work. For such calculations the census figures of 1890 must be used.

One horse-power is equivalent to the power of six men. Thus, if the work of 63,481 men in the flour mills of the United States is supplemented by the use of 752,365 horse-power, the power is equivalent to the work of 4,514,190 additional men. That is, it does seventy-two times as much work as the employees.

The ratio differs radically in different industries. Mr. Wright finds that the total horse-power used in the United States in 1890 was about 6,000,000, equivalent to the work of 36,000,000 men, while only 4,476,884 persons were employed, the two kinds of power having a ratio of 8 to 1. A force of 36,000,000 men represents a population of 180,000,000, so that if the products of the manufacturing establishments were all made by hand, it would require a population of that size to do it, with none left for agriculture, trade, transportation, mining, forestry, the professions, or any other occupations.

A still more striking illustration is found in our transportation system. In 1890 there were over 30,000 locomotives in this country It would take 57,940,320 horses to do their work, or 347,425,920 men. In countries like China, nearly all the work of transportation is actually done by man power, and no further explanation of the economic difference between America and Asia is required. By the use of steam we are evoking aid from the heat stored up in our coal beds, equivalent to the working efficiency of the population of the whole earth, while the Chinaman lets his coal lie underground, packs his load on his back, and does his manufacturing largely by hand.

Mr. Mulhall, the British statistician, calculated in 1895 that the use of steam power had increased five-fold in the United States in thirty-five years, thus more than trebling the collective

working power of the population. He also remarks that the working energy of one American is more than double that of one European. Thus the civilized world, with the United States leading, is yearly doing an increasing amount of useful work, while Asia does no more than it did a thousand years ago. This fact alone will explain the demand for the "open door," and the growing world-domination of the machine-using nations.

Steam is our Genie of the Lamp, electricity our Slave of the Ring, and machinery an additional slave, which the imagination of the Arabian romancist did not picture. In former times the men who possessed a thousand human slaves, and grew rich upon their labor, were but few; to-day the men who own the power of a thousand horses, embodied in mechanical slaves which speak all languages and serve all masters with equal fidelity, are almost too numerous for enumeration. The inventors of the United States have created these slaves, and we are selling them to other nations at a rate which must soon impair the advantage we have heretofore enjoyed, and level up and level down labor the world over.

This is the ground-swell of cause which the statesmen of the world have to adjust to effect. The captains of industry, who have been in contact with and have comprehended and grasped these controlling forces in this evolution of industry, have profited pecuniarily from it; but all they have got out of it is a living, somewhat more luxurious, perhaps, than that of the average citizen, but any surplus which they have not left to hospitals, churches and education has, in most cases, enervated and cursed their children. Many of them appreciate this, and we will have more Harvards and Yales and Cornells, and Johns Hopkins and Stanfords and Vanderbilts and Rockefellers and Carnegies and Morgans in the future.

The talk about an Emperor in this country, which the distinguished President of one of our great universities recently indulged in, may be dismissed as a passing thought in a Lenten sermon.

The organization of industry has taken place so suddenly that the public has been startled, as a good horse will shy at an umbrella when it is opened suddenly in his face; but let the horse smell the umbrella and see that it is not dangerous and his alarm will subside. Thus will it be with the feeling of the public toward trusts. Their evil will be eliminated, their good will be

developed, their usefulness to mankind demonstrated, and the bogy which the rivalries of sensational journalism and partisan politics have conjured up will fade into thin air.

The facts and the views herein stated are presented as an antidote to those of the alarmists, but with a full appreciation of the tides and currents of public sentiment, which affect the industries and welfare of our country. These are indicated in the following quotation from the circular of a conservative banking house in relation to the new steel trust:

> "It will be cited in Congressional and Legislative halls as full of danger to American institutions through such unprecedented concentration of power in individual hands. It will revive the advocacy of Government ownership of railway lines and of more stringent "anti-trust" legislation, and it cannot be denied that it brings up a very grave question before the American people as to the extent to which the laws of the land shall permit or support such tremendous centralization of power in the industrial world. We might add, also, that it is likely to occasion at the next session of Congress a very active movement for the abolition of duties on all products made by this consolidated company, and if the tariff is once brought up as a subject of serious discussion and amendment there is no telling where it will end. We all know that the agitation of tariff revision is detrimental to general business; for, while it is in progress, both importers and manufacturers restrict their operations until they know to a certainty what the result of the tinkering is to be. Of course, these facts are not going to affect the immediate market for the shares, but they must enter into the minds of the big holders and lead them, as the occasion offers, to part with their holdings to the general public, as far as the general public will be disposed to buy."

If any legislation in regard to "trusts" is necessary, it is in the direction of publicity and reports, for the protection of investors. The practice of over-capitalization, or stock watering, is considered by many persons a great evil, but it is an injury rather to those who practice it than to the general public. Real values are reflected in the market prices of securities. Bay State Gas is quoted at $1 per share, with a par value of one hundred dollars, while Standard Oil is quoted above $800. Capitalization is usually based upon earning power, and in this "good will" is often a factor. A newspaper with a plant worth $50,000 may earn $100,000, net, per year. If a company was organized on this, what should its capital be? A railroad is projected, which, when built and with a large traffic developed, can pay dividends upon a capital which would seem very large in its inception, and yet carry for the public at low prices. Unless its projectors had had a

prospect of a profit the railway would not have been built. So far as the interest of investors is concerned, they should have information, and they can then use their own judgment. There are frauds in all kinds of merchandise, and the doctrine of *caveat emptor* is of universal application.

Mr. Carnegie has said that a successful business was like a three-legged stool, standing on labor, capital and brains; or brains, labor and capital; or capital, brains and labor—that neither is first and all are inter-dependent. The United States is fortunate in having such a citizen as Andrew Carnegie and millions of others who, with opportunity, like him, are capable of "rising on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things"; there can be no dissent from Mr. Carnegie's kaleidoscopic conception. The combination of any two elements in the trinity can be pulled down by the dissent of the third. Each, therefore, must recognize the usefulness of the other and its share in the enormous benefits which Providence has conferred upon the human race in placing such resources of nature and such slaves as steam, electricity and machinery at their disposal to develop them.

F. B. THURBER.

VI.

UNINTELLIGENT COMPETITION A LARGE FACTOR IN MAKING INDUSTRIAL CONSOLIDATION A NECESSITY.

THE belief is quite general, in certain directions, that all combinations and consolidations are organized to stamp out competition and advance prices unduly. Without doubt, many consolidations have been organized with that end in view; but there are many others which have been organized to correct abuses which, on account of ignorance and lack of intelligence, have become fastened upon many lines of industry and which threatened their destruction. The fact is not lost sight of that the promoter has been one of the largest influences in the work of consolidation, but ignorant, unequal, even dishonest competition in business has brought many industries to such a condition that manufacturers were willing to listen to the plans of the promoter, or to any schemes which gave promise of even partial relief.

Usually one of the first things done by a consolidation is to

revise its price lists. Then there goes up a great hue and cry about trusts, monopolies, squeezing the public, etc., by advancing prices, as though it were a crime to be unwilling to sell goods at a loss or without a profit. After a consolidation has been brought about, manufacturers have the opportunity to compare notes and see how buyers have worked one manufacturer against another, until certain classes of goods have been sold for much less than they cost. These low prices have been largely made by ignorant manufacturers, who did not know what they were doing; manufacturers who conducted their business by the rule of thumb; men who had not the capacity even to appreciate system, to say nothing of originating it. When consolidations are effected, that kind of ability usually goes to the rear, and the more intelligent men take control, men who know more nearly what it costs to manufacture goods. And yet, the buyer and the public expect the manufacturer to continue in force the prices made by the ignoramus who has been superseded; and manufacturers are expected to sell at a loss, or without a profit, simply because ignorant, cutthroat competition forced them to do so when they were powerless to prevent it.

The consolidation of industrials has made it possible to ascertain how business has been conducted by competing firms, and the methods, or lack of methods, of some have been a revelation.

It has been my pleasure to form the acquaintance of the managers of no less than six consolidations in different industries, and the experience of one is the experience of all. In some of the companies consolidated, they had never known the cost of manufacturing their goods; there had never been an intelligent attempt to learn the cost. The principle on which they appear to have acted was this: If one manufacturer quoted for an article a dollar, they knew they could make it for less than he could, and so quoted ninety cents. There was an absolute lack of system in everything, save in one particular—their system of price cutting without regard to cost was perfect.

Another fact has been discovered in every one of the six consolidations referred to: the firms or corporations consolidated were successful, prior to the consolidation, just in proportion as they adhered to a fixed standard for their goods, giving to their trade exactly what they agreed to give. In other words, the firms which made the best goods had the most satisfactory trade,

paid their help the highest wages, and made the most money; and those who made the poorest goods paid their help the lowest wages, and made the least money.

It may be asked, why do not firms which conduct their business on this basis fail? and the reply is, they do. This country is strewn with the wrecks of such firms, which fail time and again, compromise with their creditors and go on again, to continue their unequal and ignorant competition. One of the hardest problems honest business men have to face is to try to do business in competition with others who own their goods through failure, and compromise at anywhere from ten to fifty cents on the dollar. The ruinous feature of this kind of competition is that other manufacturers and merchants who do know their costs are in a degree forced to travel at the same pace. A manufacturer cannot hope to sell for a dollar what a competitor will sell for ninety cents, not even though the article in question costs, under the most favorable conditions, a dollar and ten cents to produce it.

The criticism is often made that in these consolidations the more successful companies are obliged to carry the weaker and poorer ones, and that is in a sense true; but it is not a new condition. The weaker companies have always been a drag on the successful ones. They have been the ones who determined the scale in the matter of price, the only difference now being that their power for doing harm for the time being has been somewhat abridged, and in time, with new men in the management of such firms, using new methods, they may be brought near to the standard of efficiency maintained by the more successful firms.

If consolidated management raises prices, it also results in raising, establishing and maintaining standards for weight and quality—the standards adopted by the consolidations being a yard with thirty-six inches, a pound with sixteen ounces, and a quality which is recognized as the best in the market. As a rule, the consolidation gives to the trade a better article than most of the same manufacturers previously furnished. I firmly believe that, as a general proposition, business under the consolidation is conducted more honestly, and that the buyer gets more nearly what he buys and pays for than he did when the firms which make up the consolidation were conducting their business as private organizations. The reason for this is not hard to find. The

pecuniary benefits which formerly accrued to the individual manufacturer, from giving short count, short weights and low-grade goods, would not now accrue to the men in the active management. Their interests are relatively much smaller than formerly; and human nature is such that while a man *may* be tricky in his business when that will work to his personal advantage, he will not resort to the same methods if the benefit is to go to some one else.

Competition is industrial war. Ignorant, unrestricted competition, carried to its logical conclusion, means death to some of the combatants and injury for all. Even the victor does not soon recover from the wounds received in the conflict.

We have had in this country great natural resources to develop. We have been for years throwing away more than would to-day be looked upon in the older countries, and in some lines of business in our own country, as a handsome margin of profit. In manufacturing industries, one invention has followed another in rapid succession, and the margin of profit has been such that it has not been deemed necessary to know exactly what the costs of production actually were.

It has become a commonplace to say that "the wastes of one decade are the profits of the next." In many lines of industry that statement is well inside the truth; but we are approaching a time, if it has not already been reached in some industries, where it would seem as though the cost of production could not be materially reduced by the saving of wastes, or by the invention of improved machinery—the cost of running the machine in some industries being such a small fraction of the total cost that, even though the machine were run for nothing, the cost would not be greatly reduced.

In the thought of the public, these large aggregations of capital are monopolies, but this is an erroneous impression; for there is practically no such thing as monopoly in any of these industrial consolidations. Monopoly presupposes control of the market so that the price of a commodity may be arbitrarily fixed; but, as a matter of fact, that condition rarely exists. Competition may not be so sharp in some industries as in others, so that by comparison it may seem not to exist; but it is almost never absent as a controlling factor.

It does not follow that competition is keenest where there are the largest number of competitors. In fact, the reverse is more

often true than otherwise, for competition among a great many small firms means primitive ways of doing, and the pace is ordinarily slow. But with large corporations, few in number, and with abundant means to avail themselves of every new invention, with modern, up-to-date methods of doing business, competition is being reduced to a science, and when it has worked itself out the consumer will get better goods for less money than under present ignorant, competitive conditions. All the expense incurred in doing business by primitive methods, all the cost connected with doing business at a disadvantage by reason of not being so located or equipped as to be able to take advantage of every geographical and economic condition, all the failures which result from ignorance, dishonesty, incompetence are, in the last analysis, paid for by the people.

A great many laws have been enacted to control, or, at least, to partially regulate these large corporations. The large corporation is here to stay. The business of the world is to be conducted on a large scale, and goods must be produced at low cost. Andrew Carnegie was right when he said: "It is not necessary to legislate against corporations. If they are organized on economic principles they do not need to be controlled by legislation. If they are not so organized, the economic laws which govern trade and commerce and which work as unerringly as the law of gravitation will take care of them." Never was a larger economic truth more tersely put.

There is only one way in which a consolidation can for any length of time be successful, and no new principle is called into being to bring success. It is the same principle whether it be a consolidation of corporations, a single firm, a man or a boy. They must each render exceptional service, if they would succeed. The consolidation must share the profit with the consumer by lowering the price. If it does not, it will fail.

The father and mother of the Trade family are Supply and Demand. Their first-born (and he is the legitimate offspring of these parents) is Competition. This child being more often than otherwise untrained and ignorant, frequently works untold hardship on the Trade family. Although great harm is done by this untrained and ignorant member of the family, it does not follow that the child should be strangled and put out of the way, any more than an untrained and ignorant child in a human fam-

ily should be so dealt with; but he should be restrained, educated, trained and directed, in order that he may be made competent to do his full share of work in the economic household. His is most important work. The progress of the world in everything has been by keen competition, in schools as well as in industries. Men need the stimulus of competition to do their best. To it we owe our development. It is the fuel which feeds the fire of ambition, and up to a certain point it is a good thing (if the competition is intelligent rather than ignorant), but, like almost any other good thing, it can be abused.

There must always be competition. To stamp it out, were such a thing possible, would mean stagnation and death. It would mean that there was to be no further progress; and it is no compliment to the intelligence of the business men who have done so much for the progress of the world to suggest even that they are so short-sighted as to believe that that programme could be carried out.

If there were no prizes to be obtained, men would cease to put forth the effort which makes for progress and growth. If there were no larger prizes ahead of a young man than simply a day laborer's wages, the likelihood is that a good many would not put forth the effort necessary to become anything more than a day laborer; but because there are prizes to be gained by competition, men are willing to become practically slaves to their business or profession, and in gaining those prizes for themselves they make large contributions to the sum of human progress and happiness. We need competition if we would grow, but it ought to be honest and intelligent competition, and that is not what is being had under conditions which prevail in many lines of industry at the present time.

Some months after the consolidation of one of the leading industries in this country, in conversation with the gentleman who was at the head of the Cost Department of one of the firms which had been consolidated (and it was the leader in that line of industry), I learned that an order had recently been sent for estimate to his old company, and that they had figured on the order and lost it, prior to the consolidation. They had known there would be close competition, and they had gone over their cost figures very carefully, putting the price on the lowest possible basis; but when the bids had been opened, other bidders'

prices were so far below theirs that they were made to appear foolish. They had reviewed their figures, and could not understand how the party to whom the award had been made could sell the goods without loss at the price at which the contract had been awarded. When the companies were consolidated, the management had taken the order from the branch which had secured the contract, and had sent it for execution to this branch whose figures were so much higher, thereby acknowledging that their facilities for doing the work were better than those of the company which had been awarded the contract. A letter was written to the company which had secured the order asking that they furnish the data on which they had based their figures. To this letter they made an evasive reply. Another letter was written, and again came back a letter equally evasive. The matter was then taken up through the Manager's Office, and this brought forth a letter which said they had no detail of the figures of their estimate to submit; they had done work something like this, and felt sure they could do this at the price they had submitted, and that was all the information that could be obtained. The order was filled at a very considerable loss.

Now for the application. The company to which the order was sent for execution had not failed to pay a dividend but once in over thirty years. The company which secured the contract at the low price had not paid a dividend for seven years, and under existing conditions and management was not likely to pay one for seven years more.

A successful firm is not produced by chance, but by intelligence persistently applied; and this successful firm had made its dividends fully as much by orders which it had not accepted as by orders it had accepted. They knew where profit ended and where loss began; and when it became a question of paying a customer to do his business, they had let the other manufacturer have that privilege.

The competition hardest to meet is not usually that of successful firms, who know what they are doing, but of firms whose business creed appears to be summed up in the lines:

> "So on I go not knowing,
> 'Tis blessed not to know."

These are the firms which fail, and whose competition often causes others to fail; and the cause of their failure is largely the

result of ignorance of the cost of production to the manufacturer or the cost of doing business to the merchant. For such ignorance, indeed, they are, in many cases, not entirely to blame.

Men rarely go into business directly from the ranks of industry. The offshoots from the established houses are usually heads of departments, office men, superintendents and foremen, and I suppose it is well inside the truth to say that nine out of every ten such employees, kept in ignorance of the true condition of business, believe their employers to be making profits very greatly in excess of the amounts actually made.

The great majority of business men endeavor to keep the details of their business to themselves. They want to have as few as possible of the men connected with their business know the cost of their goods and what profits they are making. The result is that many of these men have no knowledge of the costs of production to a manufacturer, and are wholly lacking in a knowledge of what it costs to do business as a merchant.

The point I would make is this: Is it wise to let such men think that the costs of doing business as a merchant are simply store rent and clerk hire, and the costs of manufacturing are simply those larger items, like labor, rent, heat, power, etc., which stand out prominently, leaving out of their thought the services of the proprietor, and that multitude of other costs, many of the items small in themselves, but in the aggregate the mighty factor which decides whether the balance is to be on the right or wrong side of the profit and loss account; to let them go on guessing that the profits of the business are two or three times what they actually are; to keep them in ignorance of the true condition of the business, which, if known to them, would in thousands of cases remove from them the temptation to start in business for themselves, and thus prevent a large part of the competition that kills? Such men are not entirely to blame that they have not the capacity to carry a "Message to Garcia." They have never had an opportunity to do work that would fit them for such service, and their employer often could not carry a "Message to Garcia" either. Would it not be wiser to adopt the other course, to train and educate a man so that he may become more valuable to the firm? A man cannot grow and use good judgment in business matters, if a knowledge of the facts, which is the basis for judgment, is withheld. Men do not expect growth in anything else

where the means of growth are cut off. Why should they in business? Then, if the man grows, pay him for this increased efficiency, of which the firm gets the benefit; and when that is done, if such a man does go into business on his own account, he will be an intelligent, rather than an ignorant, competitor.

Statistics are often quoted which show that only a very small percentage of the men who embark in business on their own account succeed—those who have given the matter careful thought say from three per cent. to five per cent. Whether that be correct or not, I do not pretend to say; but this we do know, a large percentage do not succeed.

There is a reason for this enormous commercial death rate; and, in my opinion, one of the chief causes is bad accounting, and, as a consequence, ignorance of cost of production, as a manufacturer, and of doing business, as a merchant.

Many men accounted shrewd, having no knowledge of accounts themselves, utterly fail to appreciate the real purpose of bookkeeping and accounting, and act on the assumption that any boy or girl just out of school, who can be hired at the smallest salary and who is wholly lacking in business training, is competent to do their bookkeeping. That might be true if the only function of the bookkeeper were to see that sales were properly charged and accounts collected when due. That work is essential and must be done correctly, if one would remain solvent; but there is another function which is equally important and which is too often neglected. Books of account should be so kept that, at the end of each period, there could be made up a statement of the business in each department in all its detail, giving the detailed costs connected with the business. It is not enough that these costs should go into a few general accounts. They must be subdivided so that comparisons can be made from year to year. If costs are increasing, the comparisons will reveal the fact; if there are leaks, they will be detected and stopped; but that work requires brains and business training, and the salary investment made in employing a competent accountant will yield large returns, giving to the management facts, not guesses, in the matter of cost of production.

The demands of the new century will not admit of guesswork. The management of the future must have a definite knowledge of the cost of production—not in a vague and general

way, but in a concrete and specific way. Success by the rule of thumb has gone forever, and in the years to come success will be won only through exact and definite knowledge.

The manufacturer's endeavor is to reduce the *cost* of production, but there are two mighty forces at work all the time to reduce the *price* just a little faster than the manufacturer can reduce the cost. These are the buyer and the travelling salesman, and they have helped to make consolidations a necessity.

The manufacturer who is ignorant of cost will usually be ignorant of other conditions connected with his business, and both he and his salesman will be at the mercy of the unscrupulous buyer. All buyers are not unscrupulous, and there is something to be said in behalf of the salesman. The writer has been a salesman for over five and twenty years. He has been in the employ of others, and he has for years sold his own goods, so that he is not giving hearsay evidence of conditions.

The travelling salesman's burden is not an easy one to bear. From Monday morning till Saturday night he hears one story from the buyer: "He is not in it, not even a little bit;" "his prices are not right;" "we have quotations much more favorable;" "so-and-so has agreed to deliver;" "another one will give three months' dating;" "at even prices they prefer to give him an order," and so on. Such statements may be true, and they may not.

After the consolidation of the company of which I have an intimate knowledge, the correspondence which had passed between the several companies and buyers from all over the country was open for inspection; so also was the correspondence sent in prior to the consolidation by travelling men, as to what the other manufacturers were reported to be quoting; and it was a most instructive exhibit. Prices which had never been quoted, and special terms which existed only in the fertile brain of the buyer, had been met by competing manufacturers. Statements were made by buyers as to the volume of their business which were wilder than political estimates made on the stump, and which had been used as a lever to get quotations and terms to which the party making them was not entitled.

The salesman's position is dependent upon the business which he obtains. His orders must be obtained from the buyer, with whom he must keep on good terms to obtain orders. In time, he often becomes better acquainted, and on terms of even greater

intimacy, with the buyer than with the house which he represents. The result is that pretty much anything the buyer asks for he can have. The travelling man will say to his house that he cannot retain the trade unless the concessions asked are granted; and, as often happens, the manufacturer, being known to the buyer only through the salesman, is completely at their mercy, and accepts the conditions laid down.

Add to this the fact that the manufacturer himself does not know the cost of his goods; does not know where profit ends and where loss begins; and, of course, the travelling salesman cannot know under those conditions. He more often than otherwise only knows the selling price which has been given him, and, no matter what that price may be, his assumption is that it involves a large profit. And when a salesman goes out on the road, even with a schedule of the lowest prices, usually his final instructions from a man who does not know his cost is to "get the orders, and, if it is necessary to cut those prices, to cut them," and with such instructions the prices are cut.

There are many large firms and corporations to-day conducting their business by the old rule of thumb, and that will one day produce their downfall. Not having wrought out an intelligent system of accounting while the business was being developed, they now find themselves handicapped by a lack of system and a lack of knowledge of cost, which, with the small margin of profits which must rule for the future, is so essential if a manufacturer would succeed. Worse still, they are handicapped by a force of men in their several departments who, never having given much thought to such detail, utterly fail to appreciate its importance, many of them being now past the time of life when they are willing to learn new ways.

Almost every corporation, firm and educational institution has connected with it a certain proportion of men who act as brakes on the wheels of progress. Being too old to take up new methods, they set themselves squarely across the path of progress, and not only refuse to advance themselves, but make it next to impossible for others to make headway—their argument being that this is the way in which work has been done; these are the methods we have followed for years; they have been good enough in the past, they ought to be good enough now.

Many of these men have been connected with the business for

a lifetime; and, in their thought, years of inefficient service ought to count as an equivalent for efficiency. They have been engaged in the industry so long that they labor under the impression that they know *all* that there is to be known; and their very conceit closes up the avenue through which light could and would come to make them more efficient, if they would but let it.

Again, there is another class of men who are and have been for years agents, superintendents and foremen, who were never fitted, either by natural endowment or acquired ability, to fill such positions. They would never have been *selected* for their present posts, but in the early days of the business they *drifted* into their places, and they have drifted ever since.

Consolidations are, for the most part, made up of firms which have grown up from very small beginnings. Twenty-five years ago it was exceptional for factories to begin with any considerable working force. They usually started small, and, from time to time, as the business increased, added to their plant. Now that has been all changed; and a plant is created in three or six months which starts fully equipped and capable of turning out a product as large as that of firms that have been working to build up a trade for a score of years.

The agents, superintendents, foremen for such new plants, usually being drawn from other going concerns, are selected because of their fitness.

The old method was very different. For example: In an office a young man was hired as bookkeeper, and he did pretty much all the office work that was not done by the proprietor. In time, as business grew, another clerk was hired. In the course of years the office staff had grown till there were a dozen clerks, and the man who chanced to be the first had been promoted at different times until he came to be the agent or superintendent. But he had stopped growing long ago, and simply held a position which he never filled. His being there, however, had prevented some one else from filling it who could, and who, had he been given the opportunity, would have rendered a larger service. Had the inefficient man been set aside and the progressive, efficient man put in his place, the business would, perhaps, have been saved from bankruptcy, and instead of the company dying of dry rot, it might be giving employment to hundreds of other employees. This illustration applies with equal force to many of

the departments connected with almost every manufacturing establishment.

The management of the consolidation is severely criticised because it refuses to be handicapped by such men, and in making changes it often works hardship to the individual; but continuing an inefficient man in a position which he did not fill wrought hardship to the efficient man who was kept out of it, and also to hundreds of employees who have been deprived of work which the other man's ability would have provided. So that the hardship is not all on one side.

Consolidations have closed factories and have thrown many faithful and efficient employees out of work. But every failure through such inefficiency as has been described has done the same thing; and, in many cases, had the consolidation not been brought about, failure would have been the next step.

Then again, owing to antiquated equipment, poor management or economic conditions, it is simply impossible to operate some factories except at a loss; and even though the consolidation had not been consummated, many factories which have been closed by the consolidation would have been closed by the operation of economic law. The final result has simply been anticipated a little, and not a great while either.

A gentleman who was connected with a line of industry which had recently been brought under consolidation said to me that the consolidation had discharged three men, and that he was now working four times as hard as he did formerly. I suggested that a man was somewhat better than a machine and more was expected of him; but that, if he had in his factory a machine from which he could get only 25 per cent. of efficiency he would throw it into the junk heap, and if he, as a man, drawing a good salary, had been only rendering 25 per cent. of his efficiency, he, too, was entitled to a place in the scrap heap. In this day and generation, 25 per cent. of efficiency means to step out and give some one else a chance, who can and will work at higher pressure and render larger service.

The question is often asked, "What effect will these consolidations have on the wages of the workman?" Many express fears that they will operate to his disadvantage. I do not share that feeling. I believe they will eventually work to his benefit. The fact is abundantly proved that firms managed without sys-

tem or intelligence usually pay the lowest wages. There is a reason for this, which is not hard to explain. They pay their workmen the lowest wages and produce inferior goods, sell their goods at cut prices without regard to cost, and in a large degree establish the price at which other manufacturers, who pay better wages and who make better goods, are forced to sell theirs. Their business, having been conducted without system, at the close of the year may have shown a loss or, at least, did not show such a margin of profit as they expected; and they could not see their way clear to raise the price. That is one of the last things a company conducted on the basis suggested considers; for here comes in the salesman, who says, "If you do that I cannot hold my trade." The cost must be reduced; but how? Then begins a species of haphazard figuring on very imperfect and incomplete data. Where can saving be effected? Some costs are definitely fixed. Those cannot be changed. Interest, insurance, rent, power, heat, light, taxes, etc., must be paid, and at the fixed rate. Towering high above all these items of cost stands the pay roll. That must be cut down. The cut is made and they start out once more to carry on for another season the same abominable business methods, and force other manufacturers, who want to pay good wages, to cut down the pay of their operatives in order to compete with them. This ignorance in the management reacts with mighty force on the working men and women in the factory under present conditions.

Recently a gentleman, when asked if he were going to send his boy to college, said that he did not intend to; that his son was going into business and did not need it. There was but one inference to be drawn from this man's remark, and that was that a business man to-day could get along with less brains and a poorer equipment than is necessary for a lawyer, doctor, professor, or minister of the gospel. No thinking man would agree with that proposition. A man, to succeed in business in the new century, must have the best equipment that a broad and liberal education can give him, for the great conflict to be fought in the opening years of the new century is an industrial one.

Some men sneer at commercial education. The suggestion that business can be taught in a school seems to them foolishness, their claim being that there is but one school in which business can be taught—the School of Experience in the great

University of the World, where men are brought into contact with actual business conditions. That line of reasoning is not logical when applied to other professions. As well say that the teacher, minister, physician, lawyer, soldier must be taught in the School of Experience. Formerly, the divinity student studied with a minister, the medical student with a practicing physician, the law student read law in the office of some eminent lawyer, the engineer and mechanic were taught in the shop. While fully appreciating that kind of practical and personal instruction, men recognized its limitations. In each of these professions they felt the great lack of scientific training, and out of the consciousness of that need there has been evolved "a more excellent way," and the Divinity School, Medical School, Law School, Technical School, West Point, and Annapolis have come into existence.

In a large sense it is true that nothing can ever take the place of contact with conditions as they actually exist in the world's School of Experience; but if the training of the professional school fits a person to do his work more intelligently in the professions referred to, is it not a logical conclusion that, in the field of business, men can be trained in the fundamental principles which will enable them more intelligently to wrestle with the mighty problems which confront the captains of industry at the opening of the twentieth century? Institutions of learning will in the years to come, through such departments as the Tuck School of Commerce at Dartmouth College, train men in the principles of business. But the instruction will not be all given by professors whose knowledge of business and of business conditions is gathered from books. There will be brought into this work, I believe, men who will contribute of their knowledge gained in contact with the world of business, and who will give that service as other men give money. JAMES LOGAN.

HOW SCIENCE SERVES THE PEOPLE.

BY E. RENAN.

I HAVE heard that General Grant laid the foundation of his exalted career in the reputation which he gained as a teacher in those Sunday schools which have so largely contributed to the spread of popular instruction in America. With a profound sense of right, far more discerning than the cleverness of our most astute politicians, the great American republic has realized that moral and intellectual training forms three-quarters, and perhaps much more, of the influences that are most effective in the making of a man, and that to labor for the instruction and the education of its citizens is to create wealth for the country, to insure its progress, to preserve it from revolution, and to gain for it the only glory to be desired in modern times, that of peace and liberty. I shall not dwell upon this point; it is too obvious to need demonstration.

One speaks almost without contradiction, at least without avowed opposition, when one speaks of the necessity of public instruction, and of elementary instruction in particular. I propose to discuss a more difficult question, that of the necessity of higher education, the necessity of scientific teaching. I wish to prove that researches apparently most barren, in which but a very small number of persons can take intelligent interest, are often those which yield the most important results, and contribute most directly to the welfare of the people. One hears people—not infrequently even friends of the public weal, who desire progress—contend that fields of research which are purely scientific should be abandoned to the curious and to amateurs, and that the state should not concern itself with them. There are, for instance, at the College of France—that great institution which represents the highest developments of science—Chairs of

Mathematics and advanced Chemistry, which are attended by less than ten students, simply because there are not twenty persons in Paris capable of understanding what they teach. What is the use, it is asked, of lavishing the funds of the state upon such instruction? How do chairs like these contribute to the education of the people? Would it not be better to employ the money spent upon them in providing courses more accessible, by which a great number of citizens might benefit? I hope to prove that this is a mistaken idea, that there are no chairs more useful than these, and no money better spent than that applied to their maintenance. I hope to prove that, very far from being indifferent to the democracy, pure science renders it the greatest services, and contributes largely toward the great end of democracy, the emancipation of the people and the amelioration of their condition.

It is evident, at the outset, that each practical discovery made by the human mind involves a corresponding progress in moral condition, an advance in dignity, for the entire race. Upon the monuments of Nineveh, built nearly three thousand years ago, are represented the methods of erecting the colossal figures which adorned these monuments, and some specimens of which may be seen in the Louvre. The mode of traction is wonderfully simple. Hundreds of men, yoked and attached by ropes about their necks, drew the colossal bull by the tension of their muscles. To each ten men was an overseer who distributed blows with a stick, at random, as we would not do now even with horses.

That was horrible! It was due to the fact that they had no machines, even the brutes were little used; the limbs of man formed almost their only motive force.

Take an ancient galley, one of those great Greek ships so admirably constructed; what is its motive force? It is, again, the strength of the arms of men. Inside this beautiful ship there was a hell! Hundreds of human beings, piled upon one another in a manner difficult to conceive, whose life was a perpetual groan, and who were subjected to the most cruel treatment, moved the oars and propelled the ship. This continued almost to our own times. We have pictures of the interior of a galley in the time of Louis XIV., and they are enough to make one's hair stand on end. It is not without reason that the word "galley" has re-

mained in our language as a synonym of the most dreadful kind of forced labor. Why these horrors? There was no steam then; the art of navigation was in its infancy. The arm of man applied directly to the oar was the only means of propulsion. Take, on the other hand, our largest steamers; the muscular effort expended in their navigation is almost insignificant.

In ancient times, there was another kind of labor, almost as arduous as that of the oar, that of the mill-stone. There were neither wind mills nor water mills; grain was ground by the strength of the human arm, between two stones, one conical, the other fitting over it. To turn the grindstone was synonymous with the most cruel punishment. With the invention of mills this frightful occupation disappeared.

There are no inventions, not even the most deadly, which have not served the cause of civilization. Before the invention of gunpowder, the man who had a good horse and serviceable armor was so much the superior of the unarmed man that the unarmed man could do nothing but submit; since the introduction of gunpowder and artillery, the superiority of the horseman, of the feudal seigneur, has ceased. Every man, if he have only courage, is the equal of every other. Laws, our great modern States, the negations of feudality, have been created. Nothing proves better the solidarity of humanity. A discovery made at one end of the world becomes an emancipator, an instrument of progress, to men at the other end. A savant in seclusion detects a law of nature, and this law, when it is recognized, brings about the abolition of torture, of pain, and of inherited disgrace; an abstract calculation leads to measures of the loftiest philanthropy.

Let us study the origin of those inventions which have relieved mankind from a multitude of evils and of cruel hardships. They have originated in two ways. Among those numberless inventions which are so interwoven with our lives that we have almost ceased to think of them, there are certain immemorial ones which seem as old as the world itself, whose originators are unknown, and which were not the result of scientific research. Who invented our domestic utensils, the implements of agriculture and of our ordinary handicrafts, and the practice of all our mechanical arts No one knows. Assuredly, they who introduced vehicles, the mariner's compass, printing, metal work, distillation, gunpowder, who discovered the principles of agri-

culture and of navigation, were not men of mediocre ability. But they were not exactly scientists, experimenting, working out in laboratories these discoveries, which, indeed, demanded clear and ingenious minds, but not a profound theory of nature, nor a close chain of reasoning. These discoveries were made in an empirical manner, and not as the result of profound calculations.

On the contrary, there are other inventions which presuppose a broad study of the laws of nature. Men, however ingenious, who had not had the advantage of the acquisitions of organized science, could never have discovered the use of steam, the electric telegraph, illuminating gas, the telescope or photography. These are scientific discoveries which imply organized science. Henceforth, there are scarcely any others to make. The field of instinctive discoveries, in some sort empiric, is exhausted; nothing more is to be found in the highways; we must betake ourselves to the most remote and unfrequented byways. There is no longer any way of creating new instruments for the service of man, unless one resorts to the most profound analysis, an analysis so profound that it is intelligible only to a very small number. Some examples will make my thought plain.

In 1819 and 1820, there were, at Paris and at Copenhagen, two savants, equally unknown, equally immersed in researches to all appearance most incomprehensible; the Dane was called Oersted, the Frenchman Ampère. On September 11th, 1820, the Dane observed a fact which impressed him, the effect produced by a wire, when traversed by an electric current, upon a magnetic needle in its vicinity. Ampère was cognizant of the fact observed by Oersted; he had long been occupied with the same train of thought; seven days later, he announced to the Academy of Sciences a fact much more general, that two threads, conjoined and parallel, attract each other when the electric current passes through them in the same direction, and repel each other when the currents traverse them in opposite directions. The phenomena of electro-magnetism and electro-dynamics were discovered. By deductions, too lengthy to be entered upon here, electric telegraphy was invented. Ampère set up in his laboratory a small apparatus, differing only from those in constant use around us in size and in practical application. There, then, is a discovery of the first importance, which has influenced every department of life, which has a future we can scarcely foresee,

which issued from the laboratories of two savants absorbed in the most abstruse studies. Ampère was an ordinary professor; he was absent-minded, odd, obscure. Here, if ever, was an opportunity to make the objection which I am answering. "Are studies of this kind really useful? Would it not be better to have a man who would popularize knowledge, who would attract crowds to his lectures?" And you see how ill-founded the objection is. This course of study, little understood, little appreciated, gave birth to an invention which has become essential to humanity, which has without doubt helped to change the face of the earth.

I might refer to numerous other examples. Was the power of steam discovered empirically and fortuitously? Not at all. Papin and Watt were scientists, thorough scientists, and without long experiment no one could have made this discovery, the most extraordinary which can be cited. Lighting by gas is the consequence of the theory of gases, but the theory of gases would never have been arrived at but for the obscure labors of the chemists of the last century. Electric lighting has its origin in the knowledge of a force scarcely perceptible in nature, a force whose existence man deduces from insignificant facts, the attraction of amber, the torpedo fish, and from a phenomenon which has nothing apparently in common with these, namely, lightning. We may say the same of electro-metallurgy.

The progress of navigation, in the same way, is due to science. Compare the seamanship of our day with that of the past. What a difference! Formerly, men sailed from cape to cape; they feared to lose sight of land. Now the daring of voyagers knows no limits. To whom is this advance due? To Galileo, to Newton. The determination of longitude, the fundamental problem of navigation, was the result of the most abstruse investigations, from which have been deduced processes which the simplest sailor practices almost mechanically. Then remember what Galileo and Newton were—speculative scientists absorbed in the most abstract problems and the deepest calculations. The calculations of Newton, in particular, were so complex that in all Europe there were not more than ten persons who could follow them, and he himself at times almost lost the thread of them.

I should never be done if I were to enumerate all the well known discoveries which have resulted from abstract science.

Photography, with its varied and instructive applications, would have been impossible without the development of the theory of light. The discovery itself was largely empiric. Niepce and Daguerre proceeded in the most singular fashion. We cannot call them scientists, like Ampère and Oersted; but they were men acquainted with the teaching of science, and took advantage of instruments contrived before their time.

Shall I speak of chemistry, of those astonishing applications which have transformed industry, and have led to such an enormous increase in wealth, to the advantage of educated and civilized peoples? The discovery of artificial soda, due to Leblanc, about 1789, for example, has been of great importance. There is hardly a chemical process in which this important product is not employed. This bit of paper, this glass, this painting, the linen which we wear, our coats, in the manufacture of all of them soda plays an important rôle. Formerly, soda was obtained only from vegetable ashes. Once its composition was determined, it was possible to produce it directly. An immense economy has thus been effected, and at the same time a great change in the location of wealth. Artificial soda is the object of a commerce amounting to many millions. Formerly, soda was obtained from Alicante and the coasts of Spain. The progress of chemistry has transported the source of supply to Sicily, the principal producer of sulphur. But notice how nothing can take the place of the energy of a people. It is not Sicily but England which has benefited. Coloring matters afford an analogous example. The progress of chemistry, in utilizing the by-products of the gas house, has ruined Guatemala, from which cochineal was imported. Thus is established the great law that the most industrial nation, that is to say, the most scientific nation, surpasses the other nations, and that the nation which is not industrial, that is to say, the nation which is not scientific, is at the mercy of a discovery which may at any moment dry up the fountain of her wealth. In a word, the existence of communities is more and more dependent upon science. And do not think that this is true only of applied science. The application is always the outcome of the most abstract theories. Not one of the applications which we have enumerated would have been possible without the Lavoisiers, the Thenards, the Berthelots, and the many other learned chemists who are the glory of our century.

Agriculture itself, that extremely practical industry, has benefited greatly by the fruits of abstract science. Consider how much effort of the human arm has been supplanted by agricultural machines, by the enormous threshing machines, for instance. Remember how arduous was the labor of the harvest formerly! Now a machine takes the place of all that effort, and makes it useless. Recall the revolution in the wealth of the State produced by the manufacture of beet sugar. And artificial manures; there again is a direct application of science. Formerly, before the advance in chemistry, natural substances were regarded only as specific compounds, and treated as such, and long and painful journeys were undertaken in search of them. Now we know their elements and we take these elements wherever we find them; we compound these elements ourselves and are no longer obliged to search for the compound where nature has made it. Great economy results from this, and every economy is so much gained for the people, as it diminishes the labor necessary to procure a pleasure or a necessity.

I pause, and yet what might I not say of the benefits which humanity has derived from physiology, from the sciences of life? Formerly, a certain cutaneous malady was considered incurable, constitutional in the last degree; its treatment was forbidden. Now it is effectually cured in a very short time. And when we shall walk boldly in the path opened by the Claude-Bernards and the Robins, there are no limits to what we may hope for. A host of ills considered incurable will be relieved or even removed entirely.

Have I succeeded in showing that studies apparently restricted to a limited number of people are the fruitful mothers of discoveries by which all benefit; that the people have a greater interest in them than the savants who labor to increase the sum of human knowledge; that the most valuable inventions result from labors begun in solitude and obscurity? And these inventions are as nothing to those that might be made, and the benefit which has resulted to the people is as nothing compared to that which is yet to accrue to them. Consider that it is scarcely a hundred years since science was seriously applied to the needs of life. If new inventions and machinery are at times a temporary cause of trouble and distress to the workman, it is due to the unfortunate fact that social transformations work themselves out

slowly, at least that they do not keep pace with inventions; it takes time to re-establish the equilibrium. But I have no fears for the future. I am convinced that the progress of mechanics and of chemistry will be the redemption of the workingman, that the physical labor of humanity will go on always diminishing in quantity, and becoming less arduous; that thus humanity will be more free to lead a life happy, moral, intellectual. Hitherto, the culture of the intellect has been only a luxury, because material needs are imperious and these must be satisfied first of all. The essential condition of progress is that the satisfaction of these needs shall become more and more easy, and it is not too rash to foresee a future in which, with some hours of not arduous labor, man will discharge his labor debt, and redeem his liberty. Be assured that it is to science that this result will be due. Love science, respect her, believe in her! She is the best friend of the people, the most certain guarantee of their progress.

And what if I should speak of the moral and historical sciences, of the principles of gentleness, of toleration, of humanity, which are the most definite result of modern philosophy? What if I should tell of the light thrown upon the nature and history of humanity by researches which, apparently, are purely special; of the guidance drawn from the study of the past for the direction of the present? The charter of the rights of the people was the discovery of the savants. Voltaire—that is to say, the man who has done most to establish in the world the empire of good sense, of justice, and of toleration—Voltaire was the product of these moral and historical studies. It was the study, often profound, of the past, which revealed to him how many are the evils engendered by ignorance, by superstition, by prejudice. Turgot and Condorcet also drew from their immense knowledge that admirable sentiment for progress which should give them as high a place among the benefactors of the human race.

Science, which is often regarded as a sort of haughty aristocracy, is, on the contrary, that which teaches respect for the people; through it are made plain their history and their future. Science is like a cascade which has its source in the glaciers of the mountains, in the midst of the snows, in an atmosphere in which few people can breathe. Thence it flows down in a thousand rivulets, it comes within reach of all, it is a blessing to all. Let us be on our guard lest, under the pretext that the glacier

whence the cascade comes is high above us, we deny its benefactions. To use another simile, let us beware of being like the savage who cuts down the tree to get the fruit. There is a real danger in that, but I hope that modern society will avoid it. Some superficial persons see the practical results of science, and think it possible to attain them directly, without the theories of chemistry and physics, without mathematics, which have given birth to these prodigies. With these persons, only the applications count. They wish to have the fruit without the tree, the consequences without the principle.

I am not one of those who disquiet themselves unduly over this error of some individuals. I do not believe that the democracy shares in it. The future belongs to the democracy, in intellectual matters as in work of all kinds; some day it will be necessary to reckon with everybody, and not with certain privileged classes. That which the democratic régime will one day honor with its favor will be, I fancy, very aristocratic. The art which the people will encourage one day will be great art and not the prettinesses which please in a decadent age. Notice that in a museum the people never pause before what are called the "genre" pictures; they go at once to the pictures with great subjects. In 1848, in the public readings, only the finest things were successful, Corneille, for instance. The literature which the people shall inspire will be, I hope, a noble literature, addressing itself to lofty sentiments, and not a frivolous literature of smart things and elegancies of construction. The style which the people will wish will be pure French, simple and natural, not a mannered tongue, varying with every wind of doctrine which individual fancy may attempt to create. I even hope that the future democracy, without entering into the detail of science, will grasp instinctively its spirit and its range. The people will understand that the progress of positive research is the most definite acquisition of humanity, and that this acquisition is more important than all else to those whom it delivers and ennobles. A world without science means slavery; it means man turning the millstone, in subjection to matter, living like a beast of burden. The world ameliorated by science will be the kingdom of the spirit, the dominion of free men.

Let us unite in this hope. Faith in progress is the great consolation of those who work and struggle for the future. Let us

recall the illustrious Condorcet. In 1793, a victim of the Revolution for which he, more than any one, had prepared the way, we see him proscribed, forced to flee. He finds an asylum, in the suburbs of Paris, in the house of a devoted friend. What does he do in his retreat, with death hanging over him? He writes an admirable book, the picture of the future progress of the human intellect. What courage! Death menaces him every hour; a less heroic soul would have cursed that ungrateful Revolution which wished to kill him. He has, for the present, neither anger nor reproach; not for a moment is he disturbed; he writes his book. Menaced by the blindest fanaticism, he thinks out the ideal which will one day be realized. Admirable serenity of a sage! Even while iniquity and tyranny are in the ascendant, he proclaims the near triumph of liberty and justice. Not for an instant does his pen tremble. Scarce a sound from without penetrates to his retreat. One day a scrap of a public print brings to him the text of the terrible law against the suspects, which doomed to death any one who gave shelter to a proscribed person. Then he announces to the brave woman who had sheltered him, Madame Vernet, that he is going to leave her. "I am an outlaw," he said. "But I," she answered, "am not without humanity." He escapes, lives many days in the woods of Clamart. Hunger obliges him to leave his hiding place; a few days later he is dead. Let us not mourn over his memory; he had his faith, that faith which, when the heavens are overcast, opens the future for us, that faith which assures us that those who follow us will enjoy the fruit of our labors. Following his example, let us be unmoved by passing trials; let us, like Condorcet, know how to hope in the hour of storm for the happier days, when humanity, grown wise, will profit by the efforts of those who have labored and sacrificed themselves for it. E. RENAN.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN RUSSIA.

BY PRINCE KROPOTKIN.

THE last students' disturbances in Russia were quite different from all the disturbances which have taken place in the Russian universities for the last forty years. They began, as all students' movements begin, with an insignificant incident, which concerned the students alone; but, owing to a series of circumstances quite peculiar to Russia, they took, all of a sudden, a political complexion; and in this respect they acquired such a significance that they will now count in the history of the constitutional movement in Russia as an important milestone. Consequently it is impossible to speak of the last events without going deeper than their surface—that is, without touching upon the general problem of education in Russia, and without mentioning the steps through which the development of the constitutional idea has passed in our country since 1861.

During my stay last month, at Cambridge, the Harvard students held a noisy meeting to protest against the "mutton monotony" of their food at Memorial Hall. In a similar way, but with a more serious purpose, the Kieff students, excited by the fact that one of them had been brought before the justice of the peace for misconduct in the streets of that city, also held a meeting. At Harvard, the meeting ended in fun; but at Kieff the dean of the university excluded a number of students from the university, for one year, for having held that meeting, and put others under arrest. "What would you do in such a case?" I asked several Harvard men; and the reply always was: "Why, of course, hold another meeting!" This is what the Kieff students did. They held another general meeting and asked the dean to have a talk with them. Whereupon the dean sent for the town police, the state police and the troops. Incredible

though this may seem, it actually happened. It is confirmed, not only by scores of private letters, but also by an official statement, published in the *Official Messenger*. "The meeting was illegal, and the dean sent for troops to disperse it." The most intelligent of all those who were summoned by the dean proved to be the head of the Kieff State Police, the Gendarme General Novitsky. I knew him: he examined me while I was kept in the St. Petersburg fortress. He is intelligent, and my opinion of him was that, like so many others, he is a better man than the institution he belongs to. General Novitsky, seeing that the meeting was quite peaceful, brought in the dean, who was immediately offered an armchair by the side of the chairman, and was treated very politely by the students. But the meeting ended in nothing—the dean refusing to revise his orders. "Was not the meeting uproarious? Was it not political?" I was asked by my American friends. "No, the facts were as I state them; the *Official Messenger* itself has confirmed them." "Was, then, the dean a madman, or a fool?" "No, he was not either of these." And there lies the cue to all the students' disturbances of the last forty years.

Everything has been reformed in Russia since 1861. Serfdom was abolished; corporal punishment was nearly got rid of; new, open courts, with juries, were introduced; some sort of self-government was given; military service was entirely reformed and rendered obligatory upon all—education alone was treated as a step-daughter, with suspicion. All Russia, from the log hut to the mansion, wanted and loudly called for education; women and men of the wealthier classes were ready to give any amount of time and money to spread education among the peasants. They are ready still. And everywhere the efforts of the university professors and of the directors of the colleges, of the provincial self-governments, of the wealthy municipalities and the private donors, were rebuked, annihilated, by the successive Ministers of Public Education, who, since 1862, have always been nominated, not to spread education broadcast throughout the country, but to prevent its spreading.

Such a statement must sound, of course, very strange to an American ear; but if persons belonging to different parties in Russia may explain and excuse the fact in different ways, all will agree, nevertheless, that the Ministers really endeavored to

keep education within certain narrow limits, rather than to allow it to be spread. Moreover, here are some conclusive facts. Thus, for instance, while even now we have in European Russia only one school for each 2,230 inhabitants, and while only one child out of every twenty or thirty children of school age goes to school (as against seven in England), the Ministry of Public Instruction, for years in succession under Alexander II., returned every year to the State Exchequer one-half of the poor allowance of $4,000,000 a year for the primary schools, which was inscribed in the budget. It found no use for the money! And if the Ministry of Public Instruction spends now its budget allowance in full, it is because it has hit upon the following plan: It does not open schools of its own, but spends the money in subsidies to the village clergy, who, leaving aside their general ignorance, keep schools mostly on paper only. Their time being fully taken up by their regular duties (marriages, burials, etc.), they generally pay quite ignorant cantors, or retired soldiers, to attend to the schools. And all this is perfectly well known in Russia. It is continually mentioned and repeated in the press, in the provisional assemblies, and in the local school boards. And yet no heed is taken by the central government of this permanent, standing cause of growing discontent.

The more free a region of Russia is from the direct influence of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the better it stands for education: this may be taken as a general rule. Thus, in Caucasia and Turkestan, which both find protection from the Ministry of Public Instruction in their independent Governors-General—who usually are enlightened general staff officers—there are more schools and the schools are better than in Russia proper. The Caucasian educational district is especially foremost on this account. As to Russia itself, the province of the Don Cossacks, of which the Cossack territory is under the Minister of War, has beyond comparison the greatest number of the best schools, primary and secondary, for boys and girls alike. Again, the provinces which have local self-government *(zemstvo)* have nearly twice as many schools, in proportion to their population, as the provinces which get their schools from the Ministry.

Nay, nowhere else in the world could one find the following anomaly. For thirty years, all parents in Russia were crying, shouting and agitating for a reform of the lyceums. Not Greek

and Latin, they said, but natural sciences and technical knowledge must be laid as a foundation of the teaching in lyceums. "More technical schools of all degrees," was for forty years the general demand. Everywhere Russia wants more engineers, more chemists, more skilled workers and more educated technical experts. All the reviews and papers, with the exception of the *Moscow Gazette,* are full of bitter complaints of the parents about the want of *Realschulen* and technical schools. Protectionism, maintained with a view of developing national industries, and an absence of technical schools are evidently self-contradictory; and yet, for forty consecutive years the Ministry of Public Instruction has bitterly fought against all Russia, refusing technical schools; it has maintained that a scientific and technical training would breed revolutionists; while—to use an official avowal—"the boy who must translate for to-morrow morning two pages from Cicero will have no time to read Pisareff or Dobroluboff." It is only now, since the Minister of Finances, De Witte, has publicly declared that the State cannot own the mines and the State railways, regulate the output of all the spirit and sugar factories, and favor the growth of Russian industries in the interest of the State budget, unless it does its utmost for spreading technical education, that a step has been taken to reform education in the lyceums, to turn it more in the direction of natural sciences, and to open a number of polytechnicums and lower technical schools.

The fear of the revolutionary spirit, which would grow, it was said, in Russia and render absolute rule impossible, so soon as education is spread in the country, was so great that two generations of young men were sacrificed to it. Scores of quite ignorant Czechs, who did not even know Russian, were shipped from Bohemia to teach Latin and Greek; and they taught it in such an abominable way that only *two per cent.* of all the boys who entered the lyceums could finish the eight years' course and be admitted to a university. The Government preferred to let loose upon Russia crowds of boys who left the lyceums as absolute ignoramuses after a three or four years' mechanical study of Latin and Greek, rather than to make any concession to public opinion in the way of a more reasonable scheme of education.

As to the universities, nearly all the best professors, the glories of Russian historical and humanitarian sciences, were

compelled to abandon their chairs: Kostomaroff, Kavelin, Stasulevitch, M. Kovalevsky, the physiologist Syechenoff, and others like them, were compelled by ignorant heads of Educational Districts, and equally ignorant Ministers of Education, to retire.

The study of comparative State law was prohibited, and the Russian students had to remain in ignorance of the constitutional laws of the civilized nations. The study of Russian history, law and economics became a study of "conventional lies;" the general tone of university teaching was lowered. With natural sciences it was still worse; such chairs as that of geology and physiology remained unoccupied for years. A geologist myself, I have passed through the St. Petersburg University without ever having heard one single lecture on geology.

As to the students, every young man, as soon as he entered the university, was placed on the list of suspects. Police spies and provoking agents swarmed in the universities; laws upon laws were issued to prohibit all sorts of meetings in the university buildings or in private lodgings. Gradually, the higher authorities of the Ministry of Public Education came to the view that every student must be looked upon as an enemy of society, and be treated as such; so that both the deans and the curators of the Educational Districts were chosen by the Ministry from among men who were better known for their police capacities than for their learning. Consequently, when, three or four years ago, the St. Petersburg students, at their anniversary meeting, whistled at the appearance of one of their professors, while they cheered the others, a thing which happens and will happen in every university, the dean sent immediately for the police, who brutally assailed and dispersed the students as they were leaving the university building in a crowd, and the famous beating of the students on a bridge across the Neva followed. Many of the students were arrested on this occasion, and hundreds were excluded from the university. On learning this, all other universities made a strike, refusing to follow the courses so long as their St. Petersburg comrades were not released; the result being that many hundreds of young men were excluded from the other universities as well. It so happened, however, that when the police were beating the students on the Neva bridge, the Dowager Empress passed by, and was cheered by the students. So she spoke to her son: "They were quite loyal," she said; "they

cheered me. Why do you allow the police to treat them so brutally?" The result was that the ex-Minister of War, General Vannovsky, was appointed to make a general inquiry. He proved that there was not the slightest reason for calling in the police, lectured the police authorities, cancelled nearly all the orders of exclusion of students, and released all of them. A military officer had thus to interfere for the defense of the students against the Ministry of Public Instruction.

It is thus evident that the dean of the Kieff University was neither a lunatic nor a fool. He was simply an obedient functionary, who acted in accordance with the instructions of his principal—the Minister of Public Instruction, Bogolépoff.

M. Bogolépoff, in his younger days, was more or less of a Liberal; but, since he has obtained his nomination as Minister of Public Instruction, he has been a mere tool in the hands of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostseff, a narrow-minded fanatic of the State religion, who—if it were only in his power—would have burned at the stake all protestants against Orthodoxy and Catholicism. And it was these two men, Bogolépoff and Pobiedonostseff, who reported the Kieff affair to the Czar.

The further development of events is well known through the daily press.* When the Kieff disorders were reported to Nicholas II., he said, first, that he had had enough of these students' riots and would close all the universities.† He spoke next of sending all "riotous" students to Port Arthur, and finally issued, through his Minister of Public Instruction, but against the advice of the Minister of War, an order, in virtue of which the students who took part in university disturbances would henceforward be punished by being sent as privates to the army for terms of from two to three years—the punishment to be inflicted by special courts nominated *ad hoc* and composed of university professors, town-police and State-police officials, and military officers; their sittings to be kept secret. One hundred and eighty-three Kieff students and twenty-two St. Petersburg students were condemned to this punishment and were carried away as criminals, in absolute secrecy, to some unknown destination, presumed to be Port

*See also an article of mine in The Outlook, April 6, 1901. The doubts which I expressed there as to the accuracy of the sensational telegrams concerning plots against the Czar's life have been fully confirmed since. It is now stated by the New York daily press itself that they were mere inventions, coming no one knows whence.

†Telegram to the London Times from its own correspondent, confirmed since by private letters.

Arthur. Twelve of them refused to take the military oath of allegiance to the Czar, and were consequently court-martialed and condemned to death, and finally sent to military hard labor for life in military punishment battalions.

These measures produced, as might be expected, a general commotion all over the country. I have seen letters written by parents of high standing to their friends, showing a state of complete exasperation. Hundreds of parents rushed to St. Petersburg in order to try to save their sons. Representatives of the law—namely, the public prosecutors at Kieff and St. Petersburg—one General of the State Police and one military General who took part in the above-mentioned courts, protested in writing against the application of the Imperial Order; and sixty-five university professors wrote to the Czar a letter, at the risk of being treated as rebels and sent to Siberia—collective letters to the Czar falling under the law of conspiracy—urging him to withdraw his Order, and sending their letter to London for publication. And when 12,000 students united in a general uprising, and the student manifestations at St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kharkoff, supported by demonstrations of the organized workingmen, were dispersed by the lead-weighted horsewhips *(nagaikis)* of the Cossacks, who cut open the faces of men and women in the streets, the general indignation was so intense that it burst out openly. The "respectable" Society of Authors, a venerated member of the Council of the State, Prince Vyazemsky—nay, the very Cossacks of the Bodyguard—protested against the treatment of the crowds; and finally the Committee of the Ministers, assuming for the first time since the reign of Alexander I. the rôle of a "Ministry," discussed the Imperial Order and insisted upon its withdrawal. It refused to acquiesce in the will of the Czar, which was to proclaim a state of siege at St. Petersburg, and it obtained from the Emperor the dismissal of the St. Petersburg *préfet de police,* General Kleigels.

The cause of this unanimous discontent is self-evident. What would the Americans say if President McKinley had ordered the Harvard students involved in the above-mentioned meeting to be sent to the Philippines? The country would certainly rise in indignation; that is what happened in Russia. All Russia said that the Czar's Order was a return to the abhorred "times of Nicholas I." And yet, in fairness to Nicholas I., I must say

that the idea of making military service a general, legal measure of punishment never crossed the brain of "the iron despot," although he might have had an excuse for it, because in those times the serf-owners used to punish their serf-servants by sending them to the recruiting boards. It is true that Nicholas I. sent the poets, Polezhaeff and Shevchenko to be soldiers, but he did it in the following way: The student Polezhaeff had written a poem, *"Sashka,"* in which he insulted the Czar and his favorites; and the poem circulated in manuscript copies, one of which was reported to the Czar. Nicholas I. sent for Polezhaeff at night, made him read the poem aloud, and finally said: "You know what punishment you must undergo for having written these verses? Now, I waive it, and give you the means of rehabilitating yourself by military service. Are you ready to serve as a private in the army?" And when Polezhaeff, having no choice, accepted the offer, Nicholas added: "Try to distinguish yourself, and to win the officer's grade; and if you are in any difficulty, write to me directly"—which Polezhaeff really did once, with a good result.

All Russia knows this episode from the unfortunate poet's life, which is recorded in his biography. All Russia has commiserated, and commiserates still, himself and Shevchenko. Could it, then, accept the Order of Nicholas II. otherwise than with general indignation?

As to the idea of making military service a general measure of punishment, it shows on the face of it that it is unconstitutional; and it remains an open question whether the Cassation or Judiciary Departments of the Senate (which have lately shown on several important occasions their intention to prevent the abuses of power of the high functionaries), if the question had been brought before them, would not have declared the Czar's Order contrary to the existing military law and reprimanded the Minister of Public Instruction for having submitted a measure which was unlawful for the signature of his sovereign. Of course, we have no constitution in Russia; but "Autocracy" is not "Despotism." The Czar may repeal any existing law by bringing the proposal of its repeal before the Council of the State; even if his proposal obtains only the minority of voices, he can carry it through by voting with the minority. But the proposal must be laid before the Council, and so long as a law

has not been repealed, it is equally binding both on the Czar and his subjects. Thus, a Czar cannot marry a lady who is his own subject without forfeiting his rights to the throne—such is the law of Russia; and he cannot reintroduce serfdom, or abolish obligatory military service without submitting such schemes of law to the Council of the State. Still less can he issue an Order which violates the existing law—it being the duty of the Senate to remonstrate with him in such a case before it promulgates the Order. Such is, at least, the State Law in Russia.

Of course, if the Czar's Order had not run so strongly against the general feeling of the country, its illegal character would have passed unnoticed. But now that a rash and ill-tempered measure of the young autocrat has set the whole country on fire, resulted in bloodshed in three large cities, and nearly became the cause of further disasters, not only its illegal character has become the subject of general discussion, but the thinking and mature portion of the country, including the Czar's own ministers, have vividly realized the dangers of autocracy—that is, of the rule of an irresponsible *clique* of courtiers. The Minister of Finance, De Witte, evidently has grown especially hostile to that rule since he saw the other day that, were it not for his violent opposition, all his many years' patient work of reconstructing Russian finances would have been nearly upset by a panic-born declaration of a state of siege at St. Petersburg, which measure would have meant the rule of martial law, executions, gallows and terrorist reprisals—and also the failure of all loan negotiations, so important now, after the China and Manchuria scare. The education question was thus driven to the background, and the great question, Autocracy or Representative Government, which has never ceased to pre-occupy Russia since the year 1861, suddenly rose full-fledged out of the disturbances.

Foreigners do not usually realize the depth and breadth of the constitutional movement in Russia; but the fact is that twice within the last forty years—namely, in 1860-1863 and in 1880-1881—Russia has been on the eve of becoming a Constitutional Monarchy. When serfdom was abolished in 1861, and the series of reforms which ended in the abolition of the *knout*, the installment of provincial self-government, the new judicial law and the military reform, was under discussion, it was generally considered that these reforms were only preliminary steps toward

what was described then, in Napoleon III.'s words, as *"le couronnement de l'édifice"*—the crowning of the building—that is, the convocation of a Parliament. Every one at that time was persuaded that the granting of a Constitution was only an affair of a few years—deferred only for such time as might be necessary for working out the preliminary reforms, such as the reform of the courts, or the establishment of local self-government. Nay, the way in which the financial questions concerning the general economics of the Empire were neglected then by the reformers was very characteristic of their ways of thinking; the general impression being that the reconstruction of the miserably poor financial affairs would be the proper duty of the *Zemskiy Sobor,* or Representative Assembly.

I have described in my memoirs how, in a remote province of Siberia, the Governor of the province, with his aide-de-camp and the heads of the Cossack administration, and of the Judicial and Excise departments, worked hard in those years upon reforms which the St. Petersburg Government intended to accomplish—municipal reform, prison reform, and so on. But what we did then in one small town was done in every other provincial town of Russia, thousands and thousands of men working most conscientiously to complete the great changes which were considered as preliminary to the great reform—the Constitution. All honor is certainly due to Alexander II. for having dared to announce his intention of liberating the serfs and of reforming all the inner life of Russia, and especially for the support he gave to the granting of land to the liberated serfs. But the colossal work of elaborating the scheme of emancipation, the new Judicial Law, and so on, in their infinitely complicated, minute details, belongs to Russia itself—to the many thousands of men who joined in this work. All intellectual Russia—historians, political writers, landlords, functionaries of all classes, military men and "men of no rank"—have had their share in these reforms. And all of them, beginning with the Winter Palace itself and ending in the smallest provincial town, knew, and said, and wrote that a representative government would be the only way to consolidate these reforms and to make them bear fruit. Nay, the necessity of this "consolidation" was so keenly felt in 1861 that I often heard it said in my youth that, if Alexander II. should fail to grant a Constitution, his brother, the Grand Duke

Constantine, might become, in case of need, a Constitutional King of Russia.

The Polish insurrection of 1863, and especially the menaces of intervention in favor of the Poles which were made by Napoleon III., and the vague promises made to them in England, put an end to all these hopes; the "nationalist" serf-owners' party headed by Katkoff took the upper hand, and there was no question more of a Constitution till the years 1880-1881.

In 1880, when the Terrorist Executive Committee fought its terrible war against the Czar, Alexander II. himself renewed the constitutional hopes, after the Winter Palace explosion, by investing General Loris Melikoff with nearly dictatorial powers. This nomination was generally understood as indicating a desire on the part of Alexander II. to grant a Constitution, and the subject began to be discussed in veiled terms in the Russian press itself. In fact, when one reads the memoirs of Loris Melikoff, in connection with what is known from various other sources about the same period, one necessarily comes to the conclusion that the promulgation of a Constitution was extremely near at hand during the last few months of the life of Alexander II. If it was not done, the fault was, on the one side, in the indefinite and changeable mood of the Emperor's mind, and, on the other, in the lack of decision on the part of Loris Melikoff himself. Alexander II. evidently wanted to have by his side a man who would, so to say, force upon him the decision of which he saw at times the necessity; but Loris Melikoff was not the man of firm will who was required to achieve that end.

At any rate, it is a well-known fact—which has been rendered public even in Russia, with the authorization of censorship—that on March 13th, 1881, Alexander II. had signed an Order enjoining Loris Melikoff to lay, on the following Thursday, before the Council of the State, a scheme for the convocation of what the Emperor himself described as an *Assemblée des Notables*. Representatives elected in each province through the intermediary of the provincial district Assemblies *(Zemstvos)* had to be summoned to St. Petersburg, in order to discuss the general affairs of the State.* It is also known that Alexander II. was killed this same day; whereupon Loris Melikoff, instead of sending im-

*The details concerning this "constitution" are published in Loris Melikoff's Memoirs, and, independently, in a work on the Russian State Law, published in Russia in 1900.

mediately to the Senate's printing office the order signed by the Czar, hesitated to do so, and waited for orders of the new Czar, Alexander III., who, after a few weeks' hesitation, issued a Manifesto, in which he announced his intention of remaining an autocratic sovereign. This Manifesto induced all the ministers of his father, including Loris Melikoff, to resign.

The history of these few weeks is extremely interesting and is told in detail in the Memoirs of Loris Melikoff; but, strangely enough, it is hardly known except among the Russians. And yet it is a fact that it was only owing to a chain of circumstances, almost accidental in character, that Russia did not get a Constitution during these five or six weeks—historical "accidents" being evidently due themselves to deep-lying causes. The old German Emperor, Wilhelm I., very seriously advised his nephew, by letter, to grant a Constitution, only adding that he must have the civil list in his own hands. Several schemes providing for a Constitution were also submitted to Alexander III.—the most intelligent of them being, in my opinion, the scheme of the Grand Duke Constantine. He advocated something similar to what Canada has now—namely, seven different Parliaments; and, taking into consideration the vast population of Russia (150,000,000 by this time), its sparseness over vast parts of the Empire, the unmanageable character of a Parliament which would have at least 3,000 deputies, as also the diversity of the manners, customs and interests in different parts of Russia—it is evident that a federalist scheme, similar to the scheme advocated by Constantine, would have been infinitely preferable to any centralist scheme. As to Loris Melikoff's scheme, I have already mentioned it. It came, after all, to very little, and was evidently centralist. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Alexander III. seems to have made up his mind to grant a Constitution, and Melikoff mentions a note which the Czar wrote to his brother: "At last," he said in this note, "I have the mountain off my shoulders. I have asked my ministers to draft the scheme of an Assembly of Representatives." But the ministers seemed to lose time in further hesitations, while the head of the conservative party, Katkoff, lost no time in coming to St. Petersburg and in supplicating Alexander III. to take no such step. It is also very probable that Pobiedonostseff, and even the quite honest democrat Slavophile, Ivan Aksakoff, acted in the same way—the

latter advising the Czar to reduce, first, by his own authority, the taxation burdens which were crushing down the peasants. At any rate, the "Programme of Alexander III.," which was printed in a French review, and the authorship of which is attributed to Turgueneff (the translation, I should rather say), contained such a series of measures in the interests of the peasants as was suggested by Aksakoff—namely, the abolition of the poll-tax and the tax on salt, a notable reduction in the redemption tax for the allotments of land, the consolidation of the village community. Seeing on the other side that his ministers were extremely slow in preparing a draft of a Constitution, and thinking that it was necessary to put an end to the unsettled state of affairs, Alexander III. wrote, a few weeks later, to his brother that he had at last decided to retain autocratic power, and that he had asked Pobiedonostseff to write a manifesto to that effect.

It is thus seen that foreign rather than domestic causes prevented Alexander II. from taking in the sixties further steps in the constitutional direction; and that twice during the year 1881, the two Czars, Alexander II. and Alexander III., were on the very point of granting to Russia a Constitution, or, at least, of taking the first decisive steps in that direction. The idea of a Constitution is ripe in Russia, even in the highest administrative spheres, and consequently one need not be astonished to see that disturbances which began in a university suddenly acquired the importance of a constitutional question. In fact, this idea has never been abandoned since 1881, and it has ripened, especially since the death of Alexander III. The nomination of General Vannovsky to the post of Minister of Public Instruction will not diminish the difficulties of the general situation, and new conflicts are sure to arise upon minor points between the young Czar and the country, as well as the highest functionaries in the State Administration. Speaking plainly, the fact is that Russia has outgrown the autocratic form of government; and it may be said confidently that if external complications do not disturb the peaceful development of Russia, Nicholas II. will soon be brought to realize that he is bound to take steps for meeting the wishes of the country. Let us hope that he will understand the proper sense of the lesson which he has received during the past two months.

P. KROPOTKIN.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CRITICS.

BY THE REV. JUDSON SMITH, D. D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

If any explicit reason were to be given for this utterance on a matter already well before the public, it would correspond closely to that with which the writer of the third Gospel, in the first four verses, introduces his narrative. An official correspondence with the missionaries of the Board located in Peking and many other principal cities in China, continued through more than sixteen years, never closer or more ample than during the past seven months, has given me special opportunity for prompt and full acquaintance with the course of events. A visit in person to these very scenes three years ago, which lasted several months and was devoted to the study of the missionary work in all its features, lends me a further advantage in understanding the situation. While other sources of information common to all have not been neglected—and these, in many instances, are of great value—the statements which follow rest chiefly on the authority of these correspondents, who have been long in China and are familiar with the history and customs of the people, and who have been at the very center of the most critical movements of these last months.

We all remember that dispatches from China last summer, during the siege in Peking and the time immediately before and after that event, were sometimes misleading, sometimes absolutly without foundation—a fact due, not always to the fault of those who sent them, but to circumstances beyond their control. It was necessary to wait for corrections, or for further particulars, in order to be sure that we were dealing with the real facts in the case. Letters from responsible sources, though slow in coming, were found to be of special value in giving a clear and con-

nected view of the situation. And though matters have improved since the siege was raised, caution is still needful in receiving news from the Far East.

The events which have attracted special attention of late, and about which this article particularly concerns itself, pertain to the Chinese refugees who were robbed and driven from their homes by the fury of the Boxers last June, and to the measures taken since the siege to care for them and re-establish them in their homes. Many other things have happened in and around Peking, not among the missionaries and their charges, very closely affecting the honor and good name of the Christian nations, from even a scanty recital of which we shrink back astounded and ashamed, of which a high authority has recently said in public: "The Church has been set back, nobody knows how long, by the behavior of Christian nations in China." It is not, however, these events which are now attracting public attention, and which are here considered, but those which pertain to the missionaries and their native protégés. Attention is especially directed to what two of their number have done, namely, the Rev. W. S. Ament, D. D., and the Rev. E. G. Tewksbury, both missionaries of the American Board, the former twenty-three years in service, the latter eleven. These gentlemen have maintained a high standing among their associates for ability, good sense, and all manly, Christian qualities; and to-day the officers of the Board have an unshaken confidence in their integrity and sound judgment. To us who know them, it would be unworthy and ungrateful not to speak the truth and clear their names at once from calumny, and set their brave, whole-hearted deeds in the light of day, and claim for them the honor and praise which they deserve. These two gentlemen have been especially prominent, because, in the missionary groups in Peking, it fell to the lot of each of them to provide for a large body of Chinese refugees. In doing this, they have discharged a duty which rested on the whole body of their associates, they have continually consulted their colleagues, and followed their judgment, and their course has been mentioned with approval in the letters of their associates and formally indorsed by the mission as a body.

The proper background of the present situation in China is the Boxer movement of a year ago. Those bands of half patriotic, half religious fanatics had been in evidence for more than

a year before the siege of Peking, and, with the connivance of Yü Hsien, the governor, had produced great disturbances in the province of Shantung. But a year ago, with the open or covert approval, if not the authority, of the government at Peking, these bands became far more numerous and destructive. They spread themselves over three provinces, they attracted volunteers from the villages where they were harbored, they spread terror and anarchy all the way from the Yellow River to the Great Wall. The rising tide of opposition to foreigners, studiously fostered by the Empress and the leading influences at court, was made effective through this movement. The efforts of the Boxers were directed especially against the native converts, because of their connection with the foreigners. These converts were crushed by heavy fines, they were robbed, they were driven from their homes, and in due time they were slain by hundreds and thousands. The movement gathered sufficient headway at length to direct its destructive agencies against foreigners themselves, and many scores of missionaries, railroad men and those engaged in other business, lost their lives at different points. Railways were torn up, stations destroyed, hospitals, churches and foreign residences were looted, burned and razed to the ground; the country was filled with havoc and terror, and the movement culminated in the siege of Peking. All treaties with foreign powers were thrown to the winds; China defied the world; the Imperial Army joined the Boxers in deliberate, long-continued efforts to exterminate the Legations, the marines that guarded them, the missionaries and all other foreigners that had taken refuge therein. Happily, this outrage failed of its object; the allied armies at the last moment raised the siege; the Empress, the court, the Boxers and the Chinese army fled; and Peking was in the hands of foreign Powers. These deeds of blood and nameless horror, this open challenge to the world, and this overwhelming collapse, precede and explain the condition of things with which we deal.

When the siege was raised, the missionaries were left with great bodies of native Christians utterly dependent upon them for everything. The missionaries themselves were left without homes, without resources, with these hundreds of homeless, helpless people looking to them for aid. The situation was extraordinary. The convulsions of the siege had not subsided. Chaos reigned within Peking and in the country around it. Attention

cannot be too strongly called to the abnormal conditions in northern China precipitated by the fury of the Boxer movement, which culminated in the siege of Peking and continue to this very day. The Imperial government was paralyzed, provincial and local government was interrupted, foreign forces held Peking, Tientsin, the road between them and the way to the sea.

Messrs. Ament and Tewksbury, of the American Board, like the missionaries of other Boards in similar positions, felt that it would be intolerable for them to suffer those Chinese refugees, who had helped during the siege and won encomiums for the share they had borne in it, to perish, as they must if something were not done in their behalf. The case was urgent. These natives were without homes, without food, and without means of obtaining either; food and shelter for the very next day, and then for the days after that, must be found. Delay meant starvation and death. In the absence of all native authority, with the knowledge and approval of Mr. Conger and other Ambassadors, two colonies were established in different parts of Peking, in courts abandoned by their owners, and were supported from the resources that were found in those courts; just as the Ambassadors and all the rest in the siege had been kept alive by what they found within their reach from the British Legation.

All that was done by Dr. Ament and Mr. Tewksbury, in occupying these two courts and in supplying the immediate, pressing necessities of the refugees under their care, was done by the advice and with the full knowledge of Mr. Conger, to whom the perplexing questions were referred for counsel; and their associates have unanimously recorded their deliberate approval of what they did. Mr. Tewksbury says of the supplies used for the refugees immediately after the siege, wherever obtained:

> "All this we either paid for on the spot or left I. O. U.'s with the parties in possession, which same we have in every case paid when presented by the proper parties."

As to the charge of looting by missionaries, we have, besides their own denials, the explicit testimony of one wholly outside their number, whose position gave him exceptional facilities for knowing the facts. Mr. R. E. Bredon, Deputy Inspector-General of the Imperial Maritime Customs of China, who was in Peking throughout the siege and remained for some time afterward, wrote on October 3d to the *North China Daily Mail:*

"I heard in the Legation, before we were enabled to leave it, that the missionaries had taken quantities of loot. I took special pains as a committeeman to investigate the truth of this assertion, and I found absolutely nothing to confirm it."

The alternative, if these gentlemen had not undertaken to care for these refugees as they did, should be considered. The refugees were more than five hundred in number; they had gone through the siege of Peking and had given such effective aid in the defence that Mr. Conger, in writing to the missionaries four days after the siege was raised, said:

"But for your intelligent and successful planning and the uncomplaining execution of the Chinese, I believe our salvation would have been impossible."

When the Empress fled to Shensi, a thousand miles away, and the court followed her, all Chinese authority in Peking ceased, and the Allies policed the captured and ruined city. They declared that they could not provide for these native refugees. There was no one else to whom these hapless ones could look for help, but their missionary friends and leaders. If these failed, then they must be turned into the streets of Peking, or into the lawless and ravaged districts outside, to starve, or to perish by the sword. The Boxers and those who acted with the Boxers had robbed them of all they possessed, had destroyed their homes, had driven them into exile, had slain hundreds and thousands of their associates in cold blood. What should the missionaries have done? Every sentiment of gratitude for help rendered in times of deadly peril, of sympathy with homeless, defenceless, persecuted and trusting men and women, demanded that they find for the refugees shelter and food and clothing, as far as it was in their power. And that is precisely what they did. Had they taken care of themselves and left these to perish, their names would have been branded with infamy throughout the civilized world. And when, at Mr. Conger's suggestion and with the approval of the other Ambassadors, Dr. Ament and Mr. Tewksbury took their native protégés to abandoned courts of Boxers or Boxer sympathizers, and sustained them by what they found there, they did the only sensible thing that could be done. Let their critics tell us what else they should have done.

In a letter of November 18th, which was given at once to the public, Dr. Ament says that he "seized the palace of a petty prince," who had harbored the Boxers for many weeks, and sat

as judge on the execution of the native converts in that part of the city. This has seemed to some to indicate violence, disregard of law and practical robbery. But Dr. Ament had no soldiers to aid him; his refugees were unarmed men, women and children; the owner of the courts had fled, and there was no one to oppose him. He did what Mr. Conger advised; he took possession for the time, and used what he found for the temporary relief of himself and his dependents, who had no other shelter or resource. The *seizure* was the occupancy of these quarters without violence, without opposition, upon the warrant of an imperative necessity and of Mr. Conger's word. And the question is still a pressing one—What else should he have done?

But, of course, these arrangements could not last very long. Some other provision must be made, something that should look toward a more permanent settlement. The Allied Powers decided that they could do nothing for these Christian Chinese. The Chinese government, as has been said already, did not exist as a force to which an appeal could be made in Peking or in any region round about. And so, what was done had to be done without reference to the Chinese government on the one side, or the direct action of the Allied Powers on the other. In this absence of wonted authority, much was left to individual initiative; things necessary to be done have been done as they could be, not in the usual way. In the ordinary course of things, it belonged, doubtless, to the Chinese government to see to the reinstatement of the refugees who were on the hands of the missionaries: but that government had ceased to act, and only resumed action when Li Hung Chang assumed authority. The securing of such relief might well have come from the American Legation; but, in the confused and uncertain conditions following the siege, it was deemed inexpedient for the Legation to attempt it.

It was under these circumstances that Messrs. Ament and Tewksbury struck out the plan, which they have followed with such remarkable success, of securing indemnity for the Chinese who had suffered losses, from the very villages where these losses had been incurred. In this course, they have had the open and public approval of Mr. Conger and other authorities, and have followed a well-known Chinese usage. With great energy and good sense and patience, which have won the commendation of the Ambassadors in Peking, of the Chinese Commissioners of

Peace, Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching, and of the native authorities themselves in the several villages where they have gone, these gentlemen have secured the indemnity that was justly due, *not for themselves, not for the mission,* let it be clearly understood, but wholly and solely *for the Chinese who were dependent upon them.* Those who had robbed and dispossessed these people were the very ones to whom appeal was made by the missionary, not with military force to back him, but with his own personal influence and the justice of the case to sustain his plea that they make good the loss which they had inflicted, and provide for those whom they had made outcasts. The good sense of the head men of these Chinese villages acknowledged the justice of the claim, and most of these exiled Chinese are reinstated in their villages. New homes are promised them and support until they can provide for it. Money was brought in such amounts as to constitute a fund for the support of widows and orphans, and for the re-establishment of churches that had been destroyed. According to immemorial custom in China, these villages, through their head men, are responsible for the gross indignities and losses inflicted on innocent men and women within their walls. They knew these people had been wronged, and that the village ought to repair the wrong. The head men acted for the village, used the common property of the village to reimburse the losses, and assumed the duty of meting out justice to the individual offenders. It is the testimony of Dr. Ament and Mr. Tewksbury that the people where these settlements have been made are pleased with the result, and that the outlook for missionary work has not been destroyed, as some reports would seem to imply, but is better in some respects than it ever was before.

Mr. Tewksbury presents in some detail the conditions on which restitution was made by the villages. He says:

"The four articles following are practically the basis on which our settlements have been made. At a meeting of various denominational missions at Peking they were approved for substance. Indemnity for Chinese only:

"1. Cemetery and suitable burial for adherents murdered.

"2. Pensions for the aged, for widows and orphans, and for others left by the Boxer outrages without adequate support or helpers.

"3. Money compensation for property destroyed was reckoned, in general, about one-third above the value of the property, which may be called a *primitive* indemnity. We asked no indemnity for life except where there were individuals left without support. All money to be in

care of the church, and no payment to be made to individual Christians until claims for indemnity have been audited by committee of foreigners and natives appointed by the church. Any balance after all claims are paid to be used as designated by the church.

"4. If desired by us, in any village where disturbances have occurred, a suitable location shall be provided for a Christian chapel."

Mr. Tewksbury further writes:

"Li Hung Chang, in instructions lately issued, as governor of the province, not only makes it the duty of his officials to pay indemnity, but also takes it for granted that the murderer shall be arrested. When collected this indemnity must be handel to the church people in open court, that all may know that justice has been done."

In regard to these settlements, if we ask who are the injured persons, the answer is plain. They are those who were robbed and whose homes were destroyed. If we ask who were guilty, the answer is equally clear: The Boxers who robbed and burned and slew without restraint, *and the towns that harbored them and shared in their crimes.* And if we inquire further what was due these outraged and exiled men, the answer is obvious: Reinstatement in their towns, the rebuilding of their homes, reimbursement for their losses, support for widows and orphans whose natural supporters had been slain, and security for the future. And this is what *was* secured for them, and it is *all* that was secured. This is not looting or robbery; but the restitution of stolen goods; it is not extortion, but justice, as much so in China as in America; the money in the hands of the guilty villagers *was* "tainted money," till it was paid back to those from whom it had been stolen; then it became honest money once more.

Who approved of these settlements? Mr. Conger, the United States Minister; Mr. Rockhill, the special United States Commissioner, who declares *"the arrangements satisfactory and fair, both to Chinese and foreigners";* Li Hung Chang, the governor of the province, whose lieutenant *"decided the amounts and method of settling";* the officials of the several villages where such settlements were made, many of whom came voluntarily and made the required restitution. Who complains of these settlements? So far as heard from, not one of the parties most affected, not one of the correspondents who have visited the missionaries and learned what they have done; no one else who is fully acquainted with the facts of the case.

Why was one-third additional to the actual damages included in the settlement? It was a part of the restitution which the villages owed to those of their own citizens who had suffered outrage

and exile, as well as the loss of property, at their hands or by their fault. The property destroyed in such cases never covers all the loss. The misionaries are the only source of information on this point, and they have not said enough about this feature of the case to make it altogether plain. Dr. Ament speaks of the "one-third" as used in supporting widows and orphans, those whose natural wage-earners had been murdered by the Boxers and their accomplices in these villages. Mr. Tewksbury speaks of it as the proper measure of money compensation for property destroyed. This additional one-third was an integral part of the settlement, agreed upon and accepted by the village officials without a murmur, approved by Li Hung Chang and by his lieutenant. No one in China appears to have raised a question about it. It is difficult to see why any one else should be disturbed about it.

The alternative to what has thus been so wisely, courageously and successfully done, must always be borne in mind. These hundreds of Chinese who had done no harm but had suffered grievous wrongs, who had wrought with the marines and the missionaries and the Legations for their mutual defence in Peking, would have been left to the tender mercies of Boxers and robbers or to perish of starvation. The good sense of all who see and understand these things will at once affirm that these missionaries did a justifiable and wise and worthy deed. No man has suffered wrong at their hands, but a great wrong has been righted, and has been righted in accordance with native customs, and with the approval of every authority that could be consulted. If any one can suggest a better, more effective, a simpler way in which to deal with a problem of this kind, let the suggestion be made. We have seen as yet, from among those who so freely criticise these things, not the slightest intimation of any other practical way of dealing with this emergency.

These points, therefore, seem clear:

1. The efforts of the missionaries have saved the lives of hundreds of the Chinese refugees, who with them went through the siege of Peking and helped to save the Legations, and thus placed the Allied Powers in their debt.

2. The utterly abnormal conditions which have prevailed since the siege have demanded exceptional treatment, and in dealing with them the missionaries have shown great caution, courage and wisdom.

3. The indemnities secured were wholly for the Chinese whom the Boxers had robbed and outraged; not a penny has been asked or used for missionary losses of any kind.

4. The "amounts and method of settling" these indemnities, the additional third as well as the rest, were decided by the deputy of Li Hung Chang, the governor of the province; they are declared "satisfactory and fair both to Chinese and foreigners" by Mr. Rockhill; and they were acceptable to the village officials.

In extraordinary and abnormal conditions, these men have carried through a necessary, but delicate and perplexing, undertaking, in a large-hearted, high-minded way, which has enhanced their personal reputation and reflected fresh credit on the missionary name. They have had the approval of their missionary associates; they have consulted all existing authorities and have had the approval of all. They have pursued a wise and far-seeing course, in saving a remnant out of the wrecks of the Christian communities which the Boxers left behind them, to be the nucleus of new churches and schools, and of a nobler enterprise when peace is restored. The friends of missions, the advocates of good order and just government in China, sane-minded and generous-hearted men everywhere, will not hesitate to pay them the tribute of praise and admiration for what they have done.

It is not a light thing to speak evil of these men without the amplest reason. They belong to that group of missionaries, of whom three at Paoting-fu and ten in Shansi met a martyr's death. Their repute is as high, their record is as clear, as were those of that martyr host. We grant that nothing can excuse evil deeds in a missionary; but we also insist that nothing can excuse the traducing of an honest man's good name. It is true of the missionaries, as of any others, that every man is to be adjudged innocent until he is proved guilty. No such proof in this case has yet been furnished. The more we hear from them, the closer we investigate, the clearer is their course, the nobler seem their deeds. Their vindication, if not already complete, is sure to come. Of each of them it may be said:

> "He knew to bide his time,
> And can his fame abide,
> Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
> Till the wise years decide."

JUDSON SMITH.

THE VICTORIAN ERA OF BRITISH EXPANSION: II. THE COLONIES AND INDIA.

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND.

WITH its ever-changing boundaries, the British Empire is by no means an easy subject for precise statistical treatment. Many territories, such as Tangier, Java, and Heligoland, have been acquired only to be relinquished. On the other hand, new possessions are continually being added to the Empire, and the boundaries of the older dependencies are at times extended, either by the further absorption of territory, as in the case of South Africa, or by the spread of population in countries, like Australia, where at first mere coast settlements existed. Again, as in India, and, more recently, in West Africa, areas under the control of chartered companies are taken over by the Crown; and, finally, we have to consider the uncertain field of protectorates. As a matter of classification, some of these protectorates may properly be considered as parts of the British Empire; others cannot be so regarded. For instance, in Africa the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Territories of the British South Africa Company and of the British Imperial East Africa Company are, for all practical purposes, British possessions in the same sense as are Cape Colony and Natal; but Egypt, which is in fact, if not in name, a British protectorate, is never referred to as part of the Empire; whilst Zanzibar, though still an independent kingdom, has a British prime minister and a British consul-general who really control the government.

In the following pages I propose to adopt, for the sake of uniformity, the classification of the British "Colonial Office List," as far as dependencies outside the Indian Empire are concerned.

When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, the territory subject to her authority, excluding protectorates and the

provinces of the East India Company, was distributed as follows:

BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN 1837.

	Square miles.	Population.
In Europe	120	127,000
In Asia	26,430	1,110,000
In Africa*	200,800	1,600,000
In North America	3,800,000	1,400,000
In South America	124,000	110,000
In West Indies	12,000	700,000
In Australasia†	2,972,000	180,000
Total	7,135,350	5,227,000.

A general view of the present condition of the British Colonies and India may be gained from the following table, the corresponding figures for the United States being given as a standard of comparison:—

BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN 1900.
(The pound sterling is the unit in the money columns.)

Dependencies in—	Area in sq.miles.	Population. Census 1891.	Public expenditure, 1899.	Value imports plus exports, 1899.	Tonnage of shipping entered and cleared, 1899.
		In thousands			
India‡	964,993	221,000	97,465	213,348	9,115
Asia	123,981	4,666	3,666	70,851	34,000
Africa§	2,514,896	4,337	9,500	57,368	13,178
Australasia	3,174,641	3,973	31,900	162,288	23,289
North America	3,814,000	5,000	9,073	69,337	15,064
S. and Cent. America	123,000	310	592	3,933	1,182
West Indies	12,000	1,352	1,970	12,971	9,155
Europe‖	3,702	406	518	No returns.	15,916
Total	10,731,213	241,044	154,684	590,096	120,899
United States¶	3,616,484	65,000	140,000	384,834	44,177

From 1837 up to the present time, the chief additions to the territory of the British Empire have been, in Asia, 1839, Aden by conquest; 1842, Hongkong, by conquest and cession; 1846, Labuan, by cession; 1857, Perim, by conquest; 1858, the government of India passed to the Crown; 1874-1888, protectorate established over the Malay States; 1886, Upper Burmah, by conquest; 1888, protectorate established over Sarawak and British North Borneo: in Africa, 1868, Basutoland, annexed at request of the natives, who wished to be protected against the armed in-

* Exclusive of the West African colonies, which had no defined boundaries and were merely small coast settlements; but including Mauritius, the Seychelles and St. Helena.

† This includes the whole of the Australian continent; for, although the occupied area on the continent has increased, the political sphere remains the same.

‡ Exclusive of the Native States under British protection, which have an area of 595,167 square miles and a population of 31,865,992.

§ Exclusive of Egypt, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal.

‖ Including Cyprus, which is only provisionally under British control by the terms of a convention with Turkey signed in 1878.

¶ The area and population of the United States are taken as for 1891, so that the figures may refer to the same period as the Colonial censuses of that year, the latest in which a Colonial census has been taken.

cursions of the Boers; 1885-1896, protectorate established over the territories of the British South Africa Company, the British Imperial East Africa Company, and over British Central Africa; 1900, the territories of the Niger Company taken over by the Crown; 1901, the Transvaal, sovereignty, which had been conditionally relinquished in 1881, resumed by the Crown; Orange River Colony, by conquest: in Australasia, 1840, New Zealand, by cession; 1874, Fiji, by cession; 1888, British New Guinea, annexed peaceably.

As I pointed out in the first part of this article, the imperialistic idea in England is of recent growth, certainly not older than the eighties. It is, however, a matter of great importance that we should observe the development of British Colonial policy during the reign of Victoria, as apart from the imperialistic sentiment; and we shall note a very interesting circumstance—namely, that, although until within recent years the Colonies were looked upon as so many burdens, and notwithstanding a general feeling, as late as 1886, that the more important Colonies were soon to become independent, successive governments have, without any hope of appealing to the admiration of the electors or even of arousing their interest, persistently improved the government of the Colonies, in one direction by Civil Service reform, and in another by the granting of representative institutions and responsible self-government wherever the conditions would permit.

Nor does this appear less remarkable if we reflect that, of some forty Secretaries who have administered the affairs of the British Colonial Empire during the past century, the greater number have taken no interest whatever in the ultimate destiny of the dependencies under their care, and that many of them entered the Colonial Office absolutely ignorant of colonial questions, and left it in much the same condition of mind. It becomes, then, a matter of some interest to inquire into the causes of the continual efforts of the Colonial Office to improve the government of the British Colonies, and to seek some broad principle which may account for the gradual enlightenment of British Colonial policy during Victoria's reign.

Unfortunately, in setting out to pursue this line of thought, we find ourselves on highly speculative ground. It is by no means a difficult task to describe the political condition of England under Elizabeth; to portray the abnormal license of the

Court under the Stuarts, and the equally abnormal severity of the Cromwellian period; to moralize about the intolerable corruption of Parliament at the time of Walpole; and to contrast with all this the integrity of public life in England to-day, the honesty of elections, and the remarkable purity of the Court under Victoria. But changes in national life and character, though easily described, are extremely difficult to account for, not because the student finds any lack of sufficient causes, but because many of these causes would not have become operative but for other circumstances purely accidental in their nature.

Of course, a philosophy of history cannot be based on a consideration of what would have happened if something which did happen had not happened; but it is very necessary to realize that the moment of great national changes is often determined by the occurrence of comparatively unimportant events. Holding this limitation strictly in view, an interdependence may be suggested between Colonial reform and internal reform in England.

The corruption in public life in England during the eighteenth century was unequalled during any period in English history; and its very excess insured the change which was observable in the early years of the nineteenth century. It is not difficult to account for this corruption, or for the growth of a public sentiment which demanded a higher standard of official integrity for British statesmen. The eighteenth century was for England a century of war. Between 1702 and 1815 England was fighting, at one time or another, France, Spain, Holland, the American Colonies, and the United States. Taken together, these wars filled about sixty years. But, in addition to being a century of war, the eighteenth century was, until near its close, a period of general prosperity. The revolution of 1688 roughly marked the commencement of a hundred years of steady growth in English industry and commerce. In almost every discussion of the poor rates during that period, there was one point on which every one was agreed—that, if an able-bodied man needed relief, it was because he was lazy, and not because there was no work to be had.

Now, if we disregard the questions, how far the wars produced the good times—and there were circumstances in the eighteenth century wars which greatly favored British commerce—and to what extent the good times were responsible for the ready voting of war supplies, and thus indirectly for the wars themselves, we

cannot fail to see that the coincidence of these two conditions of war and prosperity exerted a most pernicious influence on the character of British statesmanship.

In time of war, the mass of people, however evil may be the political conditions of the day, demand victories above all else; reform may wait. But if a faint cry for reform should be raised, it is always met on the part of those in power by the same argument: "First let us deal with our enemies, then all the reform you please." So the day passes; and, when the victories come, reform is staved off by an argument as false and ridiculous as the "under-dog" argument, and as deeply rooted in human nature. "How ungrateful," it is said, "to inquire so scrupulously into the conduct of a ministry which piloted the ship of state triumphantly through the storms of a foreign war!" So the moment passes again. And when, in addition to vanquished foes and new possessions, the party in power can point to a condition of prosperity amongst all classes, the public mind easily accepts the idea that administrative affairs cannot really be in such a bad state, after all, and that it is best to let well alone.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century all the conditions existed which made corruption at once easy and safe; but towards the end of the century, when, as Lord Macaulay has said, "anything short of direct embezzlement of the public money was considered as quite fair in public men," conditions began to change. A succession of bad crops caused a flow of population to the towns; but there machinery, which had at first merely swelled the output of woollen and cotton cloth, had already begun to liberate a large number of hands for other work, with the result that, in every part of the country, the number of unemployed rapidly increased. Between 1750 and 1818 the charge for poor relief in England increased from £619,000 to £8,000,000. A large part of the population became discontented, ricks were burned, machinery was destroyed by rioters, and the people began to ask whether, having attributed the good times to the government, they were not justified in tracing the evil times upon which they had fallen to the same source.

Whilst machinery was revolutionizing the industry of the country and depriving the ministers of the "full dinner-pail" argument, changes were taking place in other directions. With the fall of Napoleon in 1815, England entered on the longest period

of peace which it had been her lot to enjoy since the Norman conquest. She entered it with a disturbed spirit. Conquests there had been in plenty. France had been beaten by sea and by land; India and Canada were saved. But the American Colonies had revolted and achieved their independence, the United States had declared war against England in 1812, and had not been beaten, whilst at home the greatest distress prevailed amongst the laboring classes. No longer concerned in watching Europe, the people of England now turned their attention to home affairs, with the result that within a period of forty years the political system of the country was reorganized and its commercial policy entirely changed. But it happened that during the period when the reform movement in England was gradually changing the type of English statesmanship and elevating the moral tone of public life, the government was continually confronted with Colonial problems, the discussion of which naturally followed the line of the prevailing political and economic doctrine.

The period between 1776, the year of the American Declaration of Independence and of the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," and 1839, the year of the Durham Report, which formulated an enlightened system of Colonial rule, was filled with events in the field of home and Colonial affairs which reacted one upon another in such a way as to give the great political and economic issues of the time a stage as broad as the British Empire, and to make every Briton in the remotest Colony vitally interested in the outcome. On the one hand, we see the revolt of the American Colonies, followed by the trial of Warren Hastings, in 1778, by the American War of 1812, by the Abolition of Slavery in 1834, and by the Canadian Rebellion of 1837; and, on the other hand, as if to supply the wisdom which these events showed to be lacking in the councils of the nation, we find that Adam Smith is but the leader of that group of writers which included Malthus, Ricardo, Bentham and James Mill.

We come now to the years immediately preceding and following Victoria's accession; and, if I have devoted a good deal of time to the discussion of affairs which do not fall strictly within the limits of my title, it is because I wished to emphasize the fact that the Queen's accession marked the commencement of a new epoch, as well as the beginning of a new reign.

In 1826, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was

appointed to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom. This committee reported that the redundancy of population in the United Kingdom had reduced part of the people to a great degree of destitution and misery; that it had also had the effect of deteriorating the general condition of the laboring classes; and that the industry and safety of the British Colonies would be materially encouraged and preserved by the reception of this surplus population. It is interesting to note that the committee closes its statement of the facts by saying that "the national wealth will be increased by the change, *if the Colonies are to be considered as integral parts of the nation at large.*" The outcome of this and of subsequent inquiries was that Commissioners of Emigration were appointed by the government, and serious attention was directed to the development of the Colonies by means of the surplus population of the United Kingdom. The Emigration Commissioners published reports relating to the progress of emigration, and pamphlets in which the conditions of the various Colonies were described, and the prospects of successful emigration were discussed. The following table shows the influence of the systematic work of the Emigration Commissioners:

EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

	To the North American Colonies.	To the Australasian Colonies.
1825	8,741	485
1830	30,574	1,242
1840	32,293	15,850

The number of emigrants fluctuated from year to year in sympathy with the general conditions at home and in the Colonies. Thus, the Irish famine of 1847 sent 109,680 people to the North American Colonies, though the average number during the previous four years had been only 30,000; and the discovery of gold in Australia increased the emigration to those colonies from 16,037 in 1850 to 87,881 in 1852. During the first half of the nineteenth century more than a million emigrants left England for the British Colonies in America and Australasia; and it is during these early years of emigration to the Colonies that we find the first attempt in England towards the formulation of a scientific theory of colonization.

The name most intimately associated with this movement is that of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. He was born in 1796, and his early training and education fell, therefore, in the time when

the distressed condition of the laboring population called most loudly for remedial measures

Through the influence of Wakefield, the National Colonization Society was founded in 1830, with the object of drawing the attention of the Government to the need of Colonial reform and of inducing the Colonial Office to apply the principles embodied in the Wakefield system. The opinions and theories known to students as the Wakefield system may be briefly summarized. Starting from the axiom that new countries cannot be developed without a labor supply, Wakefield proceeded to inquire into the causes which limited the labor supply in the British non-tropical Colonies. A large number of emigrants went out each year, and still the Colonies made very little progress. The reason was not far to seek. Under the system then in vogue of giving free grants of land to all indiscriminately, the government removed at once the only motive which would cause a laborer to hire out his service. As soon as they landed in a Colony, the newcomers, irrespective of their previous condition of life, proceeded to occupy land, so that the capitalist found himself with land and no labor, and the laborer was equally unfortunate in the possession of land without capital. Thus things were at a standstill; the labor was there, but it would not hire itself to the capital; the capital was there, but it could not find employment. Wakefield proposed to remedy this state of things by stopping all free grants of land, by exacting a cash payment for every acre alienated from the Crown, and by a tax on the actual rent of all land owned by private individuals. The money thus accumulated should be used as a fund for the conveyance of British laborers to the Colonies free of cost.

In 1836 a Select Committee of the House of Commons inquired into the whole question of Crown Lands in the Colonies, and Wakefield was the most important witness, his examination lasting four days, and covering replies to 562 questions put by members of the Committee. The Report of the Committee amounted to a recommendation that the Wakefield system should be adopted in the Colonies, and legislation followed, from time to time, giving effect if not to all the details, at least to the general principles advocated by Wakefield.

The Crown Lands question, though of great importance, was soon overshadowed by a much broader issue—in which again we

find Wakefield a strong, though, on this occasion, a silent power —the question of what was to be the form of government in the British non-tropical Colonies. The answer to this question was determined by the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, and by Lord Durham's Report on Canadian affairs. Of this report it has been said: "Wakefield thought it, Buller wrote it, Durham signed it." However that may be, the report is one of the most important of the many valuable and interesting documents which have been called into existence by England's Colonial difficulties. From the presentation of this report, we may date the acceptance by England of the principle of responsible self-government for all British Colonies in which white men can live and thrive.

I cannot better set forth the wise statesmanship of the Report than by quoting the words used by its author:

"It is not by weakening but by strengthening the influence of the people on its Government; by confining within much narrower bounds than those hitherto allotted to it, and not by extending the interference of the Imperial authorities in the details of colonial affairs, that I believe that harmony is to be restored. . . . . I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere in their internal legislation, in matters which do not affect their relations with the mother country. . . . . The colonists may not always know what laws are best for them, or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs; but at least they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so, than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, and always the greatest, sufferers; and, like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy. . . . . With respect to every one of those plans which propose to make the English minority an electoral majority, by means of new and strange modes of voting or unfair divisions of the country, I shall only say that, if the Canadians are to be deprived of representative government, it would be better to do it in a straightforward way than to attempt to establish a permanent system of government on the basis of what all mankind would regard as mere electoral frauds. It is not in North America that men can be cheated by an unreal semblance of representative government, or persuaded that they are out-voted, when, in fact, they are disfranchised."

Space will not permit an extended examination of the Durham Report. The extracts quoted above are sufficient to give us a true apprehension of the noble spirit of liberty and equality which animates the whole document.

The liberal theories advanced by Lord Durham were accepted by the British people; and from time to time self-government, on the basis of wide parliamentary representation, a responsible ministry, and entire freedom of internal legislation, was granted to the larger Colonies. The progress of this movement may be observed by reference to the following table:

GRANT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, THAT IS THE CONDUCT OF THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT BY THE ADVICE OF MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE TO THE LOCAL PARLIAMENT.

1841. Colony of Canada.
1848. Nova Scotia.
New Brunswick.
1854. Victoria.
New South Wales.
1855. South Australia.
Tasmania.
Newfoundland.
1856. New Zealand.
1859. Queensland.
1867. Dominion of Canada.
1872. Cape of Good Hope.
1890. Western Australia.
1893. Natal.
1900. Commonwealth of Australia.

There remain two important subjects relating to Colonial reform, which for their adequate presentation require far more space than is at my disposal, the commercial policy of England towards her Colonies, and Colonial Civil Service reform.

The entire freedom of the British Colonies to decide on their own trade policy, even if it should take the form of an import duty on British goods, is the result of the triumph of free trade in England. The move in the direction of free trade may be said to have commenced in 1820, when, as a result of petitions from the merchants of London and Edinburgh, a Select Committee of the House of Commons considered "the means of maintaining and improving the foreign trade of the country.," and reported:

"That the means of attaining the object to which their consideration has been directed by order of the House, consisted less in affording additional legislative protection or encouragement to the commerce of the United Kingdom with foreign states, than in relieving it from a variety of restrictions which the policy of a former period imposed on it; and which, whether expedient or otherwise at the time when they were enacted, having ceased to be necessary for the purposes which originally recommended them, tend to embarrass its operations, and impede its extension and prosperity."

The fight for free trade was, considering the tremendous changes involved in its adoption, shorter than might have been expected, occupying just thirty years. In 1820 some fifteen hundred Acts of Parliament were in force regulating the commerce of the British Empire; but gradually barrier after barrier was removed, and with the repeal of the Navigation Laws and of the

Corn Laws, in 1849, England may be said to have definitely entered the era of free trade.

The grant of authority to determine for themselves the commercial policy best suited to their circumstances has not been confined to the great self-governing Colonies; even in the small tropical Colonies which enjoy some degree of representative government the tariff is fixed by the popular branch of the Legislature.

The subject of Civil Service reform in the Colonies is more intimately connected with the history of British administration in India than with the history of the other parts of the Empire, for since the grant of responsible government to the great non-tropical Colonies the Civil Service of those countries has been in the hands of the local legislatures, and in the tropical Colonies, excepting only Ceylon and the Possessions in Further India, the Civil Service, though of a very high standard, is not completely organized on any uniform plan of recruiting. Until 1858 the Administration of India was in the hands of the East India Company, though controlled to a considerable extent from 1813 onward by the Imperial Parliament. The English East India Company, which was incorporated on the last day of the sixteenth century, passed through three stages of existence and to these stages corresponded three methods of selecting the officials of the Company. In the first stage, which lasted roughly for a hundred and fifty years, the Company was a commercial corporation enjoying the monopoly of the Eastern trade, and its territorial possessions in the East were bounded by the walls of the factories. As was natural, the servants of the Company were, during this period, selected merely for their efficiency as commercial agents. The second stage, which covered the period from 1750 to 1813, was one of territorial acquisition; and the Company, in addition to the business of trade, was called on to wage wars by sea and land, and to negotiate treaties with the Native Princes of India. During this period a keen competition arose in England for positions under the Company; and as mere clerks were now no longer capable of conducting the complicated affairs of the Indian territories, appointments were given to men of a different stamp. At first, the new quasi-diplomatic posts were conferred on a basis of mere favoritism, in some instances with the object of providing for needy relatives, in others in order to oblige some

person high in authority in England, who, as occasion offered, might be expected to give a *quid pro quo*. The sale of appointments became one of the perquisites of the directors of the Company, and gross abuses were brought to light, a Select Committee of the House of Commons sitting as late as 1809 to inquire into the corrupt practices in this direction.

In 1813, the company entered the third and last stage of its career. The Indian monopoly was abolished and all that was left to the company was its administrative functions. With this change, the need of the man of commerce vanished and the call was for trained civil servants. The reform which these changes made imperative had already begun. In 1802, the Marquis Wellesley, at that time Governor-General of India, had issued a Minute drawing attention to the necessity for special training for the Company's servants, and had proposed the erection of a college for that purpose in India. He even went so far as to establish such an institution; but the directors of the Company abandoned the scheme. But out of the suggestions of the Marquis of Wellesley came the action of the East India Company in founding, in 1806, the college for the training of East Indian officials at Haileybury, near London. Here was first introduced the principle of appointment by competitive examination. The pupils were instructed in all those subjects which go to make up a liberal education, and in addition were taught the languages and the laws of the East.

With the demise of the company in 1857, the college at Haileybury was abandoned as a training school for East Indian officials, and the new order of things, open competitive examinations, was thereafter established. The whole subject of Indian Civil Service was inquired into in 1854 by a Commission of which Lord Macaulay was Chairman, and Benjamin Jowett a member. The Report of this Commission laid down elaborate rules for the selection and appointment of Indian officials; and, in the main, the principles there advocated are still followed to-day. The system of Civil Service throughout the British Empire has of course developed and grown as the Empire has expanded. The cardinal principles of that service appear to be these—that any man capable of passing the required examinations, who is of a respectable character, may be appointed, that no man thus appointed may be dismissed except for just cause shown, that no

man shall be permitted to remain in the service after he has shown himself unfit to retain his post, that a sufficient salary shall attach to each position, and that a pension shall follow long service.

I have gone very briefly over the two main fields of Colonial reform—the form of government and the nature of the Civil Service; and I must now turn to the physical expansion of the Empire.

BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA. POPULATION.
(in thousands.)

	1850.	1871.	1881.	1891.
India	171,859	191,018	198,790	221,000
Asiatic Colonies	1,789	3,173	3,731	4,666
African Colonies	613	1,362	1,818	4,337
Australasian Colonies	466	1,924	2,869	3,973
North American Colonies	2,482	3,844	4,517	5,000
S. and Cent. Amer. Colonies.	127	219	279	310
West Indian Colonies	793	1,063	1,213	1,352
European Colonies	138	160	168	406
Total	178,267	202,763	213,385	241,044

I have not brought the figures relating to the population of the Colonies and India down later than 1891, the year of the last census; for, although estimates are available for last year, the figures would be liable to be considerably changed by the results of the census which is now being carried on. The increase in population between 1850 and 1891 is due to two causes—increase in the territory included under the different heads and natural growth of the population; but, as each group, with the exception of the American and West Indian Colonies, has received an increase of territory, little beyond the mere fact of growth can be ascertained from the above table. In Australasia alone has the increase of territory since 1850 been of very slight importance, about ninety-eight thousand square miles; and there we find a growth of population, almost entirely of European stock, from four hundred thousand to four millions. In other words, the single city of Melbourne contains more people to-day than did the whole of Australasia in 1860.

I pass now to the commerce of the British Colonies and India, dealing first with the value of the total imports and the proportion bought in each group of Colonies from the mother country. I may say that the percentages differ to a considerable extent from those given in my "Tropical Colonization," owing to the fact that the units, "British Colonies and India," as used in this article, do not include the European Colonies and Hongkong, and because the cost of freight and insurance is here included;

but, although the percentages are higher, the trend of the trade is in the same direction, and the same arguments are deducible from these figures as from those given in my book:

BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA. VALUE OF IMPORTS.
(in thousands of pounds sterling.)

	1850.	1870.	1890.	1899.
India	13,696	46,882	93,909	96,278
Per cent. from United Kingdom	55.52	64.75	67.57	65.43*
Asiatic Colonies	2,549	16,801	31,957	38,176
Per cent. from United Kingdom	24.88	27.52	18.84	14.93
African Colonies	1,742	4,043	16,218	29,210
Per cent. from United Kingdom	80.99	75.01	81.05	69.40
Australasian Colonies	4,379	28,880	68,270	72,640
Per cent. from United Kingdom	63.34	48.82	41.25	36.83
North American Colonies	6,482	17,205	26,672	35,136
Per cent. from United Kingdom	43.70	52.34	35.47	23.10
South and Central American Colonies	993	2,101	2,236	1,604
Per cent. from United Kingdom	64.55	53.68	59.12	54.80
West Indian Colonies	3,280	4,647	6,846	6,711
Per cent. from United Kingdom	55.48	44.50	45.58	40.55
Total†	33,121	120,559	246,108	279,755
Per cent. from United Kingdom	53.48	53.34	50.64	45.55

The foregoing table presents many points of interest. To take, first, the growth of the imports into the whole Colonial Empire and into each group, we find, roughly, that the value of imports increased, from 1850 to 1899, in the Australasian Colonies to 16½ times the earlier figure; in the African Colonies to 16 times; in the Asiatic Colonies to 15 times; in the Colonies and India to 8 1-3 times; in India to 7 times; in the North American Colonies to 5½ times; in the West Indian Colonies to 2 times, and in the South and Central American Colonies to 1 2-3 times. But we must remember that the trade of the African, Australasian and Asiatic Colonies was almost entirely undeveloped in 1850, and that the Canadian trade was very considerable in bulk. If we take the increase or decrease between 1890 and 1899 the groups are arranged very differently.

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN VALUE OF IMPORTS, 1890-1899.

African Colonies, increase of	80.10	per cent.
North American Colonies, increase of	31.72	" "
Asiatic Colonies, increase of	19.46	" "
The Colonies and India, increase of	13.67	" "
Australasian Colonies, increase of	6.40	" "
India, increase of	2.52	" "
West Indian Colonies, decrease of	2.00	" "
South and Central American Colonies, decrease of	28.26	" "

The only point that needs elucidation in the above table is the abnormal increase in the imports into the African Colonies. A certain portion of this increase, say 20 per cent. of it, should be allowed for the value of war material imported into the South African Colonies in 1899.

* Estimate, returns not complete.
† Exclusive of Hong Kong, Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus. The imports from the United Kingdom are calculated on the basis of value at the port of arrival—that is, practically, with freight and insurance added.

I pass now to a consideration of the origin of the imports of the Colonies and India. It will be seen that in every group, with the exception of India (and on an estimated figure we can hardly set India down as an exception), the percentage of imports from the United Kingdom has fallen off, indicating the establishment of the commercial independence of the British Colonies. The falling off in the percentage of imports from the United Kingdom has been greatest in Australasia and in the North American Colonies—from 63.34 per cent. to 36.83 per cent. in the former and from 43.70 per cent. to 23.10 per cent. in the latter.

It is interesting to observe that in both cases the United States and Germany are the countries which have secured the bulk of the trade which England has lost. The exact course of the change may be observed from the following figures:

	Imports into Australian Colonies.		Imports into Canada & Newfoundland.	
	1871.	1899.	1871.	1899.
From United States	£600,000	£5,216,000	£7,794,000	£19,507,000
From Germany*	.....	2,240,000	221,000	1,519,000
From United Kingdom	12,066,000	26,758,000	10,900,000	8,012,000

In the following table the value of total exports from the Colonies and India and the proportion sent to the United Kingdom are exhibited:

BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA—VALUE OF EXPORTS.
(In thousands of pounds sterling.)

	1850.	1870.	1890.	1899.
India	18,283	53,513	102,350	117,070
Per cent. to United Kingdom	39.07	51.94	32.83	†30.75
Asiatic Colonies	2,240	14,660	27,983	32,675
Per cent. to United Kingdom	65.62	35.40	24.77	26.98
African Colonies	1,701	4,401	13,115	28,158
Per cent. to United Kingdom	84.95	67.64	87.18	87.94
Australasian Colonies	4,648	28,421	65,184	89,648
Per cent. to United Kingdom	56.36	46.94	43.26	40.14
North American Colonies	5,044	16,662	21,288	34,201
Per cent. to United Kingdom	42.42	29.94	48.16	60.40
South and Central Am. Colonies	1,076	2,555	2,564	2,329
Per cent. to United Kingdom	90.05	57.41	48.43	54.83
West Indian Colonies	3,097	4,991	6,543	6,260
Per cent. to United Kingdom	81.91	75.09	30.41	26.15
‡Total	36,089	125,203	239,027	310,341
Per cent. to United Kingdom	50.77	47.53	39.18	41.61

Thus it appears that in the period 1850-1899, the value of exports increased in the Australasian colonies to 19 times the earlier figure; in the Asiatic colonies to 14½ times; in the African colonies to 14½ times; in the Colonies and India to 8 2-3 times; in the North American Colonies to 6¾ times; in India to 6½ times;

*Imports into Australian Colonies for 1871 too small to be noted in returns.
†Estimate; returns not complete.
‡Exclusive of Hong Kong, Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus.

in the South and Central American colonies to 2¼ times, and in the West Indian Colonies to 2 times.

Again, rearranging the groups according to their growth of exports during the past decade, we get:

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN VALUE OF EXPORTS, 1890-1899.

African Colonies, increased by	115.00 %
North American Colonies, increased by	60.65 %
Australasian Colonies, increased by	37.53 %
The Colonies and India, increased by	29.83 %
Asiatic Colonies, increased by	16.77 %
India, increased by	14.38 %
West Indian Colonies, decreased by	4.32 %
South and Central American Colonies, decreased by	9.16 %

In regard to the direction of the colonial exports, it is to be observed that, as in the case of the imports, England secures a lesser proportion than she did fifty years ago. The groups showing the greatest falling off in the proportion of exports sent to the United Kingdom are the Asiatic colonies, which only send home 26.98 per cent. of their produce, where formerly they sent 65.62 per cent; the Australasian colonies, which now sell England 40.14 per cent. of their goods instead of 56.36 per cent.; the South and Central American colonies, whose percentage of exports has fallen from 90.05 to 54.83 per cent., and the West Indian Colonies, where the decrease is from 81.91 per cent. to 26.15 per cent.

The decrease in the proportion of exports from the Asiatic colonies to the United Kingdom is not caused by foreign competition for the products of those Colonies, but by a growth of trade between those Colonies and India. In the Australasian group, the United States and Germany are the countries which have taken over the trade represented by the falling off in the proportion of exports to England. This will be seen by the following table:

AUSTRALASIAN EXPORTS.

	1871.	1899.
To United States	£366,000	£3,061,000
Increase		736 %
To Germany (1885)	65,000	2,801,000
Increase		4,209 %
To United Kingdom	13,343,000	35,993,000
Increase		169 %

The most notable decrease, however, is in the West Indian group and in the South and Central American group. This decrease, from 81 per cent. to 26 per cent. in the former, and from 90 per cent. to 55 per cent. in the latter, represents the diversion of the sugar export to the United States, and the growth of the Jamaica fruit trade. Statistics are not available in the Colonial returns which would enable a comparison of the exports from the

British West Indies and the British Colonies in Central and South America to the United States in 1850 and in 1899; but we may arrive at the facts by examining the growth of imports into the United States from these colonies.

IMPORTS INTO UNITED STATES.

	1850.	1899.
From British West Indies	$997,000	$14,300,000
From British Guiana and British Honduras	287,000	3,700,000

It is interesting to note that, whilst the value of the imports into the British North American Colonies from the United Kingdom decreased in proportion between 1850 and 1899 from 43.70 per cent. of the whole to 23.10 per cent. of the whole, the value of exports to the United Kingdom has increased in proportion during the same period from 42.42 per cent. to 60.40 per cent. of the total value of exports.

The last phase of expansion which comes within our view is the growth of shipping in the Colonies and India. The figures relating to this aspect of the subject are given below:

BRITISH COLONIES AND INDIA. SHIPPING.
Tonnage of Shipping Entered and Cleared, Exclusive of Coasting Trade.
(Thousands of tons.)

	1850.	1870.	1890.	1899.
India	1,403	4,009	7,684	9,115
Per cent. British	....	86.70	88.02	85.44
Asiatic Colonies	1,108	6,189	24,332	33,992
Per cent. British	....	69.62	73.91	67.22
African Colonies	683	1,609	6,169	13,178
Per cent. British	....	76.19	83.43	83.17
Australasian Colonies	1,088	4,240	15,683	23,289
Per cent. British	....	92.26	87.63	85.78
North American Colonies	3,334	6,425	11,269	15,064
Per cent. British	....	77.92	54.84	66.90
South & Cent. Am. Colonies	276	503	1,088	1,182
Per cent. British	....	....	53.75	52.28
West Indian Colonies	729	1,533	7,531	9,155
Per cent. British	....	65.36	76.61	74.72
European Colonies	1,648	5,939	21,124	15,916
Per cent. British	....	41.82	82.48	70.69
Total	10,269	30,447	94,880	120,891
Per cent. British	....	70.50	77.56	74.75

There is little in the above table which calls for comment. The slight falling off in British shipping in the Asiatic colonies and India is due largely to German and Japanese competition. It is worthy of note that, with a diminishing proportion of the Colonial commerce, the United Kingdom should have more than maintained her proportion of the carrying trade of the Colonies. The most remarkable increase of shipping has been in the Asiatic Colonies and Australasia, the tonnage entered and cleared in the former group having expanded more than thirty-fold since 1850, and in the latter more than twenty-fold.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY JOHN FORD.

AMERICAN citizens are not experts in municipal government. What they have accomplished in other fields abundantly excuses them for this shortcoming. Within little more than a century they have wrought out the mightiest work of history; they have realized the dreams of poets and philosophers of past ages by making national government by the people an enduring success. They will make a like success of municipal government, if a little time is given to them.

Three main causes have operated hitherto to prevent their achieving that success. These are: (1.) their engrossment in the task of establishing their National and State governments, in perfecting them in detail, and in defending them and the principles of their foundation from internal and external attack; (2.) their absorption in the work of conquering their wildernesses, and exploiting their agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources; of upbuilding their multitudes of cities, their vast transportation systems, and establishing their manufacturing, commercial and financial supremacy; (3.) their inexperience, and lack of opportunity for experience, in the science and art of governing vast congested urban communities.

Any intelligent person will understand the importance of the first two of these causes, from the brief statement of them here given. The third, perhaps, should receive more amplified discussion.

The Federal Constitution was formed by men nearly all of whom were born, bred and educated under rural conditions. The new Republic consisted of thirteen colonies, strung along the Atlantic seaboard, whose population was very thinly and widely scattered, and engaged almost exclusively in agriculture, or its

allied industries. Out of these conditions grew the governmental problems which they dealt with. Of necessity, therefore, the government established was designed to meet the needs of a rural, rather than of a congested urban, community. The State governments erected were modelled after the Federal government, and were without exception of as distinctively rural a type. Such was the school in which American citizens have been taught, such the only political experience they have been able to get, until practically within the last quarter of a century.

About the time when the Declaration of Independence was issued, an industrial revolution of world-wide extent set in. The era of invention, steam power, labor-saving machinery and the factory system commenced. It gave rise to one of the most remarkable social phenomena that the world ever saw, namely, the almost magically rapid rise and development of large cities. This change in the distribution of population was not especially noted in this country until within the past half century. Ever since, its progress has been more marked in America than anywhere else in the world. Thus was this, to them, entirely new and perplexing municipal problem forced upon the American people at a time when slavery, and the controversies and the war to which it gave rise, absorbed the whole attention and commanded the political activities of every person in the United States who was possessed of the ability either to think intelligently or to act effectively. While Europe has experienced a similarly swift growth of its urban populations, yet, for centuries, it has been dealing with city and town governments of magnitude and importance. It had, therefore, the experience which enabled it to handle, with more success than has attended our efforts, the serious problems presented by the sudden rise of large municipalities. Then, too, marvellous as it has been, the growth of European cities was slow compared to the rate at which American cities have increased from insignificant hamlets to cities counting their populations by hundreds of thousands, and even millions.

This phenomenon presented to the American people a wholly new and unexpected problem of government. Hitherto, their experience had been with governmental questions appertaining to social, industrial and political conditions peculiar to almost, or quite, purely rural communities. The entire population of the United States at its birth was not more than that of the present

City of New York. When our State governments were formed, a city, as we understand the term, was unknown. These governments were intended to meet the needs of a sparse population. Naturally, when the great populous centres sprang into existence, they found the mantle of State government, which they were obliged to wear, a woeful misfit. The State Legislatures, controlled by members representing non-urban constituencies, still insisted on applying to urban communities the same laws which were applied to the rural villages and townships of the States. Only lately have some of the more progressive country legislators realized that a great urban centre, with its teeming population, its varied inter-dependent industrial and commercial interests, its complex and cosmopolitan social conditions, differs in its governmental needs from a rural county as widely as does that rural county from the desert land of the nomadic Arab.

Some concessions have been made by special legislation, and an extension of some privileges of local self-government has been granted to municipalities, when the demand for them has come so unanimously as to bode no good to the prospects of the dominant political party if it should be denied. But they have represented thus far crude and hap-hazard patch-work, instead of the liberal and scientific reforms of which American cities are sorely in need.

In a hundred directions municipal functions might be extended, for the vast improvement of the conditions of municipal life and the uplifting and betterment of urban populations. Hardly less rapid than the growth of the cities themselves have been the increase in the expenses of living in them and the advance in the rate of taxation, until the burden has become well nigh intolerable. Yet heavy taxes and a high cost of living are by no means necessarily incident to urban life. While the expenditures of government inevitably increase *pari passu* with the growth of a city, yet sources of municipal revenue multiply in like proportion. The trouble has been that our cities, while undertaking the great expenditures forced upon them by the necessities of their congested populations, have neglected to preserve for themselves and exploit for their own benefit the means of meeting the vast outlays annually called for. Public franchises of incalculable value have been given away to private individuals and corporations. Were the cities in the full enjoyment of the revenues derived from these

sources alone, municipal tax rates would be cut nearly in two, and the whole population—for it is the rent-payer, not the landlord, who is the real taxpayer—would be proportionately benefited. Many other sources of revenue might be opened up, and utilized to defray at least a goodly part of the remaining portion of the burden of taxation, and to reduce the municipal tax rate nearly to the vanishing point, as indeed has already been accomplished in some European cities; while the cost, to the whole people, of the enjoyment of public utilities could be largely reduced.

While State governments should exclusively exercise all the fundamental sovereign powers, such as control of the election machinery, of the judiciary, of the militia and the like, yet charters of the larger cities ought to grant ample powers to enable them to repossess themselves, whenever and however their voters determine to do so, of the ownership and control of all public franchises and privileges improvidently given away in perpetuity. In the case of illuminating gas, the method of accomplishing this is simple. The municipality has only to cause the property of existing gas companies to be fairly appraised at the cost of reproduction, or on any other fair basis, and then to offer to take over the plants at the valuation of the appraisers. If the gas companies do not accept this offer within a reasonable time, let a municipal gas plant promptly go up, and the people will be released immediately from their thraldom to the private monopoly. Fear of such action would, undoubtedly, induce the gas companies to sell out on reasonable terms; for they well know that, with a municipal gas plant in the field, supplying its product to the public at or near the cost of production, they would be out of business. Or this same fear might prove to be sufficiently effective to extort from the private companies a contract to supply the residents of the city with gas at a price so low that no more than a fair return would be realized on the capital actually invested. As a rule, private gas companies now pay abnormal dividends, not merely upon the capitalized value of their property, which the city gave them, and which they have been using *gratis* for many years, but also upon immense volumes of stock representing nothing in the world but repeated watering.

A similar method of treatment might be applied to electric lighting and power companies, to telephone companies, to steam heating companies, and, generally, to any business resting on a

grant of a public franchise, which business can conveniently be duplicated by the erection of a municipal plant.

In the case of street railroads, it is more difficult, although they possess by far the most important and valuable franchises of all. As practically all the available streets and avenues are already occupied by street-car tracks, of course it is impracticable, if not impossible, for the city to parallel the existing lines by other surface lines without destroying the utility of the public highways for the ordinary purposes of traffic. Nevertheless, there is a feasible way by which the immense franchise values of the street railroads may be repossessed by the communities, whose property they originally were and of right ought now to be.

The future mode of urban transit will be neither by surface nor by elevated, but by underground, railroads. The success of the Boston and London experiments with tunnel railroading makes certain the success of the projected tunnel railroad of New York, notwithstanding its inexcusable defects in plan, route, specifications and contract terms. The system will inevitably extend to other cities. The cost of construction will decrease with experience, while, as has been the case in London, the comfort, convenience and speed of this mode of travel will be increased correspondingly. Its many advantages over surface transit—such as the absence of danger to pedestrians and vehicles; the increased safety of trains moving rapidly; the convenience and economy of having all sub-surface pipes, wires and the like in galleries constructed at insignificent additional cost in connection with the main tunnel, where they can be easily reached for repairs, extension or renewal without tearing up the streets for that purpose; the impossibility of weather conditions interfering either with the convenience of passengers or the operation of the road; the freeing of the streets from street cars, their dangers, noise and annoyance, and the restoration of public highways to the use of vehicles and pedestrians—these and other similar considerations will result in the displacement of surface by underground transit in cities of any considerable size, and cause the owners of existing surface lines gladly to sell their properties to the public at cost, exclusive of the value of the franchise. While a city may not be able, practically, to lay competing tracks in its streets, it can parellel existing surface lines by tunnel roads; and it is a safe prediction that, within twenty years, surface rail-

roads will be as nearly obsolete as the old-fashioned horse car has come to be. Thus may the blunders of our predecessors, who inconsiderately gave away these incalculably rich sources of municipal revenue, be rectified, and the people restored to their own again.

City charters should also permit the extension of municipal functions in many other directions, so soon as their voters have determined that it is financially profitable or the part of wisdom so to do. Among the enterprises that might be undertaken by our municipalities, to the vast benefit of the people, is the supplying of ice. Had New York City the power under its charter to establish a municipal ice plant, in connection with its admirable water supply system, a most intolerable extortion could be abolished once and for all, with the universal approbation of the entire community, except, of course, the holders of securities in the ice monopoly. Model tenement and lodging-houses could be established. Recreation piers and play grounds for the children of the poor could be multiplied. Public baths and gymnasiums, open the year round, would do wonders in promoting the health and comfort of the youth, in reducing crime and in producing better citizens. Industrial and technical schools might be put in operation, in which the boys and girls who are now obliged to leave school at fourteen or fifteen years of age to go to work might get training for a year or two, in some useful art or trade, which would afford them an independent income and free them from the temptations that beset them when obliged to take a humble place in some great store or factory at a miserable pittance. Civil academies for the training of young men and women, who purpose to enter the public service, in the science and art of municipal government would be a blessing to any city. Pension funds for superannuated public employees might be founded and administered by the municipal authorities—at the expense of the employees themselves, of course. Both of these last-named institutions are within the spirit of the existing civil service laws, and necessary to their perfection. Circulating and travelling libraries ought to be within the reach of the humblest. Well-regulated public markets would be a boon. Methods of collecting and utilizing, or otherwise disposing of, refuse and garbage are susceptible of radical improvement. The pay, the hours of duty—in brief, the entire regulation—of the fire, police and most other departments of the city government should

be committed to the hands of the city's voters, without let or hindrance from the State Legislatures. Municipalities should have the privilege of substituting a single-headed for a bi-partisan police or other commission, if they so elect. They should absolutely control their own water supply and have the power to extend it at will, if only they are willing to bear the cost. They ought to have power to regulate the hours and manner in which the liquor traffic should be carried on within their borders. In short, cities should be allowed to raise revenue from their own resources, and to expend it according to their own ideas as to what will most benefit themselves. They should be left alone to manage their own affairs in their own way, so long as they do not interfere with the welfare and happiness of other communities, reaping the benefit of their wisdom or suffering the penalty of their folly, and to work out their own salvation as best they can.

This is not intended as an argument for municipal ownership. That policy may or may not be feasible under American conditions. Besides, such ownership does not mean, or even imply, municipal operation. But, surely, it is important for those who would better our municipal conditions to make careful note of the fact that municipal ownership, and municipal operation also for that matter, of public utilities, and the extension of municipal functions in the ways suggested, have proved a marvellous success in more than one populous city. Undoubtedly, the trend of public sentiment in most of our large cities, and in many of the smaller ones, is strongly toward its adoption. It should, in any case, be taken up tentatively, conservatively, cautiously at first, and applied to one or two of the simplest enterprises, and then extended to others after its practicability and success have been demonstrated. But, in the meantime, every city of any considerable size ought to be privileged under its charter and under the constitution of its State to do all of the things mentioned, and many others, without leave or license from the rural districts.

The school of municipal reformers which has moulded public sentiment in the United States during the past quarter of a century or more has taught that the effective way to cure municipal misrule was to divest the municipal legislative bodies of all power, and vest it in the Mayors and heads of the departments appointed by them. That plan has been put into operation generally throughout the country. The good results predicted by its advo-

cates have not materialized. In fact, the scheme has proved a miserable failure. Cities governed under it have had wretched local governments; while in Europe, where the directly opposite policy has been pursued, municipal government has reached its highest perfection. To assert that the American citizens who compose a municipality cannot be trusted to govern themselves as fully as the residents of European cities, where the people are less experienced in popular government, is to impeach and condemn the American governmental system. It is more than probable that, had these reformers advocated an opposite policy and sought for a remedy of existing ills in an extension of the powers of the direct representatives of the people, coupled with fixed responsibility and speedy accountability, their theories would have worked out far more satisfactorily. At any rate, since their theories have utterly broken down in practice, we are warranted in trying the other experiment of bringing the government as close as possible to the people, instead of removing it as far as possible away from them.

The responsible governing body of a city should be the municipal legislature. In it every minority party of any considerable size ought to have representation proportionate to its strength as compared with the majority or plurality party. Nor is there a valid reason why the members of a municipal assembly should be nominated and elected by independent districts, as is generally the custom throughout the United States. There was a reason, in the diversity of interests between the different States of the Union and the different parts of the several States, why Congress and the State Legislatures should be made up by district representation. The system originated at a time when there were no railroads, no telegraph lines, almost no mail service or other means of communication between the different States, or even between the different parts of the same State. Buffalo was farther from Albany then, considering the time it took to make the journey, to transport merchandise or mail, or for communication of any kind, than New York City now is from San Francisco. Pittsburg was farther from Philadelphia than Boston is now from Manila. Each of the political sub-divisions into which States were divided had, practically, a separate and independent existence. Their interests differed radically, and there was good reason for making up the general legislative body of members who would represent the

peculiar views and the special interests of their respective constituencies.

The same reasoning even yet holds good, in the main, as to State Legislatures. Their business is to make laws for the conflicting and diverse sections of their respective States, all of which contain cities, villages and purely rural sections. Some States contain large mining, lumbering, quarrying, shipping or other special industries, with populous communities dependent on them; some contain several, some all, of these. In some the aggregate population of their cities nearly equals and even exceeds all the rest of the population. Members of a municipal legislature represent no such diverse interests. Diversity of interest has not entirely disappeared in cities, but it is confined, for the most part, to mere questions of local improvements. In everything else the members represent the city as a whole. It is their common district. What with our telegraph lines, telephones, rapid transit, messenger service, quick mail delivery and multiplicity of daily newspapers, as the means of communication from side to side and end to end of a city whose limits embrace an area of comparatively insignificant extent, the modern city is a more perfect unit than was the smallest frontier village at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Every member of a municipal legislature, who, when he votes, is dealing, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, directly with the interests of the city as a whole, should be selected by the city as a whole, on a general ticket, and be directly accountable to all of its voters. Comparatively slight local interests of the different sections of the city might be provided for by permitting districts to nominate while the city elected.

Undoubtedly, under such a system the character of municipal legislatures would be immeasurably improved. The illiterate, ignorant and vicious congregate in certain parts of every city. To give such parts, as our present district system gives them, the right to nominate and elect a representative to deal with the city's finances and other great interests, practically insures the nomination and election of an illiterate, ignorant or vicious member. If that same member were obliged to run on a general ticket, where the educated, intelligent and virtuous sections of the community could have a voice in his election, it would be impossible for him to be elected, and, as a matter of fact, no political party could afford to nominate him. Under such a system, reinforced by a

simplified and convenient method of making independent nominations for all municipal offices, only the best and most competent men would ever be elected. It would give us a municipal legislature to whose hands might be safely committed the management and control of the city's affairs and the extensions of municipal functions heretofore mentioned, for the same powers are wisely, honorably and capably exercised by the people's representatives in the cities of Great Britain.

If still further safeguards against a misuse of power were necessary, it might be required that important measures should be submitted to a vote of the people before they become laws; or the plan known as the initiative, or imperative petition, whereby the people summarily and directly take the reins of government into their own hands, might be established. However it is brought about, what our American cities need most for the perfection of their governments is that they shall have a direct and effective control over their representatives, and speedy means of visiting punishment upon the heads of delinquent public officials.

Hitherto, the checks relied upon to prevent municipal misgovernment have been found in State constitutions and State Legislatures, instead of the the public sentiment of the governed community itself. This policy is based on the theory that public sentiment of the rural districts furnishes a safer guarantee of proper administration of municipal affairs. For five years the writer, as a member of the upper house of the New York State Legislature, has had opportunity to study this theory in practical operation, and he has no hesitation in pronouncing it not merely unsound but actually vicious. The checks really needed are constitutional checks upon State Legislatures to prevent them from interfering with the internal local affairs and finances of cities. Municipal home rule in the true sense can never be realized under a mere legislative charter which is subject to repeal and amendment at the whim of each incoming legislature.

The stupidest provision of the New York constitution —and similar provisions are in force in many other States—is that which prohibits the incurring of indebtedness by a city in excess of ten per cent. of the taxable value of its real estate. At present the total bonded debt of the City of New York is something over $250,000,000. The contract for the construction of the underground railway has so nearly exhausted the city's borrowing

capacity that other needed public improvements must be postponed on account of the close proximity of the debt limit. Yet the repayment of the $35,000,000 to be expended in this public work, including interest, is guaranteed to the city by the terms of the contract, secured by sufficient bonds, from the revenues of the road itself; so that there will not be a dollar's burden of it imposed on the taxpayers or other sources of municipal revenue. On the contrary, it will become a safe and paying investment for the city, resulting in the municipality's acquiring complete ownership of the property at the end of a term of years without a penny of cost. So of the portion of the debt contracted for water supply and dock improvements. They are all revenue and wealth-producing investments; yet, under the State Constitution, they reduce the borrowing capacity of the city by their aggregate amount.

The taxable value of real estate within Greater New York will probably average not much above two-thirds of its actual value, so that the constitutional limitation really forbids the city to borrow more than six and two-thirds per cent. of the actual value of its taxable real estate, notwithstanding that the city owns in fee simple real property whose value alone is double the entire amount of its bonded debt. This is not even included in the taxable real estate upon which the limitation of the debt is based, and no account is taken of the fact that a large part of that debt is made up of bonds which represent large revenue-producing investments, nor of the immense amount of personal property owned by residents of the city. How many business houses could exist if their borrowing capacity was limited to so slight a margin of their actual assets? And yet the people of New York City must live on with unrepaired and unsewered streets, without needed school sites, school houses, public buildings, bridges, tunnels, parks, docks and other improvements until public sentiment in rural Schoharie County and bucolic Delaware County says that the constitution may be amended. The city must also submit to the arrogant extortion and despotic sway of its gas, electricity, railroad, telephone and other corporations, until, forsooth, it suits the good pleasure of the rustic statesmen to order otherwise.

Here we come to the real difficulty of the situation. It will be no easy task to shake the grasp of the country districts from the throats of the cities. In the latter are contained the great finan-

cial and commercial interests which constitute the subject matter of most important legislation, and hence the sources of power or illegitimate gain of the country politicians and representatives. Although they may not be susceptible to the direct influence of the lobbyists—and indeed many of them are of such high personal character as to place them above the suspicion of being influenced directly by monetary considerations—yet they none the less yield indirectly to the same influence through their humble obedience to their party machines, which are purchased and owned by the great moneyed corporations, by virtue of lavish contributions to so-called campaign funds. The country members may be depended upon to array themselves solidly against any radical change in constitution or laws which would divest them of their control over city interests. Some will be influenced by fear of the loss of opportunity for pecuniary benefit; others will be whipped into line by the machine leaders, whose power would receive a fatal blow by the loss of large sums paid to them by urban corporations for "protection," as they euphemistically put it.

The country legislators constitute a most effective instrument for the upbuilding and maintaining of the power of these machine "leaders." While a representative of a city constituency will ponder deeply and hesitate long before voting against a bill to reduce the extortionate price of gas, or the excessive charges of telephone companies, fearing as he must the wrath of his outraged constituency, the member from Pumpkinville or Squash Hollow can vote against it with impunity. His constituency is very little concerned with the local conditions of the great cities and will not chastise him, however he votes. To make his calling and re-election sure, he has only to vote consistently to impose as large a part as possible of the burdens of government on the cities, make a show of opposing an increased rate of State taxation, secure the passage of his little culvert, dam, hay, calf and vinegar bills, and see to it that a sufficient number of his constituents are placed on the pay-rolls of the State. If he discharges these duties well and faithfully, he can loot the municipal treasuries of the State, and refuse redress for municipal ills with profit and impunity. By controlling his vote, the machine is in a position to renew its exactions from the corporations, and, having done so, to secure at the next election, by judicious distribution of the funds thus obtained, a new Legislature through which it may again defend

every form of municipal extortion and injustice from successful attack.

The political boss will never willingly consent to the extension of the city's borrowing capacity, nor to the liberalizing of city charters in the ways suggested. That would open the way for municipal ownership of public utilities. His power is founded in large part upon the contributions of their private owners. He, and all the forces hostile to granting to municipalities enlarged privileges of local self-government, can be overcome by an aroused public sentiment alone.

Reforms so far reaching as those which have here been discussed are not to be accomplished in a day, nor without persistent education and agitation. They must be purchased by self-sacrificing devotion and repeated heart-breaking failures. They will be fought to the death by powerful corporations, which now possess the public franchises and other municipal privileges. If need be, millions upon millions will be expended to defeat them; and every public man who dares to stand for them will be marked for slaughter by the political machines. Their inauguration would mean virtually a social and industrial revolution in urban communities. But if the contest is long and bitter, the rewards will be commensurate with the fierceness of the battles fought and the magnitude of the sacrifices made. Victory will bring decreased taxation, cheaper rents and lower cost of living all around. The three-cent car fare will be a reality, and will disperse the congested communities to wholesome suburban districts, and afford them comforts and conveniences now within reach of the rich alone. New and better conditions of life will be introduced, which will make for the improvement and elevation, morally, intellectually and physically, of the coming generations. Then will American cities be beyond the control of the malign influences which now retard their progress; and they will have entered upon the highway that leads directly to the ideal of honest, economical and efficient municipal government.

JOHN FORD.

DINNERS IN BOHEMIA AND ELSEWHERE.

BY JOHN PAUL BOCOCK.

THE Nineteenth Century goes out in a blaze of gastronomic glory. From the ends of the earth dainties are gathered in a net of gold, like Peter's "great sheet, knit at the four corners," and Nabobs "kill and eat." Beasts, birds, fishes and reptiles, in a variety never before known, feed the wealthy of to-day as Lucullus and Apicius never dreamed of being fed. The industrial Crœsus can buy everything but an appetite. But to get into Bohemia, he must not only go hungry; he must be introduced by an habitué whose good standing is proven by absolute indifference to money. Unless, perchance, the millionaire can find a latch-key,—after all, the most delighful means of passing that door, which bears no sign, but opened by some happy accident, gives out upon the air of Philistia careless laughter, thrilling melodies and the scent of devilled sauce.

Yet, money may always be made useful. When a certain poet, in the annals of Bohemia, bought a house, the Congress of Poets decreed that he should sell it and buy wine with the proceeds. When Spenser was starving in the streets of Dublin, Cervantes fasting in Madrid, Butler and Otway dying in debt in a London alehouse, some millionaire might have immortalized himself. Maecenas will live in the reflected glory of Virgil, whom he rescued from sleeping out o' nights, and of Horace, whose gratitude stimulated the lyric muse to her loftiest flights. Of course, it is asking a great deal to ask that a millionaire should go hungry; so he asks a great deal when he seeks admittance into Bohemia. But in no other direction can he hope to escape the deadly monotony of his menu. What matters a new sauce, if the soul share not its delights with the senses!

Where else than in the pages of the poets must one seek the passport to this happy land of the fourth dimension, whose fron-

tier could not be forced by an army with banners? All the way from Homer to Robert Louis Stevenson there are hints by which faith may reconstruct Bohemian feasts. Horace, Omar, Villon, Dumas, Thackeray and Du Maurier are the annalists; the children of beauty and genius take their places once more at the board and dash off epigrams and lyrics which would make somebody's fortune, could they be recorded "under the rose."

To such a scene who would not gladly turn from the conventional dinner of to-day, which is the same from San Francisco to St. Petersburg? French *chefs* have set a standard for the polite world, which already sickens of their sauces and fishes, meats and poultry, salads and game; always excepting the delicious American terrapin, whose extinction is now threatened as a calamity which wealth cannot avert—wealth, which procures singers and dancers for the diversion of the diners; which is lavished on souvenirs of silver and gold, on hand-painted menu cards and priceless orchids, on roses, such as Omar Khayyam prized above a Satrapy, on trailing wreaths which Horace disdained as "Persian pomp," but which can scarcely buy a new dish—much less a poet!

No wonder the gourmet craves a seat at the table of the poets, described by Horace in his best Latin, done by Thackeray into his best English:

"Dear Lucy, you know what my wish is,
I hate all your Frenchified fuss;
Your silly entrées and made dishes
Were never intended for us.
No footman in lace and in ruffles
Need dangle behind my arm-chair,
And never mind seeking for truffles
Although they be ever so rare.

"But a plain leg of mutton, my Lucy,
I prythee get ready at three,
Have it smoking and tender and juicy
And what better meat can there be?
And when it has feasted the master,
'Twill amply suffice for the maid;
Meanwhile I will smoke my Canaster
And tipple my ale in the shade."

It must be conceded that hot roast mutton savors too much of John Bull and his Isle to be a typical Bohemian plate. But cold roast mutton, on a silver dish, with red wine in a golden

flagon, made up that extraordinarily impromptu and, therefore, exquisitely Bohemian supper which Master François Villon ate at midnight in Paris, in the mansion of the Seigneur de Brisetout.

Yet it is Thackeray who must be allowed *carte blanche* in the selection of the food of genius. He is far and away the most brilliant Bohemian of modern times; he almost succeeded, in Paris, in making a Bohemian of Charles Dickens himself. And if a week of Dickens at Knebworth led to no initiation of Bulwer-Lytton, the aristocratic mystic, it was no discredit to Thackeray's pupil to have failed in such an enterprise.

The author of the immortal "Ballad of Bouillabaisse" remembered that, in his "own small way," he had counted twenty-nine dishes of which he "partook at a single dinner at Brussels," and had often and often, in his airy flights to the good times of antiquity, "cut off great collops of the smoking beeves under Achilles' tent, and sat down to a jovial, scrambling dinner along with Penelope's suitors at Ithaca." That was going as far back in the lore of gormandizing as was possible for even such an expert as Thackeray. Beef, mutton, bread, salt and wine were, perhaps, as well prepared and as aptly served in Penelope's well ordered household as they were, two thousand years later, by the varlets of William the Conqueror. From Homer to Spenser, the art of dining stood still—except in Greece and Rome, in the age which Horace illuminated and Lucullus disgraced. The barbarian conquerors of the Imperial City soon turned the hands of the dinner clock back to the time of the Trojan war. Here is Pope's description of a typical feast in the tent of Achilles:

"Patroclus o'er the blazing fire
Heaps in a brazen vase three chines entire;
The brazen vase Automedon sustains
Which flesh of porker, sheep and goat contains.
* * * *
"Meanwhile, Patroclus sweats the fire to raise,
The tent is brightened with the rising blaze;
Then, when the languid flames at length subside,
He strows a bed of glowing embers wide;
Above the coals the smoking fragments turns
And sprinkles sacred salt from lifted urns;
With bread the glittering canisters they load.
* * * *
"The first fat offerings, to the immortals due,
Amidst the greedy flames Patroclus threw,
Then each indulging in the social feast
His thirst and hunger soberly represt."

From which it appears that there was, first, braiséd meat, and then grilled bones, over which the salt was sprinkled, just as they were snatched, with the fingers, from the glowing coals. The wine of Samnium was served in embossed silver loving-cups; there was no drinking to speak of until the eating was done. Yet, those must have been great appetites which were not offended by such dinner accompaniments as this:

> "Now from the well-fed swine black smokes aspire,
> The bristly victims hissing o'er the fire!"

That was the first barbecue. But, doubtless, never in all antiquity was any dish so savory served as the burgoo, which divides with the barbecue the allegiance of every true Kentuckian. The secret of burgoo sauce is handed down in Kentucky with the family feud and the family pistols.

Horace, the greatest name in the annals of ancient Bohemia, takes up the art of dining where "the blind, old bard of Scio's rocky isle" left it. None better than this wonderful Roman, whose light-hearted lyrics defy the ages, "knew and studied the cheap philosophy of life." He was as gay, as eloquent, as witty in the palace of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill as in his own villa on the Sabine Farm. His genius won him the friendship of the Emperor, and his songs of love and battle, of the fountain of Bandusia and the death of Cleopatra come home to the heart, even after twenty centuries.

Turned loose in the streets of Rome, after the battle of Philippi, without money, his patrimony and his political influence lost in the downfall of his patron Brutus; unknown, save as the son of a freedman; Horace might readily have fallen to the dissolute level of his immortal brother and successor, Villon. He showed himself the greatest of all Bohemians, scorning a dishonorable action, relying on his own resources, seeking the favor of those who could help him, not by pitiful whining, but in such manly fashion that the choice spirits of the famous Augustan era speedily welcomed him to the brotherhood. Virgil, Pollio, Plotius, Varius and Maecenas became his friends.

Some years later, they accompanied him on that most famous of historical revels, the journey to Brundusium. "While in my senses," he declared, when he met them at Sinuessa, "nothing can I prefer to a pleasant friend." Thereupon, the glorious Romans set out to make a night of it; not one night, but fifteen nights

and days, they turned into a frolic, as they staged it along the Appian Way for three hundred and twelve miles.

"Dinner is the meal of the body, supper the repast of the intellect," some modern Horatian has said. That was a notable supper, at the villa of Cocceius, seven days out from Rome; the rival clowns entertaining the company with their quips, as the authors of the Odes and the Eclogues clinked goblets over the table, and laughed the hours away. Horace says:

"Jucunde coenam produximus."

Yet it was not for over-indulgence that they prolonged the pleasures of the table. At the Sabine Farm, to which Horace did not hesitate to invite such a fashionable beauty as Tyndaris, his own favorite *prandium*, or mid-day meal, consisted of "onions, pulse and pancakes," his *coena*, or dinner, when he was alone, of "pot herbs and a hock of smoke-dried bacon." But, when a friend came, "or a neighbor, or an acceptable guest," the genius of Bohemia flashed from the Bandusian fountain. "We lived well," says the poet, "not on fishes fetched from the city, but on a pullet, and a kid, then some dried grapes and nuts, with a large fig." That was the first course dinner on record, a well chosen repast. Then Ceres smoothed with wine the melancholy of the contracted brow—

"Explicuit vino contractae seria frontis"—

the right function of the juice of the grape; after which, the poet continues, "it was our diversion to have no other regulation in our cups, save that against drinking to excess." No wonder Dean Milman depicts Horace as "the most sensible and delightful person to be encountered in Roman society."

The *coena*, or dinner, as generally served in the houses of wealthy Romans, consisted of a great number of courses, sometimes beginning with oysters, as do the conventional dinners of to-day. Then came one course of fish after another, one dish of birds or game, in great silver forms, or salvers, following another, but slightly different—a profusion which must excite in a refined mind, in our time at least, a sensation of disgust.

"Neither oysters, nor scar, nor the far-fetched lagois," a rare species of grouse that tasted like a hare, says Horace, "can give any pleasure to one bloated or pale through intemperance. Nevertheless, if a peacock were served up, I should hardly prevent

your being able to gratify the palate with that rather than a pullet." We do not eat pea-fowls and kids, but the Roman esteemed the pea-fowl as highly as we of to-day do the capon or turkey.

The turkey was unknown, as was the terrapin. There were ducks, perhaps as good as the canvas-back; and such a water-fowl, stuffed with a partridge, in which was a lark, stuffed in turn with a fig-pecker, constituted a not unusual game course. Two thousand song birds were served in one dish to Apicius, and one can imagine how easily he spent a fortune of nearly five million dollars on his cuisine. Sow-paps, the liver of scar-fish, and the *tripotanum,* or medley of the three rare fishes, the *lupus,* the *mixo* and the *muraenus* were some others of his favorite dishes. When *lupus* and scar were no longer to be had, except for a fortune, and his treasure chest began to give out a hollow sound, Apicius, who had caused the slaughter of so many helpless creatures, took his own life.

In that time of wanton luxury, which some moderns are said to emulate, soup was unknown. Ice had no place in the household except to cool wine, to which it was applied with great ingenuity, a lump of ice being actually frozen in a glass jar about which the Falernian wine was poured in a larger vase. The linen and silver and gold plate were magnificent.

Yet, except when invited to the Sabine Farm, or entertained by Horace in the palace of Maecenas in Rome, where the poet spent so much of his winters, the noblest Romans died in ignorance of the art of living well.

Down the succeeding ages of darkness comes no ray of the true light until we reach the Tentmaker of Nishapur, Omar Khayyam. That gifted Persian was studying under the Imam Mowaffak when William of Normandy was winning the battle of Hastings. Learning the Koran, by his side, sat Hasan, the future Old Man of the Mountains, whom the first Crusaders learned to fear. "A book of verses"—which may have been the *Carmina* of Horace, for all we know, "a jug of wine, a loaf of bread," and the particular Persian maid whom he addressed as "Thou," were Omar's inspiration. William conquered England; Omar went on drinking wine. Hasan and his schoolmates rose to public power and fortune; Omar went on writing verses. The roses withered in his garden; Omar tarried beneath the vine and looked forward

to the spring. His quatrains will not be forgotten, *pace* Andrew Lang:

"While the rose blows along the river brink."

From Rome to Persia, from Persia to France flits the genius of Bohemia, to whom time and space are as nothing, and, one morning in the year 1431, breathes upon the new-born François Villon, the "sad, bad, mad, glad brother" of all the poets. The man and his times have been admirably reconstructed by Stevenson, who if he had had health would have been a prince in Bohemia, in "A Lodging for the Night" and in "François Villon, Student, Poet and Housebreaker." Mürger's Bohemians, a disreputable crew, took Villon for their model, even in his disgraces. For his were the love of beauty and of wine, a healthy and continuing appetite, and no money to speak of. What he won at dice or received from the fence for his booty, went for his immediate needs. Above all, he had the rare gift of feasting himself and his boon companions without the expenditure of a sou, as is related in the "*Repues Franches.*" Not since the beginning has any of his peers in poesy condescended to his methods of extorting from the world the living he believed it owed him. Few of them have surpassed the art of those ballades in which he spread the glamour of genius over the infamies, privations, pathos of his career.

A Villon Dinner, in Bohemia, A. D. 1450: the snow flying over the housetops of Paris; the piercing wind howling down the bleak alleys; the wolves prowling in the suburban forests, threatening new incursions into the very streets themselves, scantily lighted by the wine-shop windows; homeless women freezing to death in the church doors; the Poet and his companions shivering in a garret, starved since yesterday, waiting to rob a rectory, until honest folk have gone to bed; Villon scratching away at a Ballade of Roast Fish, which has occupied his muse for days.

Regnier de Montigny whispers in Villon's ear, slips downstairs and returns in a few minutes with a bag of charcoal lifted bodily from the shop around the corner. As he and Villon pile the brazier high, and start the flames to playing and the coals to glowing, Colin de Cayeux proposes that they all three go foraging. In less than an hour, they are back home with a wealth of booty:

Du Poisson: A hamper full, sent by the fishmonger, as he supposed, to the Seigneur de Brisetout, whose menial Villon represents himself. Villon, accompanying the fishmonger's boy, meets, on the way to the Maison de Brisetout, a Friar, in whose ear he whispers:

"This, my poor brother, is a lunatic: he raves always of money; can you not confess and comfort him?" The Friar agrees. Villon goes to the boy, takes the hamper, and whispers: "There is the Seigneur's treasurer, go to him and he will pay you." Villon and the fish have disappeared, while the Friar is trying to quiet the "lunatic" who persists in demanding his money.

Des Trippes; festoons of it, seized in the confusion caused by Colin de Cayeux's kicking a stray dog under the tripe-stand, and so exciting the market woman's angry passions that she neglects everything else to belabor the unfortunate cur; while Colin and the tripe vanish.

Du Roti: Regnier de Montigny has been pricing meat, when Villon saunters loftily into the butcher's shop, and affects to take offense at the airs of Regnier, who is monopolizing the butcher's attention, forsooth. They quarrel; fall to blows; the butcher runs out to look for the watch, and Colin steals off with a roast, while Villon and Regnier pursue the game of fisticuffs until safely around the corner; then they follow Colin to the garret.

Du Vin; a great jug of white wine de Baigneux, one of two facsimile jugs owned by the Villon menage. One of these is filled with water; the other has been sent to the Pomme du Pin for wine, to be paid for on approval. Villon tastes the wine, says it is not what he ordered, and indignantly orders it back to the Pineapple Inn; the jug of water having been deftly substituted for the jug of wine while he and the garçon are wrangling.

Du Pain tendre; fresh bread, delivered to Villon, around the corner (they never receive goods in their own garret), by the baker's boy, who is bid to hurry back and get "another panier full" and collect for them both on his return.

Two hundred years later, the Three Musketeers of Dumas, eating much the same food as Villon, drinking no less wine, entered the Kingdom of Bohemia and possessed it. The wines of France were already famous; the cooking and service, which speedily became the universal standard, were then growing in delicacy and precision. Yet, when D'Artagnan dines with Aramis, on the eve of the re-establishment of their famous brotherhood in arms, he cuts up fowls, partridges and hams with small regard for precedence or garnishment, and quaffs the white wine of Anjou and the red wine of Beaune with equal zest. There was no suggestion of white wine with white meats and red wine with dark; nor was the chicken served with artichokes or potatoes, the game next with cauliflower, and the ham last, with the salad, as a French *chef* would probably advise, and perhaps insist upon, in our time. Yet the dinner was in the home of Aramis, who was familiar with all the refinements of the Courts of Louis XV. and of the two great Cardinals. And there were no two men of subtler spirit, with souls more quickly set to music by the song of the sword or the swish of a petticoat.

The French *chef* had been developed by the aid of olive oil, truffles and mushrooms, with a spray of garlic, when Napoleon came on the scene, a hundred and fifty years after the times of Athos and Porthos, D'Artagnan and Aramis. The product as well as the creator of the art of dining, this *chef* gave to his creations the names of famous victories, eminent artists and composers of music. We know that Napoleon ate chicken *à la Marengo* the night after that bloody battle; what the *chef* served to him the night before Austerlitz we do not know, except that it disagreed with him. Art is yet to set its seal of approval on a dish which will beget great thoughts, a sauce full of masterful purposes, a wine effervescent with lofty inspirations. One man drinks champagne and beats his wife; another under its promptings will write poems, like Schiller. Dryden did not reveal, if he knew, what food and wine were served at Alexander's Feast. History declares Alexander the Great carried the Iliad about with him in a golden box, and was "fond of eating and drinking"—what? Tennyson ate boiled beef while he wrote the "Idylls of the King." The relation of brawn to brain has not been determined.

"Every man of capacity," said Lord Shaftesbury, "holds within himself two men, the wise and the foolish; each of them ought freely to be allowed his turn." Having vainly offered his services to Dickens as an illustrator of the "Pickwick Papers," in 1837, Thackeray decided to take a turn in the Capital on the Seine, and see if he could prosper better by his pen than by his pencil. The world knows him, now that he has been dead thirty-eight years, as a spectacled lecturer, a sedate English gentleman, the brilliant author of "Vanity Fair," and "Henry Esmond," "Pendennis" and "The Virginians," one of the fathers of Victorian fiction. But Paris knew him as the wisest of *gourmets,* the most artistic of *bons vivants,* the most critical of connoisseurs of the *cuisine,* the rollicking genius at whose knock Parisian Bohemia opened its doors and owned its master, from the Boulevard to the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs.

Could Horace, or Villon, have excelled this:

> "This Bouillabaisse a noble dish is—
> A sort of soup or broth, or brew,
> Or hotchpotch of all sorts of fishes
> That Greenwich never could outdo;
> Green herbs, red peppers, mussels, saffern,
> Soles, onions, garlic, roach and dace,

All these you eat at Terré's tavern
In that one dish of Bouillabaisse.

* * * * *

"Where are ye, old companions trusty,
Of early days, here met to dine?
Come, waiter, quick, a flagon crusty—
I'll pledge them in the good old wine;
The kind old voices and old faces
My memory can quick retrace;
Around the board they take their places
And share the wine and Bouillabaisse.

* * * * *

"Ah me, how quick the days are flitting!
I mind me of a time that's gone,
When here I'd sit, as now I'm sitting,
In this same place—but not alone.
A fair young form was nestled near me,
A dear, dear face looked fondly up
And sweetly spoke and smiled to cheer me
—There's no one now to share my cup.

"I drink it as the fates ordain it,
Come, fill it, and have done with rhymes;
Fill up the lonely glass and drain it
In memory of dear old times.
Welcome the wine, whate'er the seal is,
And sit you down and say your grace
With thankful heart, whate'er the meal is,
—Here comes the smoking Bouillabaisse!"

Terrapin and canvasback duck may some day have their poets, if they do not become extinct too soon—game and poets, both. But there will never be anything better in its way than the Ballad of Bouillabaisse, joint product of genius and *gourmandise*.

"Shakespeare or Raphael," wrote Thackeray, "never invented anything that, on a hot day, at half past five, is equal to 'Ay and oysters.'" Who shall dare to find anything vulgar in champagne and oysters after that? Those, of course, being the small oysters of Ostend, not the great oysters of which some Americans are fond as an appetizer, one of which made Thackeray, when he came here to lecture, feel as if he had "swallowed a baby."

"Sir," says the author of "Vanity Fair," the poet whose lyric "At the Church Gate" is unsurpassed in the English language, "Sir, respect your dinner, idolize it; enjoy it properly; you will be by many hours in the week, many weeks in the year, and many years in your life, the happier if you do." And what a shining example this wonderful man set at that ideal Dinner in Bohemia

which he shared with an old friend, suddenly encountered on a little street, on a gray afternoon, near the Câfé Foy:

"We had half a dozen sardines while the dinner was getting ready, eating them with delicious bread and butter for which this place is famous. * * * After the soup we had what I do not hesitate to call the very best beefsteak I ever ate in my life. By the shade of Heliogabalus! As I write about it now, a week after I have eaten it, the old, rich, sweet, piquant, juicy taste comes smacking on my lips again, and I feel something of that exquisite sensation I then had. I am ashamed of the delight which the eating of that piece of meat caused me. G—— and I had quarreled about the soup; but when we began on the steak, we looked at each other and loved each other. We did not speak—our hearts were too full for that; but we took a bit, and laid down our forks and looked at one another and understood each other.

"Every now and then we had a glass of honest, firm, generous Burgundy, that nobly supported the meat. As you may fancy, we did not leave a single morsel of the steak; but when it was done we put bits of bread into the silver dish and wistfully sopped up the gravy. I suppose I shall never in this world taste anything so good again. But what then? What if I did like it excessively? Was my liking unjust or unmanly? Is my regret now puling or unworthy? No. *Laudo manentem.* * * Any dispute about the relative excellence of the beefsteak cut from the filet, as is usual in France, and of the entrecôte, must henceforth be idle and absurd. * * Always drink red wine with beefsteaks; port, if possible, if not, a Burgundy, of not too high a flavor—a good Beaune say. This fact, which is very likely not known to many persons, who, forsooth, are too magnificent to care about their meat and drink—this simple fact I take to be worth the whole price I shall get for this article. * *

"But to return to dinner. We were left I think sopping up the gravy with bits of bread, and declaring that no power on earth could induce us to eat a morsel more that day. At one time we thought of countermanding the *perdreaux aux truffes.* Poor blind mortals that we were! We were kept waiting between the steak and the partridge some ten minutes or so. Then we began to fiddle with a dish of toothpicks; then we looked out of the window; then G—— got in a rage, rang the bell violently and asked: "*Pourquoi diable nous fait-on attendre si longtemps?*" * * Auguste grinned and disappeared. Presently, we were aware of an odor gradually coming toward us, something musky, fiery, savory, mysterious—the truffes were coming! Yonder they lie, caverned under the full bosom of the red-legged bird. My hand trembled as after a little pause I cut the animal in two. G—— said I did not give him his share of the truffles; I don't believe I did. * * What wine shall we have? I should like some champagne. It's bad here. Have some Sauterne? Very well, (Auguste, opening the Sauterne) cloo-oo-oop! The cork is out; he pours it into the glass; glock, glock, glock! Nothing else took place in the way of talk. The poor little partridge was soon a heap of bones."

Where in literature is there anything else like that?

Dickens, Wilkie Collins and Leech were in Bologne with

Thackeray for some weeks in the summer of '54. The next year, when Dickens resided in Paris, Thackeray introduced him to the little inns of Bohemia, not to the ladies of that lively land.

But Dickens did not have the making of a Bohemian in him; or else it had been crushed out by the hardships of his youth, when a plate of beef *à la mode* was the height of his gastronomic aspirations. Lord Rosebery and many prominent men attended the public dinner to him in Edinburgh in 1841, but Dickens did not know what he was eating and drinking; nor did he at the dinner in his honor in Boston, nor in New York, the one at which Washington Irving presided, and broke down in his speech of welcome. Thackeray would have analyzed and criticised every dish and wine. Dickens was not favorably impressed with American dinners. His description of the boarding-house in "Martin Chuzzlewit" shows that. He complained of the absurd length and profusion of the hotel menus, just as Max O'Rell complains to-day. He had spent one Bohemian night, at least, in the United States, with Irving, their last together.

"Some unknown admirer," writes Dickens, "of his books and wine (in Baltimore), sent to the hotel a most enormous mint-julep wreathed with flowers." Over this great bowl he and Irving sat *vis à vis,* that March evening in 1842, "far into the night. My memory never saw him afterwards other than as bending over it, with his straw, with an attempted air of gravity, * * * and then, as his eye caught mine, melting into that captivating laugh of his."

But who, gentle reader, of the mighty prophets and priests of literature wrote this description of a Bohemian dinner in Paris, at which Emile de Girard was host:

"On the table are ground glass jugs of peculiar construction, laden with the finest growth of Champagne and the coolest ice. With the third course is issued Port wine (previously unheard of in a good state on this continent), which would fetch two guineas a bottle at any sale. The dinner done (not a word, mind you, about the dishes!), Oriental flowers in vases of golden cobweb are placed on the board. With the ice is issued Brandy, buried for a hundred years. To that succeeds Coffee, brought by the brother of one of the *convives* from the remotest East, in exchange for an equal quantity of California gold-dust. The company being returned to the drawing-room, tables roll in, by unseen

agency, laden with cigarettes from the Harem of the Sultan; and with cool drinks, in which the flavor of the lemon, arrived yesterday from Algiers, struggles voluptuously with the delicate Orange, arrived this morning from Lisbon. And even now I have forgotten to set down half of it—in particular, the item of a far larger plum-pudding than ever was seen in England at Christmas time, served with a celestial sauce in color like the orange blossom and in substance like the blossom powdered and bathed in dew, and called, in the carte (carte in a gold frame, like a little fish-slice, to be handed about) *Hommage a l'illustre écrivain d'Angleterre!* That illustrious man staggered out at the last drawing-room door, speechless with wonder, finally; and even at that moment his host, holding to his lips a chalice set with precious stones and containing nectar distilled from the air that blew over the fields of beans in bloom for fifteen summers, remarked: *Le dîner que nous avons eu, mon cher, n'est rien—il ne compte pas—il a été tout à fait en famille. Il faut dîner, en vérité dîner, bientôt.*"

That was all Dickens's own; would it be recognized as his? On this visit to Paris, in the winter of '46-7, he dined with Théophile Gautier and Eugene Sue, and supped with Dumas and Alphonse Karr. But he was never acclimated. Thackeray, well along in years, and Du Maurier, only a youth, were in Paris at the same time—and in the thick of Bohemia.

Bulwer, the great contemporary of Dickens and Thackeray, loved to wander about the country in disguise; to learn thieves' patter in the East End boozing kens and to reproduce the dashing lives of the knights of the road; but his was not the temperament, any more than Macaulay's, to seize upon the delights of the Land of the Impromptu. When he was 22 (1825) he spent some months in Paris, wearing fantastic costumes, like Disraeli, and "beautiful curls," but extending his rambles no farther than the hospitals, schools and libraries he loved to visit. Dickens, who spent a week at Knebworth, in the summer of '61, found Bulwer "brilliantly talkative, anecdotical and droll," but "a little weird, occasionally, regarding magic and spirits." They both looked at life seriously; their pens painted no pictures of Bohemia. But Bulwer has left one most amusing description of what might in other hands have developed into a rollicking dinner episode:

"On the road to Boulogne, stopping to dine at a little inn,

* * * the landlady asked me, with a smirk, if I would not like a *dîner a l'anglaise*. Of course I said yes. And I was served with * * * soup and potatoes; dry mutton chops and potatoes; juiceless chicken and potatoes; and last scene of all * * * in, after these, came, by way of the most delicate dish of the dessert, centrally situated in the midst of cheese, apples and walnuts—potatoes again! yea, verily, potatoes!"

Macaulay had a magnificent opportunity when in "Athenian Revels" he described Alcibiades' farewell supper, in Athens, before setting out on the ill-fated Sicilian Expedition. One gathers meagerly from his classic pages that the gilded youth of the most famous city in the world "swallowed thrushes and hares" and played the cottabus "with Chian wine." The most delightful of essayists was gifted with *savoir vivre,* but not the *savoir dîner* of the *Punch* dinner table, for instance, at which Du Maurier became a regular guest some twenty years ago, with all his delightful French fashions and phrases and his whole-souled Anglo-Saxon sincerity. Burnand, Sir John Tenniel, Harry Furniss and the rest of them gathered "Around the Mahogany Tree" in the right spirit. There was nothing about Bohemia worth knowing which Du Maurier hadn't learned in Paris and Antwerp in the years from '56 to '60. He was Taffy, Little Billee and the Laird all in one. "As for Du Maurier," says Henry W. Lucy, "once he had got his coat off, with two chairs to loll upon, a box of cigarettes at hand, and a bottle of claret on the table, he did not want to go home at all!" This fascinating Anglo-Frenchman, indeed, seemed to carry the atmosphere of Bohemia about with him; and it grieved him sorely to be subjected to the tedious formality of a conventional dinner.

"When I go out to an ordinary dinner party," he would say, according to Mr. Lucy, "I often feel that I might as well be dining at a *table d'hôte*. I have a neighbor on my right and another on my left, to whom I talk in turn. For all practical purposes I am dining with these two, whom possibly I never met before, may never see again. * * * Ten to one, they are duffers."

And what can a duffer do in Bohemia!

JOHN PAUL BOCOCK.

JEWS AND JUDAISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. M. GASLER, PH.D., CHIEF RABBI OF THE SEPHARDI COMMUNITIES OF ENGLAND.

If I should attempt to sum up in a short sentence the whole history of Jewish life in this century, I would say that it has been the awakening and strengthening of self-consciousness and the desire of securing absolute equality with non-Jews. This tendency has asserted itself in all the walks of life, in politics as well as in science and religion. In their eagerness the Jews may have sometimes overshot the mark and produced the semblance of aggressiveness. The Jews have practically rediscovered themselves, their past and their position among the nations of the earth. They have come out of the artificial seclusion in which they had been kept for the last three or four centuries, and they at once acted upon the motto: *"Nihil humanum a me alienum puto."* This participation in the general movement was only gradual and did not occur in all the countries where the Jews lived at the same time and to the same extent. It followed in the wake of the political emancipation of the nations themselves, and of the new tendencies that each nation evolved.

Movement, agitation, must not be taken, however, as indicating always a development making only for progress; it is as often retrograde as progressive, it sometimes leads from one extreme to another. Thus it happens with the development of Judaism in the last century. In order to delineate the general drift of this movement I will treat it from the point of view of political disabilities, scientific revival, religious changes, and, lastly, national tendencies. These are neither all synchronous, nor simultaneous. The progress in one direction often means retrogression in the other; without being mutually exclusive, they are not all on the same plane, but relieve one another in turns.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Jews enjoyed the full protection of the law only in France and in Turkey. In fact, they have never suffered any persecution in the latter country. In France, the change in the political position of the Jews was a corollary to the principles of equality and fraternity proclaimed by the great Revolution. It was not an act of cool calculation and firm determination to wipe out the injustice committed against the Jews for so long a period; but the rush of enthusiasm evoked by the grand oratory of Mirabeau and seconded by the Abbé Grégoire carried the Assembly by storm, and the French nation then granted the Jews the first gift of freedom. It was the dawn of the new light that was to shine upon the whole of Europe. This emancipation has thus the character of a gift, made in consequence of abstract theories. It is not a concession wrung from a reluctant foe by the superior force of conviction. But, whatever its origin may have been, the Jews were no less grateful for the first definite break with a terrible past. The number of French Jews at the time of the Revolution was not very great. Most of them lived in Alsace, and in only a few of the larger towns of France were they at all numerous. The fickle character of this new abolition of disabilities was shown by the vicissitudes it had to go through, the animosities which it raised when the Republic became a monarchy under Napoleon, and the attempts which were made to wreck the whole work of liberation or at least to jeopardize its fair working. Thereupon, Napoleon called together the first public Jewish Assembly, known as the Sanhedrin, to which some of the objections and accusations which had been raised were submitted for examination and reply. I mention only one of these objections, as it reappears in our days, viz.: the question as to how the Jews could reconcile their patriotism with the desire of returning to Palestine. The answers these notables were able to give satisfied Napoleon, though none of their direct recommendations was carried out.

The importance of this new departure lay in the fact that it threw open to the Jews for the first time the gates which had been closed to them all over Europe. They were introduced to the new parliamentary forms of modern life, to the open discussion and ventilation of their grievances and of vital questions concerning them. In these deliberations of political assemblies

they had a voice, and had no longer to wait and hear the result of the discussions of others regarding their affairs.

At the beginning of the century, the position of the Jews in all other countries of Europe, always excepting Turkey, was full of degrading anomalies. The Ghetto, originally an Italian invention, had been naturalized in the German-speaking countries. The German nation itself was cooped up in air-tight and, if I may coin the word, light-tight compartments. Split up into thirty or forty small governments, with laws and regulations differing from one another, these German "states" devoted their pettifogging and pedantic ingenuity to inventing new regulations and prohibitions against the Jews, who were living in still smaller Ghettoes than the rest of the inhabitants of these principalities. It would be absurd to attempt the enumeration of these regulations. Suffice it to say that even marriage was not allowed, only a certain number were permitted to live in each small community. They had mostly to live in a circumscribed area, to earn their livelihood by certain fixed means, to follow a certain limited number of trades and vocations. There was no freedom to travel from one place to another or to reside outside the radius, the "pale," prescribed by the authorities. Fines and taxes were imposed with a lavish hand. The censor kept watch over all literary attempts. Every feeling of common interest with the Gentile world outside was crushed out, and it would have been a wild dream, indeed, for some of the dwellers in those German Ghettoes to believe in a change so sudden and so radical as was about to happen.

The triumphal march of Napoleon's victorious armies swept away all these artificial barriers, and let fresh air and light in where only the ghosts of mediæval times used to stalk about freely. The dawn of a new era broke upon the Jews, as well as upon all other nations. The call to arms for freedom from oppression, for liberation from feudal and secular thraldom, was heard by all the nations of Europe, and most of them responded to that call. New ideas were propagated, such as the fraternisation of mankind, equality before the law, liberty of thought and action, words and ideas up to then living in the domain of philosophic dreamers. Unhampered by any traditional prejudices or vested interests, it is no wonder that the Jews eagerly seized this opportunity and would no longer allow the awakened self-con-

sciousness to go to sleep again. The rest of the time was devoted mostly to strengthen this feeling. A continual war had been waged against it from the moment that Napoleon was defeated. The crudest reaction set in. All the old boundaries were re-erected, the old disabilities reimposed upon the Jews. They saw the walls of the Ghetto being rebuilt, after having tasted the sweets of free life and intercourse with their fellow-citizens of another faith. The nations were also again split up into small states and all the privileges granted under stress of war were being revoked. Neither did the new democracy tamely submit, nor did the Jews view with equanimity the loss of their recently acquired freedom. This explains the part they thenceforth took in the struggle of the democracy and their adherence to liberalism, from which alone they could expect the redress of the grievances, which they now felt more keenly than at any previous time. It also explains the sympathy felt by prominent thinkers among the Jews with the claims of labor, and their intuitive foresight in the treatment of the economical questions which are now dominating the civilized world.

The horizon had been greatly enlarged during the first years of the century, and with that mental agility which is the outcome of the intellectual training pursued by the Jews for centuries, they at once applied themselves to master the new fields of science opened to them. Questions which had previously not crossed the threshold of the Ghetto were now brought home to the Jews. An agitation was kept up to strengthen the position once won. Need there was for such an agitation, for at a given time there were in Germany alone no less than thirty-six separate legislations dealing with the position of the Jews. Bit by bit they had to be demolished again, and only as late as 1870 the last trace of the legal disabilities of the Jews disappeared in Prussia, also to be repealed soon afterward, at least officially, in the other smaller German states. In France alone, though at times limited and threatened, the liberties once acquired were retained by the Jews. There, also, reaction tried to raise its head with the restoration of the monarchy; but the traditions of the Revolution were too strong, and the Jews had already occupied so strong a position that it was no easy matter to oust them from it. France has remained, up to a very short time ago, the ideal country of freedom and liberty for the Jews all

over the Continent. There the Jews also first identified themselves entirely with the highest aspirations of the French nation; and were rewarded by an unstinted recognition of civil and political equality. All posts were open to them, all careers were now the legitimate aim of the younger generation, and they availed themselves fully of these rights.

In England all those hopes and aspirations of European democracy, freedom from mediæval trammels, equality before the law, and, above all, the sense of true justice which pervaded all classes of society, had been for centuries, I might say, the common property of the nation. An ingrained feeling of justice and a respect and veneration for the Sacred Scriptures unequalled in any other country of the world, contributed to win in time for the Jews the full protection of these admirable laws. Incidentally, I may remark that England, knowing then as little as it does now the true state of the nations on the Continent, true to her principles, fought, as she imagined, the battle of liberty, and lent her hand to crush Napoleon under the impression that she was crushing tyranny. In fact, she assisted in rehabilitating the worst form of political reaction. I am not referring here to those wars against Napoleon waged in self-defense and proclaimed as such. I am, rather, alluding to the general opinion, to the repetition of the assurance, that in fighting Napoleon tyranny was crushed. The Jews knew better, and the subsequent upheavals in every part of Europe showed that the masses of the downtrodden people knew better. The disabilities of the Jews in England disappeared also after a long struggle. Success was achieved by enlightening public opinion and by getting the sympathies of the masses, which have never since been estranged.

Whilst this evolution was taking place at the centres of civilization, the position of the Jews in less favored countries was on the whole better, in so far as they were deluded by no mirage. The nations in whose midst they lived neither knew nor as yet appreciated the sweets of freedom. In Russia, especially, serfdom had not yet disappeared and in comparison to the "Souls" of Gogol's powerful novel, the bodies of the Jews were in a better position. Nicolas I. attempted some reforms, but he carried them out in a drastic manner; he forced the Jews into the ranks of the army, and at a given moment, finding them reluctant to become life-long soldiers, ordered a number of young children to

be forcibly taken from their parents, and be brought up with peasants in distant parts of the country, to be drafted afterwards into the army. I mention this fact, not merely to show that the Jews in Russia were then as now at the absolute mercy of the autocratic government, but also to point to the first cause of the modern Jewish emigration from the East of Europe to the West and to America. The *"Drang nach dem Westen,"* so conspicuous at the end of ancient history, preceding the mediæval period, was repeated now on a smaller scale by the migration which set in, which has been going on uninterruptedly and is assuming immense proportions.

The Jewries of the West became thus enlarged by the newcomers, and also modified to a certain extent. The number and importance of Jewish Communities increased everywhere through this influx of new blood. There is no greater mistake than to imagine that this new element was merely the receiving one; they were to a great extent also givers. The share which they have taken in the spiritual development of the Jews in the nineteenth century is by no means inconsiderable, as will become evident later on when I deal with this aspect of our problem. Characteristic of this first period is the enormous spreading out of the Jews all over Europe on a much larger scale than even at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Then and at the time of the Cossack persecutions in the seventeenth century, the Jews were fleeing for their lives. The alternative was either death or conversion to Christianity. In the past century, it was migration; for, if they remained in their old homes, the alternative was persecution and the life of a helot, or spiritual destitution and the death of the soul, though not immediately that of the body. They chose the life of freedom, of hard work and brighter prospects. An alluring picture drew them by thousands from the Ghettoes of the East to the free countries of the West. The air was filled with poetry, one heard of the teaching of "human brotherhood," of 'equality between man and man," of cosmopolitan tendencies. The glamor of poetical romanticism was shed round the past. The principles of altruism, Comte's Positivism, the strains of new life were all so different from the dirges and wails of tortured souls, from the echoes that resounded in other parts of the world. Equality, liberty, cosmopolitan levellings, were so much unlike the "divine rights" claimed by

a few chosen individuals, the aristocratic and feudal privileges from which the rest of the people were rigidly excluded, which, for instance, ruined Poland and divided Central Europe into numberless petty states. All those grand ideas, nurtured in the hearts of the Jews under the designation of "Messianic hopes," were now apparently realized. No wonder, therefore, that the Jews should feel attracted, and should change their wretched birthplaces for better countries. Out of the political gloom and the night of persecution into the light of freedom and hope!

The improvement in the situation of the Jews in the West of Europe went on up to about 1875. The German Empire had scarcely been established when the old war between Kaiser and Pope broke out anew. Under the name of *"Kulturkampf,"* Bismarck and his Minister Falke inaugurated an era of persecution of the German Catholics. I cannot enter here upon the merits of that struggle. But the fight against one religious denomination, though carried on for political purposes, was dexterously shifted from the Catholics and by the Catholics on to the German Jews. Some of the latter, such as Lasker, in their quality as deputies, supported Bismarck in the Reichsrath; hence the hatred against them. Much love had never been lost on the Jews in Germany. It required very little skill to revive the old feud, which had never been entirely obliterated. The principles enunciated for the first time and formulated by men who pretend to stand on the summit of "Culture," have spread far beyond the borders of the Fatherland, and have become now the catchwords of thoughtless demagogues and of irresponsible leaders of the new crusade against the Jews. Germany plays so important a role in the modern history of mankind, and has so deeply influenced the current of modern thought and habits, that I must devote more space to the consideration of the changes wrought there, than to those in any other countries. It forms, as it were, the centre whence all the effects found elsewhere can be shown to have radiated As the treatment to which the Jews are exposed is a sort of psychological barometer for the ethical position which a nation can claim in the world of morals and of truth, an examination of the principles which have ruled and now rule again might also be of some interest for the student of modern ethics.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Germany, split up

into many small states, with narrow political horizon, and not yet having a literature of its own, was deeply influenced by French and English literature. Romanticism, the poetical glorification of the Middle Ages, due to a great extent to absolute ignorance of the true aspects of things during that period, also began to be popular in Germany. But whilst, in England, Bishop Percy's Collection produced, in the long run, Scott's "Ivanhoe," in Germany Herder's *"Stimmen der Völker"* did not produce Lessing's *"Nathan der Weise,"* which preceded it, but stimulated the glorification of the Teutonic Middle Ages, the romanticism of Schlegel and Brentano, and ultimately a heathen Teutomania, which excluded everything from its Walhalla that could not prove Germanic ethnic descent. The first logical consequence was the appearance of pamphlets from men like Rühss and Riel, in which they declared the Jews to be incapable of joining in the Teutonic nation as equal units; and proposed to grant them mere toleration as a people of another race and of another religious mould. In order, as it were, to atone for this new heathendom, which pervaded the universities, there set in a peculiar religious coloring of Christianity—a sentimental, vague Christianity—not free from mediæval mysticism and licentiousness. The spokesman of this species was Schleiermacher, whose teaching, improved upon by his followers, ended in the declaration of a belief in a special Teutonic Christianity, with a God of its own. It was anything but true Christianity. Furthermore, natural science, which reached its highest development last century, on the one hand sapped the foundation of religion just as much as the rationalistic school of Tübingen, with the new Higher Criticism of the Bible, did on the other. All these causes contributed to a lowering of the standard of equality granted to the Jews, and robbed them of the fruits of the sacrifices which they had willingly, nay cheerfully, brought to the altar of their German "Fatherland," when they fought in the ranks of the German armies against their own liberator, Napoleon. Nor was this the only sacrifice which they brought. In their endeavor to show in a practical manner the hollowness of those pedants and dreaming reactionaries who would fain revive the glorious times of the Middle Ages, they almost outdid the Germans in their patriotism. It was all in vain. The principles of the Teutonians have survived to a surprising degree. Hatred of the

foreigner in blood, glorification and exaltation of whatever appeared to be German, or rather Teutonic, especially as it led indirectly to the establishment of the German Empire, is growing steadily alongside of an increasing unrest and disintegration. Mystical, specific Christianity, rank apostasy and crude materialism act as such disintegrating forces, with socialistic tendencies opposed to feudal pretensions; all these and the lust of persecution, shown also by the conflict with Rome, contribute to this process of disintegration and have made it very easy for the skilful manipulator to turn popular prejudices against the Jews, pointing to them as the primary cause of the social and religious discontent permeating various classes of society. They were charged with the responsibility for all the skepticism that turned people away from the Church, and for the radicalism which threatened the prerogatives of privileged persons and classes.

All this, however, would not have sufficed to drive the Jews from their legally safe-guarded position, and would not have found favor with the masses had the masses not been weaned, effectively and energetically, from those lofty sentiments of Cosmopolitanism, Altruism, Equality, the Brotherhood of Man, and all the glorious principles for which they died on the barricades during the first half of the century. Local patriotism had been fostered, and, above all, the nation had been put into the strait-jacket of militarism, where it was taught to obey and not to reason, and where it was to find political salvation. The era of blood and iron set in, and the higher principles of humanity, of justice, had been drowned in the blood of many battlefields. Nationalism, *i. e.*, egotism in its most brutal form, took the place of humanitarianism; seclusion, that of expansion; personal interests, that of general welfare; and all together have produced and still produce a spirit of bitter jealousy and envy, of hatred and persecution against anything and everything that runs counter to the new racial and national prejudices, which are set up as the only standard of true patriotism. Hence the universal moral decay, the ethical disintegration which slowly darkened the horizon of the civilized world within the last twenty-five years of the century. This is the psychological origin of the new moral disease known under the name of Anti-semitism.

It is not to be supposed that the Jews, whose life is being made more miserable from day to day, had no share in this

change of sentiment and treatment. The fault which can be laid at their doors is that they had neglected to study the lessons of the past. They were too eager to cast off that past, to obliterate every trace of it, and to show by sacrifices not asked for, nor even expected from them, how much they wished to identify themselves with the country in which they happened to live. They threw their whole heart and soul into the melting-pot of Germanisation, Anglicisation, Gallicisation, etc., expecting to come out of it without any dross of the past clinging to them, shining in the new light of patriotism as bright as the other inhabitants of those countries. They believed strongly in the sincerity of the generous sentiments expressed by others, and thought that such generosity claimed like generosity or renunciation on their part. Herein lies the fundamental error of the Jews, which has exacted from them so bitter a penalty at the close of the century. Starting from false premises, they were led to false conclusions. There was no generosity on the part of those who granted the Jews equality and liberty. It was merely an act of justice, it was the homage rendered to the awakened spirit of truth and right, and claimed, as such, no more recognition or thanks than any act of justice performed in the courts of any country. The Jew bears the burdens of the state in the same manner as the other inhabitants and has therefore just as much claim to participate in all rights and liberties as the rest of his fellow-citizens.

To imagine that any sacrifice that a nation with such a past as the Jews could make would at once alter their innate characteristics, or would in any way promote an intimate fusion of two races, was the greatest mistake possible. Short of apostasy, the Jews did not shrink from any sacrifice. In consequence of the awakened consciousness, their desire was to obliterate every vestige of that past and to be merged completely into the nation with which they aspired to live on a footing of absolute equality. It was an impossible and unnatural attempt. Instead of being satisfied with marching on parallel lines, they wished to walk in converging lines, hoping that at some time, whose advent they wished to hasten as much as possible, the point of contact would be reached. We witness therefore throughout the greater part of the century a craving for blind imitation, in the vain hope of obtaining absolute identification and assimilation.

I am not inveighing against their legitimate desire of full participation in the conquests over the forces of nature, or against their eager wish to take, if possible, a large share in the intellectual victories which science in the widest sense has gained. True science is not limited to one nation or to one hemisphere. The Jews soon identified themselves with all the progress which has marked the intellectual life of the world during the last hundred years. There is no branch of knowledge in which the Jews are not fully represented; in Medicine as well as in the Natural Sciences; in Diplomacy as well as in Law; in Music and Painting, the Drama and Fiction. In every country and in every land where facilities were given to them to acquire the requisite knowledge, the Jews were not behind in utilizing them to the fullest extent. To give here a list of such Jews as have contributed to the general advancement of civilization would be too tedious a task. Every science knows them, every branch of learning counts scores among them, and especially among the followers of exact sciences.are they well known.

Of far greater moment, however, is the inner religious change which has taken place in consequence of this craving for assimilation. It played them false, inasmuch as it made the Jews believe that their identification with the higher intellectual pursuits, and the equality they had gained therein, would also bring the social equality of which they had dreamed. They fashioned their lives according to non-Jewish models. Easily influenced as they have shown themselves in all times, they played at being Teutons of a new complexion. The barriers of the Ghetto once broken, all that which seemed to remind them of it was henceforth forgotten. We see, therefore, a profound change in the religious life of the Jews. Mendelssohn's activity, the introduction of the pure German instead of the corrupt German which the Jews spoke, the acquaintance with German literature and the philosophical tendencies of the time, caused the Jews to attempt the recasting of the old faith and ceremonial on what they believed to be a rational basis. To curtail the service, to introduce German sermons, to ape the outward form of Christian worship, to eliminate Hebrew from the Synagogue and from the house, were the first and principal aims of the new school headed by Jacobsohn and followed by many. The ultimate ambition of these reformers was to bring about at least outward identity in

worship between Jews and non-Jews, and to sweep away the last remnant of the specifically Jewish life in the Ghetto.

Growing scepticism, the heathen tendencies and the romantic *"Schwärmerei"* of their Teutonic models, were not without effect upon their blind followers. And when the "Teutonic-Christian" State held out the bribery of appointments and honor for apostasy it became rampant. A blow had been struck at the old faith by the example set in the famous "Salons" of Berlin, by the apostasy of the daughters of Mendelssohn, of Rachel Levine and others. No wonder if men like Heine and Börne were driven to similar expedients. Nearly every man who aspired, and I may say aspires now, to the chair of a professor at a German university had first to sacrifice his convictions. The want of religious fervor, and the lack of adhesion to the old teaching spread very much among the Jews and is one of the principal characteristics of the nineteenth century. More even than the Christians, did the Jews of the West of Europe, and for that matter those of America, reject the old teaching, consciously or unconsciously animated by the same sentiment of placing themselves on an equal footing with their neighbors. They gave up every distinctive mark and appeared to the non-Jews as stripped of every Jewish ideal, given up entirely to the mimicking of others, without losing, however, in spite of what they had so fondly imagined, those traits which had been impressed on their minds and habits by the seclusion of the Ghetto. We find thus Judaism undergoing a radical process of transformation among the Western Jews, which has to a certain extent estranged them from their Eastern brothers without bringing them perceptibly nearer the goal at which they aimed.

This movement did not pass unchallenged. These changes not being born of profound scholarship, but attempting merely to replace the things that appeared antiquated and irksome by others, borrowed from foreign sources, that appeared new and attractive, and not resting on a sympathetic or romantic appreciation of the past, were challenged by men of a totally different stamp, who have slowly but successfully driven this current back.

The example set by German romanticism, turning back with admiration to the twilight of the Middle Ages, was not lost upon the Jews. Those who had immigrated from Eastern Europe or come from the then half-civilized communities of Austria and

Galicia, learned soon to imitate and to search for similar examples in the old, now almost forgotten, literature of ancient times. For the Jews had no period of obscurantism, no real Middle Ages; they had a long record of mental activity, which, however, lay buried under the ruins of the old world. To this the new generation turned with love, in the hope of showing to their people that the Jewish past was no whit behind other nations in pathos and romanticism, in learning and intellectual achievements. Thus arose the school of the History of Judaism, whose foremost representatives were Zunz, Frankel and notably Grætz, the famous historian.

Other branches of purely Hebrew learning began to be cultivated, and the scientific methods of the Christian schools slowly found their way into the midst of the Jews. The beginning of the century saw the first Jewish Review, in which Heine's friends and contemporaries collaborated, in which Zunz published his first essay on Rabbinic literature, and the close of it sees the gigantic undertaking of Funk and Wagnalls, a Jewish Encyclopædia in twelve huge volumes! It is to be the embodiment of the scientific results obtained solely in the course of the century.

The larger mass of the Jews, those who remained behind in the East of Europe, have participated only to a lesser degree in the modifications which have shaped the life of their better-situated brethren in the West. In political liberties, in aspirations, in the new feeling of consciousness, in social equality and in work in the field of science, they have kept pace with their immediate neighbors, always trying for the best and often succeeding. The religious conflicts also found an echo in those lands, but it took some time before they penetrated behind the Chinese wall which resists the entrance of Western ideas into the mighty Empire of the East. But there are no permanent barriers against the spirit. It scaled these walls also, though a considerable interval elapsed ere it reached the masses living beyond. The conflict is still going on, but a movement, since begun, is driving the Jewish life into new channels.

On the other hand, the receding wave of a once mighty Messianic enthusiasm left on the strand the germs of a new mystical teaching, which resembles in one way the vagaries and miracles told by the Monks of the Nitrian Desert and the tales of Avva Pahomius and St. Antony, and in another the principles

that underlie the conception of the Dalai-Lama of Thibet, the ever-recurring incarnation of Buddha as the visible intermediary between God and man. The Hassidim, with their wonder-working "Rebbe," the living incarnation of a superhuman intermediary between them and God, the substitution of a Quakerlike, enthusiastic form of worship at times when the spirit moves them, and freedom from other ceremonial injunctions connected with worship and prayer, is to a certain extent the form which reform has taken in the East. Unconsciously rebelling against some rabbinical tenets, it has contributed in its way to undermine the older form and to disintegrate Judaism in a peculiar manner.

To the impartial observer of these internal changes within the spiritual life of Jewry, they appear like the dead leaves scattered by the first shaking of the old tree by the storm of persecution that rages; they fall from the stem of Judaism, and are the humus out of which a new life will grow. And a new life is growing. The manifold causes which have contributed to the awakening of Jewish self-consciousness for at least half a century have not disappeared without leaving great results. If nothing is lost in nature, dumb and speechless as it is, still less is anything lost that has been stirred in the human soul once awakened. It may change, but it will be like the caterpillar which becomes a butterfly. Just as little as the Middle Ages could be restored or the Ghetto revived upon the old lines, so little could one expect to find the Jews any longer with that broken spirit that submitted to ignominies. Self-consciousness once awakened will not allow itself to be lulled again into a lethargic sleep. The unity of Israel has also been practically demonstrated by the Jews during the century. They have contributed to the emancipation of the body, as well as of the spirit, of their less fortunate brethren. The cause of the Jews in one country has been felt as that of the Jews in all other countries. This feeling was more pronounced in those countries where the Jews believed themselves to have obtained absolute equality in every respect with the other inhabitants. Such was the case in France, England and, recently, in America. The principles advocated are those of human liberty, of equal duties and equal rights. In the name of these great principles, men like Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux could not allow the horrible blood accusation against the Jews, formulated for

the first time again in 1840 in Damascus, to pass unchallenged. They stood up for their falsely accused brethren and defended their cause not merely in England and France, but personally in Constantinople and Alexandria, and there refuted these baseless calumnies.

The result of that mission to the East has been much more far-reaching, for it led to the establishment of an Association whose principal object is to protect the Jews in those countries where they are still kept in a kind of social bondage, and to promote their emancipation by legal means. Thus was the *Alliance Israélite* founded in Paris. In 1870, during the Franco-German war, when the Alliance in Paris was crippled, a branch was established in England, identical with the French in all its aims. Spiritual emancipation was part of the programme, hence the foundation of schools in the East.

With the modification of the status of the Jews in Europe, and with the changed conditions under which the peoples grew up, the former part of the Alliance's activity may be said to have come to an end with the Russo-Turkish war. The spirit of chivalry and of generous impulses has from that time forward been completely driven out of Europe. Each country, every government, inaugurated for itself an era of self-interest of the basest commercial type. With a few noteworthy exceptions made by the English Government, the nations turned a polite but none the less deaf ear to the complaints made of the barbarous treatment of the Jews in Roumania and Russia. The Alliances becoming thus mere institutions for the establishment of schools—in itself a very laudable but not a very courageous or lofty undertaking—the Jews were forced to seek remedies within their own powers and guided by their own experiences. The close of the century saw an attempt on a larger scale to give expression to this feeling of self-emancipation. The misery which refined legal persecution is bringing upon millions is growing hourly in the East of Europe, and the disappointment among the Jews of the West to find themselves, after years of toil and self-sacrifice, ruthlessly thrust back within the walls of a moral Ghetto, the uncertainty of the future combined with the self-consciousness and the feeling of national life, which is slowly dawning upon the Jewish masses—all these contributed to endow the idea of resettlement in the old land of their fathers with

a new and immediate significance. The idea of establishing Jewish colonies in Palestine has gone through some stages already. It began on a serious basis in 1880, and Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris has contributed almost exclusively to the success which has attended these undertakings. Baron de Hirsch imitated the example, but sent his Jewish Colonies to the Argentine. The Jewish Colonization Association, the heir to his fortune, partly reversed his policy and identified itself largely with the colonization of Palestine by Jews. The masses worked on parallel lines with these men, and out of their midst sprang the new movement known under the name of Zionism—that is, the return to Zion as a political unity.

We are standing at the beginning of this movement, which alone will assist in solving one of the most perplexing problems in modern sociology, will free Europe of an element which is still considered as alien, and will be treated as such, according to circumstances. There are some, among the richer Jews, who have vested interests and narrow conceptions; they are held fast in the meshes of self-delusion and cannot differentiate between the rights and duties of a citizen and the historical obligations of a national and religious life; they are still holding aloof from this movement. The vast masses, however, the sufferers and toilers of the earth, have rallied enthusiastically round it. This is the sign under which Judaism enters the new century.

It is idle to speculate at this juncture what the result may be for the progress of the higher ideals of mankind. A mighty wind of reaction is blowing all over Europe. We are moving on the down-grade, from equality, fraternity, freedom and right, to racial hatred, national exclusiveness, military brutalization and dynastic tyranny; from the free and serene atmosphere of human faith to the swamps of Mysticism, Occultism, to the Inquisition and the Stake. But far away the dawn of a new life is visible, a new day which will disperse the shadows that are settling down, a day rising again from the regenerated East, from the Orient inhabited again by its own sons—Jews living a national life, competing for the best and working for the highest, blending the civilization of the West with the poetry of the East, and giving to mankind the message of better days: *"Ex Oriente lux."*

M. GASTER.

THE NEW POETIC DRAMA.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

WHATEVER doubts the mature observer of himself may have as to his power of enjoying poetry, he can have few or none as to the exacting character of his taste in it. In the absence of other means of accounting for my preferences, I wish to put forward this theory in explanation of my comparative liking for Mr. Stephen Phillips's two poetic dramas, "Paolo and Francesca" and "Herod," and my comparative misliking for M. Edmond Rostand's two romanticistic melodramas, "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "L'Aiglon." If the theory will not approve itself as sound to others, it will, at least, convince me of my own sincerity, if not my authority in the matter; and, when all is said, it may leave the reader to his own unbiased judgment of the two playwrights.

I.

The prime difficulty in the way of the Anglo-Saxon critic who wishes to estimate a piece of French literature aright, is that he is not French; and yet this does not seem always to beset him. It seems quite possible for him to feel the reality in such work as Flaubert's, the De Goncourts', Zola's and Maupassant's, all of like epical quality; and why should not he feel the unreality in such work as Feuillet's, Cherbuliez's, Ohnet's and Rostand's, all of like melodramatic quality?

Whether he can or not, I shall always have my opinion that from the first I thought "Cyrano de Bergerac" of about the same ethical validity as an American historical fiction. Of course, it implied indefinitely more literary skill than our ingenuous rubbish; but, all the same, in motive, character and sentiment, it was tinsel. The skill was more apparent in reading than in seeing the play. In the closet, the weak points were much more safeguarded than on the stage. There, the dull, kind fellow to whom

Cyrano sacrifices Roxane together with himself, appears more dull than kind; but the book shows him more kind than dull. His instincts are so modest and so generous, that he is worthy a better fate than being a foil to such a swashbucklering sentimentalist as Cyrano. He is, in fact, the saving grace of the piece, which, stripped to the naked ugliness of its main motive, is the action of a man, supposed of genius, of delicacy, of honor, of loyalty, who can betray the charming girl he loves to her passion for an intellectual inferior, because he morbidly fancies that, with a nose like his, he can never win her for himself. Cyrano is bound by everything that can bind a gentleman to save Roxane from her infatuation for Christian. But he sets all his powers to work in promoting it; makes love to her for his rival; marries his poor cousin to a man in whose person she adores Cyrano's mind; and, when he goes away to the war with Christian, writes back to her in Christian's name the beautiful letters which keep her deluded. One is ashamed to state a situation so artistically puerile, so morally atrocious, as if one became *particeps criminis* in confessing one's knowledge of it.

The setting of a nature so misshapen as Cyrano's is a gaudy and extravagant theatricism, full of bold bloodshed and swagger picturesqueness; with the coming and going of loosely relevant figures, full of the Period in their costumes at least; and with a company of Gascon cadets risen from the dregs of Dumas's musketeers. The whole concludes in a sort of Thackerayesque after-glow (fifteen years after), with the widowed Roxane embroidering in a convent garden, and Cyrano coming periodically to visit her. Against a tree, opportunely dropping its autumnal leaves, he props himself on the occasion of his last visit; and, in reading to Roxane one of her husband's letters, involuntarily betrays that he, Cyrano, was the writer of it, and of all poor Christian's letters. Then he dies in the act of meeting death with a drawn sword, while his bandaged head reveals his death-wound, a lackey, bribed by one of his many enemies, having dropped a billet of wood on him from an upper window, as Cyrano passed.

II.

This, in summary, is the melodrama whose weak points are defended by so many clever devices of the author, that, as I say, the piece reads less offensively than it plays. The carpentry is

indeed admirably perfect; but what fills one with despair for the human race, is that carpentry should still be the acceptable thing with it. In a world which has had Shakespeare for three hundred years, and in an age which has seen the simple sublimity of living growth in Ibsen, carpentry is still overwhelmingly the preference of the theatre—and its public.

It is not strange that it should be the preference of the theatre; that is the home of make-believe, and it remains true to its traditions; and M. Rostand has fulfilled at least his mechanical duty in giving it a play which is mechanically very effective. Apparently, he gave it out of the innocent corruption of his own taste, which was depraved by false ideals of art, but which was not consciously false in "Cyrano de Bergerac."

One suspects something more of conscious depravity in the falsehood of "L'Aiglon," as if the author had taken counsel from the theatre for his aberrations from taste in the treatment of the poor little Duc de Reichstadt. A curious point in the psychology of the piece is that, intellectually, it is of the measure of a boy whose mind has been so dwarfed that, at eighteen, he has only a precocious child's conceptions and ideals of life. The play is as if imagined by the son of Napoleon dreaming, in the tutelage of Austrian diplomacy, of restoring that French empire which his father created and destroyed, while he amuses his inexorable captivity with the toy soldiers which he is scarcely allowed to pretend are French soldiers. He pervades it with his puerility so thoroughly that M. Rostand seems to stand in abeyance, and leave it to the limited personality which he has constructed, and which, in turn, apparently constructs the other personalities. There is a Marie Louise, motived and characterized as the severe morality of a brilliant child would have her; a bad, bad Metternich, as the poor boy would have seen him; a beautiful and magnanimous countess and cousin, as he would have had such a kinswoman; a much-masquerading old French grenadier, of like origin and texture; a good Fanny Ellsler, sent to corrupt the young dreamer, but really abetting him in his designs of escaping and returning to France; and so on. It is all very curious; and, if the piece were narrative and told in the boy's own person, it would be even important; but in the dramatic form, it seems to give the measure of the author's mind as well as the creature's.

The finest thing in the play is that passage which ensues when the young Napoleon is left alone on the field of Wagram, which he had made the rendezvous of his fellow conspirators in organizing his expedition to France, and when, after the detection and defeat of his scheme, he begins to hear the solemn voices of the dead who died there to give his father victory. They are the very simple and natural voices of wounded and dying men, calling for water, for help, and complaining of their hurts, but not such voices as the conqueror can hear with complacency. It is a very touching and beautiful passage, and itself sufficiently attests the right of M. Rostand to be accepted as a genuine poet. But it is essentially lyrical; at its most poetical, it is subjective. It loses quality when the poet tries to turn it to dramatic account, as if to make it a party to some actress's exploitation of the situation. It is in vain that those voices change from wails of anguish to cries of battle; they do not then convince as before; and as a whole and finally, "L'Aiglon" does not convince. It leaves one without doubt that M. Rostand is a deft and skilful playwright, but with question whether he is so much more as to be a dramatist of great promise. His prime gift appears to be lyrical; and it is his lyricism which compensates the sentimentalism of "Cyrano de Bergerac" and dignifies the puerility of "L'Aiglon."

III.

I have hinted my conjecture that M. Rostand lends himself to the theatre, that arch-enemy of the drama; and I have to confess a like painful misgiving as to Mr. Stephen Phillips. I may be quite wrong, but in reading this poet's tragedy of "Herod," I had an uncomfortable sense as of the presence of a third party, which, upon closer examination of my consciousness, appeared to be an actor. It was as if the poet had taken instruction of the player, whose business it is most strictly and obediently to take instructions of the poet, if their common art is to prosper in forms of permanent beauty. The poet, to this end, may indeed humbly and carefully study the stage, but mainly to save himself from its falsity, and learn how to bend its traditions to his own veracity. He cannot know it too well, in order to make himself its master; but he had better not learn it at all, if he intends to make it his master. His affair is supremely with the literary side of the

drama. It is the subordinate affair of the actor to adapt himself to the poet's conception, and find it theatricable.

I should like to insist upon this, at a time when the literary drama has given novel proof of its vitality in the work of M. Rostand and of Mr. Phillips; but very likely it is not necessary. The powers concerned will settle it between themselves, without reference to criticism; and I may have enough to do in supporting the thesis that Mr. Phillips's is a more dramatic talent than M. Rostand's; that is, he is at his best dramatic, and M. Rostand is at his best lyrical, and ekes out his minor dramatic force with his knowledge of the theatre.

Mr. Phillips's "Paolo and Francesca" affects me like a dramatic poem, written as independently of the theatre as if the theatre had not existed. One may say that, for the purposes of the stage, it has the vices inherent in such a poem, but its vices, if not Shakespearean, are Elizabethan. They are of the "spacious times," and he has in everything Englished the pathetic Italian story. This had been done more than once before, notably by Leigh Hunt, who cast it in narrative form, and I mean nothing depreciative, but wholly the contrary, in saying that Mr. Phillips's tragedy reminds one of the heroic couplets of Leigh Hunt, rather than the *terze rime* of Dante Alighieri. It could not be Italian any more than it could be medieval; one civilization is not possible to another, as one age is not possible to another. We can conceive of the heart-rending story on medieval and Italian terms if we read it in Dante, but if we read it in Phillips, we conceive of it on actual and English terms. It will not do to say how near to the mood of his savage time is the stoic anguish of the poet who heard Francesca tell her piteous story in that whirl of Hell, where he saw her rapt with Paolo. But one may safely say that the dramatic poem of Mr. Phillips, like the narrative poem of Hunt, is interfused with the sympathy of a race whose heart has grown tenderer in the six hundred years elapsed since Dante's nature lost its iron self-control in his swoon of compassion. It is English and modern, and the better for being English and modern; for the world is now abler to feel all the exquisite implications and extenuations of such a story than ever before.

IV.

"L'Aiglon" triumphed on our stage, not because it was power-

ful, but because it was Napoleonic, and not through the Bonapartist history, but through the Bonapartist tradition, which was and will always remain alive in the popular heart. It lived by force of association in the hearts of the witnesses. The average witness, however, has no association with Herod, except the scriptural association, and the "Herod" of Mr. Phillips is of profane and not of sacred inspiration. It might as well, and, indeed, might better, be called by any other name, so far as the people who fill the theatres are concerned. These know the Herod who commanded the innocents to be massacred and John the Baptist beheaded; but they never heard of the Herod who married Mariamne of the Maccabees, and ordered her brother Aristobulus to be murdered.

They are obliged to ask themselves if there were two Herods; and the result is a mental confusion, and a final resentment, as of people who have been trifled with.

These would be the vulgar conditions of a popular failure of the piece, at least with us; though in London the play-going public may be more enlightened. On the literary side of tragedy, which does not touch the theatre or is farthest from it, I am afraid I cannot find "Herod" much more promising of remembrance. It affects me as artificial in treatment and conscious in origin; and, so far as I can see, it contributes to literature no new and interesting characterization.

The "Paolo and Francesca" did do this in one instance, if in no other. Lucrezia degl' Onesti is a personality added to one's associations with the original group of actors in the tragic fact. She is the more genuinely an addition because she is modern and not medieval. In fact, all the others are modernized, and this was as inevitable as it was impossible that Lucrezia should be medievalized. If she had been truly of the twelfth century (if it was the twelfth century that the rest were of), she might have relented towards Francesca, but only after Francesca was dead; she never would have been a mother to her while she lived. Francesca herself is tenderly and sweetly re-imagined by the poet as of a child-like innocence; but, perhaps, she was better as she was in the old story. She was, at any rate, less conventional, and a woman who felt herself married to Paolo rather than Giovanni, might have as naturally betrayed herself as a bewildered child. However, the question for criticism is the success or failure of Mr.

Phillips on his own ground, and it seems to me that his success is such as one who wishes the poetic drama well may rejoice in.

V.

Not having seen either of Mr. Phillips's plays on the stage, it is as a reader with faith in the literary future of the theatre that I rejoice in them. He and M. Rostand have, on their respective levels, contributed to assure this. Romanticism, as the French conceived it seventy years ago, was poetical, and M. Rostand has achieved a romanticistic success in the spirit of the earlier eighteen-thirties. Romance, as the English imagined it in the great revolt against classicism, farther back in the last century, was poetic, and Mr. Phillips, so far as he has succeeded, has succeeded in the romantic spirit of Leigh Hunt, of Shelby, of Keats, of Wordsworth, of Talfourd, of Byron—poets by no means of the same quality, but of the same impulse. So far as M. Rostand and Mr. Phillips have possessed themselves of the theatre, they have taken it back to the time when it was still believed that the theatre must be literary.

But it must not be supposed that they are reforming the stage. The stage was already reformed. As poetry, Mr. Pinero's "Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith" is greater than Mr. Phillips's "Paolo and Francesca," and a more heart-breaking tragedy than his "Herod" is the "Hännele" of Herr Hauptmann. *Un Drama Nuevo* of the Spanish dramatist, Estebanez, is a nobler melodrama on the romanticistic lines than "Cyrano de Bergerac"; and one hour of Ibsen in "Ghosts" or the "Wild Duck" or "Little Eyolf," or "Hedda Gabler," is full of more ennobling terror, more regenerative pathos, than all that both these poets have done. But, in remembering their betters, we must not depreciate the work of these poets. Perhaps in them the drama has usefully come to its literary consciousness, and, if it is now more boldly than ever before insisting upon recognition as literature, it is to the advantage, not only of the future poets, but of the present poets, whose work has sometimes seemed too good for the stage.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXXXV.

JUNE, 1901.

ANTICIPATIONS: AN EXPERIMENT IN PROPHECY.—I.

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I.—Locomotion in the Twentieth Century.

It is proposed in this series of papers to present in as orderly an arrangement as the necessarily diffused nature of the subject admits, certain speculations about the trend of present forces, speculations which, taken all together, will build up an imperfect and very hypothetical but sincerely intended forecast of the way things will probably go in this new century.

It is extremely convenient to begin with a speculation upon the probable developments and changes of the means of land locomotion during the coming decades. No one who has studied the civil history of the nineteenth century will deny how far-reaching the consequences of changes in transit may be.

The beginning of this twentieth century happens to coincide with a very interesting phase in that great development of means of land transit that has been the distinctive feature (speaking materially) of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century, when it takes its place with the other centuries in the chronological charts of the future, will, if it needs a symbol, almost inevitably have as that symbol a steam engine running upon a

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railway. This period covers the first experiments, the first great developments, and the complete elaboration of that mode of transit, and the determination of nearly all the broad features of this century's history may be traced directly or indirectly to that process. And since an interesting light is thrown upon the new phases in land locomotion that are now beginning, it will be well to begin this forecast with a retrospection, and to revise very shortly the history of the addition of steam travel to the resources of mankind.

It was, indeed, not one cause, but a very complex and unprecedented set of causes, set the steam locomotive going. It was indirectly that the introduction of coal became the decisive factor. One peculiar condition of its production in England seems to have supplied just one ingredient that had been missing for two thousand years in the group of conditions that were necessary before the steam locomotive could appear.

This missing ingredient was a demand for some comparatively simple, profitable machine, upon which the elementary principles of steam utilization could be worked out. It happened that the coal to replace the dwindling forests of this small and exceptionally rain-saturated country occurs in low, hollow basins overlying clay, and not, as in China and the Alleghanies, for example, on high-lying outcrops, that can be worked as chalk is worked in England. From this fact it followed that some quite unprecedented pumping appliances became necessary, and the thoughts of practical men were turned thereby to the long-neglected possibilities of steam. Steam had already been used for pumping upon one or two estates in England—rather as a toy than in earnest—before the middle of the seventeenth century. Savery, Newcomen, a host of other workers culminating in Watt, changed this toy of steam into a real, a commercial thing, developed a trade in pumping engines, created foundries and a new art of engineering, and almost unconscious of what they were doing, made the steam locomotive a well-nigh unavoidable consequence. At last, after a century of improvement on pumping engines, there remained nothing but the very obvious stage of getting the engine that had been developed on wheels and out upon the ways of the world.

Ever and again during the eighteenth century an engine would be put upon the roads and pronounced a failure—one

monstrous Palæoferric creature was visible on a French high road as early as 1769—but by the dawn of the nineteenth century the problem had very nearly got itself solved. By 1804, Trevithick had a steam locomotive indisputably in motion and almost financially possible, and from his hands it puffed its way, slowly at first, and then, under Stephenson, faster and faster, to a transitory empire over the earth. It was a steam locomotive—but for all that it was primarily a *steam engine for pumping* adapted to a new end; it was a steam engine whose ancestral stage had developed under conditions that were by no means exacting in the matter of weight. It was all too huge and heavy for the high road—it had to be put upon rails.

Railway travelling is at best a compromise. The quite conceivable ideal of locomotive convenience is surely a highly mobile conveyance capable of travelling easily and swiftly to any desired point, traversing, at a reasonably controlled pace, the ordinary roads and streets, and having access for higher rates of speed and long-distance travelling to specialized ways restricted to swift traffic. Such a system would admit of that secular progress in engines and vehicles that the stereotyped conditions of the railway have almost completely arrested, because it would allow almost any conceivable new pattern to be put at once upon the ways without interference with the established traffic. Had such an ideal been kept in view from the first the traveller would now be able to get through his long-distance journeys at a pace of from seventy miles or more an hour without changing, and without any of the trouble, waiting, expense and delay that arise between the household or hotel and the actual rail.

But there was a more obvious path of development and one immediately cheaper, and along that path went short-sighted Nineteenth Century Progress. The first locomotives, apart from the heavy tradition of their ancestry, were needlessly clumsy and heavy, and their inventors, instead of working for lightness and smoothness of motion, took the easier course of placing them upon the tramways that were already in existence—chiefly for the transit of heavy goods over soft roads.

These tram-lines very naturally had exactly the width of an ordinary cart, a width prescribed by the strength of one horse. Few people saw in the locomotive anything but a cheap substitute for horseflesh, or found anything incongruous in letting the

dimensions of a horse determine the dimensions of an engine. It mattered nothing that from the first the passenger was ridiculously cramped, hampered and crowded in the carriage. He had always been cramped in a coach, and it would have seemed "Utopian" to propose travel without cramping. By mere inertia the horse-cart gauge, the four feet eight and one-half inch gauge, *nemine contradicente,* established itself in the world, and now everywhere the train is dwarfed to a scale that limits alike its comfort, power and speed.

This vast and elaborate railway system of ours, by which the whole world is linked together, is really only a vast system of trains of horse-wagons and coaches drawn along rails by pumping-engines upon wheels. Is that to remain the predominant method of land locomotion?

It is very doubtful if the railways will ever attempt any very fundamental change in the direction of greater speed or facility, unless they are first exposed to the pressure of our second alternative, competition, and we may go on to inquire how long will it be before that second alternative comes into operation.

The abounding presence of numerous experimental motors today is so stimulating to the imagination, there are so many stimulated persons at work upon them, that it is difficult to believe the obvious impossibility of most of them, their convulsiveness, clumsiness, and (in many cases) exasperating trail of stench will not be rapidly fined away. I do not think that it is asking too much of the reader's faith in progress to assume that so far as a light, powerful engine goes, comparatively noiseless, smooth-running, not obnoxious to sensitive nostrils, and altogether suitable for high-road traffic, the problem will very speedily be solved. And upon that assumption, in what direction are these new motor vehicles likely to develop? how will they react upon the railways? and where finally will they take us?

At present they seem to promise developments upon three distinct and definite lines.

There will, first of all, be the motor truck for heavy traffic. Already such trucks are in evidence distributing goods and parcels of various sorts. And sooner or later, no doubt, the numerous advantages of such an arrangement will lead to the organization of large carrier companies, using such motor trucks to carry goods in bulk or parcels on the high roads.

In the next place, and parallel with the motor truck, there will develop the hired or privately owned motor carriage. This, for all except the longest journeys, will add a fine sense of personal independence to all the small conveniences of first-class railway travel. It will be capable of a day's journey of three hundred miles or more. One will change nothing—unless it is the driver—from stage to stage. One will be free to dine where one chooses, hurry when one chooses, travel asleep or awake, stop and pick flowers, turn over in bed of a morning and tell the carriage to wait—unless one sleeps aboard.

And, thirdly, there will be the motor omnibus, developing out of the horse omnibus companies and the suburban lines.

The motor omnibus companies competing against the suburban railways will find themselves hampered in the speed of their longer runs by the slower horse traffic on their routes, and they will attempt to secure, and, it may be, after tough legislative struggles, will secure the power to form private roads of a new sort, upon which their vehicles will be free to travel up to the limit of their very highest possible speed. It is along the line of such private tracks and roads that the forces of change will certainly tend to travel.

Once this process of segregation from the high road of the horse and pedestrian sets in, it will probably go on rapidly. The motor carrier companies competing in speed of delivery with the quickened railways will conceivably co-operate with the long-distance omnibus and the hired carriage companies in the formation of *trunk* lines.

These special roads will be very different from macadamized roads; they will be used only by soft-tired conveyances; the battering horseshoes, the perpetual filth of horse traffic, and the clumsy wheels of laden carts will never wear them. It may be that they will have a surface like that of some cycle-racing tracks, though since they will be open to wind and weather, it is perhaps more probable they will be made of very good asphalt sloped to drain, and still more probable that they will be of some quite new substance altogether. They will be just as wide as the courage of their promoters goes, and if the first made are too narrow there will be no question of gauge to limit the later ones. Their traffic in opposite directions will probably be strictly separated. The promoters will doubtless take a hint from suburban railway

traffic, and where their ways branch the streams of traffic will not cross at a level but by bridges. It is easily conceivable that once these tracks are in existence, cyclists and motors other than those of the constructing companies will be able to make use of them. And, moreover, once they exist it will be possible to experiment with vehicles of a size and power quite beyond the dimensions prescribed by our ordinary roads—roads whose width has been entirely determined by the size of a cart a horse can pull.

Countless modifying influences will, of course, come into operation. For example, it has been assumed, perhaps rashly, that the railway influence will certainly remain jealous and hostile to these growths. But once one of these specialized lines is in operation, it may be that some at least of the railway companies will hasten to replace their flanged rolling stock by carriages with rubber tires, remove their rails, broaden their cuttings and embankments, raise their bridges, and take to the new ways of traffic. Or they may find it answer to cut fares, widen their gauges, reduce their gradients, modify their points and curves, and woo the passenger back with carriages beautifully hung and sumptuously furnished, and all the convenience and luxury of a club.

And it may be that many railways, which are neither capable of modification into suburban motor tracks, nor of development into luxurious through routes, will find, in spite of the loss of many elements of their old activity, that there is still a profit to be made from a certain section of the heavy goods traffic, and from cheap excursions. There are forms of work for which railways seem to be particularly adapted, and which the diversion of a great portion of their passenger traffic would enable them to conduct even more efficiently.

It must always be remembered that at the worst the defeat of such a great organization as the railway system does not involve its disappearance until a long period has elapsed. It means at first no more than a period of modification and differentiation.

Almost certainly the existing lines of railway will develop and differentiate, some in one direction and some in another, according to the nature of the pressure upon them. Almost all will probably be still in existence and in divers ways busy a hundred years from now.

But in the discussion of all questions of land locomotion one must come at last to the knots of the network, to the central por-

tions of the towns, the dense, vast towns of our time, with their high ground-values and their narrow, already almost impossible streets. At present the streets of many larger towns present a quite unprecedented state of congestion. When the Green of some future *History of the English People* comes to review our times, he will, from his standpoint of comfort and convenience, find the present streets of London quite or even more incredibly unpleasant than are the filthy kennels, the mudholes and darkness of the streets of the seventeenth century to our enlightened minds. He will echo our question, "Why *did* people stand it?" He will be struck first of all by the omnipresence of mud, filthy mud, churned up by hoofs and wheels under the inclement skies, and perpetually defiled and added to by innumerable horses. "Just where the bicycle might have served its most useful purpose," he will write, "in affording a healthy daily ride to the innumerable clerks and such-like sedentary toilers of the central region, it was rendered impossible by the danger of side-slip in this vast ferocious traffic." And, indeed, to my mind at least, this last is the crowning absurdity of the present state of affairs, that the clerk and the shop hand, classes of people positively starved of exercise, should be obliged to spend yearly the price of a bicycle upon a season-ticket, because of the quite unendurable inconvenience and danger of urban cycling.

Now in what direction will things move in the matter? The first and most obvious thing to do, the thing that in many cases is being attempted and in a futile, insufficient way getting itself done, is the remedy of the architect and builder to widen the streets and to cut "new arteries." Now, every new artery means a series of new whirlpools of traffic, and unless colossal, or inconveniently steep, crossing-bridges are made, the wider the affluent arteries the more terrible the battle of the traffic. And there is the value of the ground to consider.

There is, however, quite another direction in which the congestion may find relief, and that is in the "regulation" of the traffic. This has already begun in London in an attack on the crawling cab and in the new by-laws of the London County Council, whereby certain specified forms of heavy traffic are prohibited the use of the streets between ten and seven. The presence of all the chief constituents of the vehicular torrent, the cabs and hansoms, the vans, the omnibuses—everything, indeed,

except the few private carriages—are as novel, as distinctively things of the nineteenth century, as the railway train and the needle telegraph. The streets of the great towns of antiquity, the streets of the great towns of the East, the streets of all the mediæval towns, were not intended for any sort of wheeled traffic at all—were designed primarily and chiefly for pedestrians.

But if one reflects, it becomes clear that, save for the vans of goods, this moving tide of wheeled masses is still essentially a stream of urban pedestrians, pedestrians who, by reason of the distances they have to go, have had to jump on 'buses and take cabs—in a word, to bring in the high road to their aid. And the vehicular traffic of the street is essentially the high-road traffic very roughly adapted to the new needs. The cab is a simple development of the carriage, the omnibus of the coach, and the supplementary traffic of the underground and electric railways is an adaptation of the long-route railway.

Now, the first most probable development is a change in the omnibus and the omnibus railway. A point quite as important with these means of transit as actual speed of movement is frequency. *The more frequent a local service, the more it comes to be relied upon.* Another point—and one in which the omnibus has a great advantage over the railway—is that it should be possible to get on and off at any point, or at as many points on the route as possible. But this means a high proportion of stoppages, and this is destructive to speed. There is, however, one conceivable means of transit that is not simply frequent but continuous, that may be joined or left at any point without a stoppage, that could be adapted to many existing streets at the level or quite easily sunken in tunnels, or elevated above the street level, and that means of transit is the moving platform. Let us imagine the inner circle of the District Railway adapted to this conception. I will presume that the Parisian "rolling platform" is familiar to the reader. The District Railway tunnel is, I imagine, about twenty-four feet wide. If we suppose the space given to six platforms of three feet wide and one (the most rapid) of six feet, and if we suppose each platform to be going four miles an hour faster than its slower fellow, we should have the upper platform running round the circle at a pace of twenty-eight miles an hour. If further we adopt an ingenious suggestion of Professor Perry's and imagine the descent to the line made down

a very slowly rotating staircase at the centre of a big rotating wheel-shaped platform, against a portion of whose rim the slowest platform runs in a curve, one could very easily add a speed of six or eight miles an hour more, and to that the man in a hurry would be able to add his own four miles an hour by walking in the direction of motion. If the reader is a traveller, and if he will imagine that black and sulphurous tunnel, swept and garnished, lit and sweet, with a train much faster than the existing underground trains perpetually ready to go off with him and never crowded—if he will further imagine this train a platform set with comfortable seats and neat bookstalls and so forth, he will get an inkling in just one detail of what he perhaps misses by living now instead of thirty or forty years ahead.

Will this diversion of the vast omnibus traffic of to-day into the air and underground, together with the segregation of van traffic to specific routes and times, be the only change in the streets of the new century? It may be a shock, perhaps, to some minds, but I must confess I do not see what is to prevent the process of elimination that is beginning now with the heavy vans spreading until it covers all horse traffic, and with the disappearance of horse hoofs and the necessary filth of horses, the road surface may be made a very different thing from what it is at present, better drained and admirably adapted for the soft-tired hackney vehicles and the torrent of cyclists.

II.—The Probable Diffusion of Great Cities.

The broad features of the redistribution of the population that has characterized the nineteenth century may be summarized as an unusual growth of great cities and a slight tendency to depopulation in the country. The growth of the great cities is the essential phenomenon. These aggregates having populations of from eight hundred thousand upward to four and five millions, are certainly, so far as the world outside the limits of the Chinese Empire goes, entirely an unprecedented thing.

Now, is this growth of large towns really, as we allege, a result of the development of railways in the world, or is it simply a change in human circumstances that happens to have arisen at the same time? It needs only a very general review of the conditions of the distribution of population to realize that the former is probably the true answer.

It will be convenient to make the issue part of a more general proposition, namely, that *the general distribution of population in a country must always be directly dependent on transport facilities.* To illustrate this point roughly we may build up an imaginary community by considering its needs. Over an arable country-side, for example, inhabited by a people who have attained agriculture, in which war was no longer constantly imminent, the population would, of course, be diffused primarily by families and groups in farmsteads. It might, if it were a very simple population, be almost all so distributed. But even the simplest agriculturists find a certain convenience in trade. Certain definite points would be convenient for such local trade and intercourse as the people found desirable, and here it is that there would arise the germ of a town.

Now, if this meeting place was more than a certain distance from any particular farm, it would be inconvenient for that farmer to get himself and his produce there and back and to do his business in a comfortable daylight; and, instead, he would either have to go to some other nearer centre to trade and gossip with his neighbors, or, failing this, not go at all. Evidently, then, there would be a maximum distance between such places. This distance in England, where traffic has been mainly horse traffic for many centuries, seems to have worked out, according to the gradients and so forth, at from eight to fifteen miles, and at each distance do we find the country towns, while the horseless man, the serf, and the laborer and laboring wench have marked their narrow limits in the distribution of the intervening villages. And so it is, entirely as a multiple of horse and foot strides, that all the villages and towns of the world's country-side have been plotted out.

A third, and almost final, factor determining town distribution in a world without railways, would be the seaport and the navigable river. Ports would grow into dimensions dependent on the population of the conveniently accessible coasts (or river banks), and on the quality and quantity of their products, and near these ports, as the conveniences of civilization increased, would appear handicraft towns, (the largest possible towns of a foot-and-horse civilization) with industries of such a nature as the produce of their coasts required.

And now to consider and work out the process of redistribu-

tion, which is, and for at least seven decades has been steadily in progress.

At the first sight, it might appear as though the result of the new developments was simply to increase the number of giant cities in the world by rendering them possible in regions where they had hitherto been impossible; but in all probability they are destined to such a process of dissection and diffusion as to amount almost to obliteration, so far, at least, as the blot on the map goes, within a measurable further space of years.

So far as we can judge without a close and uncongenial scrutiny of statistics, the daily journey that has governed and still to a very considerable extent governs the growth of cities, has had, and probably always will have, a maximum limit of two hours, one hour each way from sleeping place to council chamber, counter, workroom, or office stool. And taking this assumption as sound, we can state precisely the maximum area of various types of town. A pedestrian agglomeration, such as were probably in most of the European towns before the nineteenth century, would be swept entirely by a radius of four miles about the business quarter and the industrial centre. Of course, in the case of a navigable river, for example, the commercial centre might be elongated into a line and the circle of the city modified into an ellipse with a long diameter considerably exceeding eight miles, as, for example, in the instance of Hankow.

If, now, horseflesh is brought into the problem, an outer radius of six or eight miles from the centre will define a larger area in which the carriage folk, the hackney users, the omnibus customers, and their domestics and domestic camp followers may live and still be members of the city. Toward that limit London was already probably moving at the accession of Queen Victoria.

And then there came suddenly the railway and the steamship. For a time neither of these inventions was applied to the needs of intra-urban transit at all. For a time they were purely centripetal forces. They worked simply to increase the general volume of trade—to increase, that is, the pressure of population upon the urban centres. As a consequence the social history of the middle and later third of the nineteenth century, not simply in England but all over the civilized world, is the history of a gigantic rush of population into the magic radius of—for most people—four miles.

These new forces, at present still so potently centripetal in their influence, bring with them, nevertheless, the distinct promise of a centrifugal application that may be finally equal to the complete reduction of all our present congestions.

We are on the eve of a great development of centrifugal possibilities. And since it has been shown that a city of pedestrians is inexorably limited by a radius of about four miles, and that a horse-using city may grow out to seven or eight, it follows that the available area of a city which can offer a cheap suburban journey of thirty miles an hour is a circle with a radius of thirty miles. And is it too much, therefore, to expect that the available area for even the common daily toilers of the great city of the year 2000, or earlier, will have a radius very much larger even than that? Now, a circle with a radius of thirty miles gives an area of over 2,800 square miles, which is almost a quarter that of Belgium. But thirty miles is only a very moderate estimate of speed, and the available area for the social equivalent of the favored season-ticket holders of to-day will have a radius of over one hundred miles, and be almost equal to the area of Ireland. The radius that will sweep the area available for such as now live in the outer suburbs will include a still vaster area. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the vast stretch of country from Washington to Albany will be all of it "available" to the active citizen of New York and Philadelphia before that date.

This does not for a moment imply that cities of the density of our existing great cities will spread to these limits. The great city cannot grow, except as a result of some quite morbid and transitory process—to be cured at last by famine and disorder—beyond the area it commands commercially. Long before the population of this city, with its inner circle a third of the area of Belgium, rose toward the old-fashioned city density, this restriction would come in.

How far will this possible diffusion accomplish itself? Let us first consider the case of those classes that will be free to exercise a choice in the matter. What will be the forces acting upon the prosperous household, the household with a working head and four hundred pounds a year and upward to live upon, in the days to come? First, let us weigh the centrifugal attractions.

The first of these is what is known as the passion for nature, that passion for hillside, wind, and sea that is evident in so many

people nowadays, either frankly expressed or disguising itself as a passion for golfing, fishing, hunting, yachting, or cycling; and, secondly, there is the allied charm of cultivation, and especially of gardening. Through that we come to a third factor, that craving for a little private emporium such as a house or cottage "in its own grounds" affords; and from that we pass on to the intense desire so many women feel—and just the women, too, who will mother the future—their almost instinctive demand, indeed, for a separate sacred and distinctive household, built and ordered after their own hearts, such as in its fulness only the country-side permits. Add to these things the healthfulness of the country for young children, and the wholesome isolation that is possible from much that irritates, stimulates prematurely, and corrupts in crowded cities, and the chief positive centrifugal inducements are stated, inducements that no progress of inventions, at any rate, can ever seriously weaken. What now are the centripetal forces against which these inducements contend?

In the first place, there are a group of forces that will diminish in strength. There is at present the greater convenience of "shopping." All the inner and many of the outer suburbs of London obtain an enormous proportion of the ordinary household goods from half a dozen huge firms each of which has elaborated a very efficient system of taking orders and delivering goods. Collectively these great businesses have been able to overwhelm the small suburban general tradesman. But it is doubtful if the delivery organization of these great stores is any more permanent than the token coinage of the tradespeople of the last century. With the organization of a public parcels and goods delivery on cheap and sane lines in the place of our present complex, stupid, confusing, untrustworthy and fantastically costly chaos of post-office, railways and carriers, it is quite conceivable that Messrs. Omnium will give place again to specialized shops.

A second important centripetal consideration at present is the desirability of access to good schools and to the doctor. But access, be it noted, is another word for transit. It is doubtful if these two needs will so much keep people close to the great city centres as draw them together about secondary centres. New centres they may be in many cases; but also, it may be, in many cases the more healthy and picturesque of the existing small towns will develop a new life.

A third centripetal force is the love of the crowd; and closely allied to it is that love of the theatre which holds so many people in bondage to the Strand. Moreover, interweaving with these influences are other more egotistical and intenser motives, the love of dress, the love of the crush, the hot passion for the promenade. To a certain extent, this group of tendencies may lead to the formation of new secondary centres within the "available" area, theatrical and musical centres—centres of extreme Fashion and Selectness, centres of smartness and opulent display; but it is probable that for the large number of people throughout the world who cannot afford to maintain households in duplicate these will be for many years yet strictly centripetal forces, and will keep them within the radius marked by whatever will be the future equivalent in length of, say, the present two shilling cab ride in London.

Enough now has been said to determine the general nature of the expansion of the great cities in the future so far as the more prosperous classes are concerned.

And now how will the increase in the facilities of communication we have assumed affect the condition of those whose circumstances are more largely dictated by economic forces? The mere diffusion of a large portion of the prosperous and relatively free, and the multiplication of various types of road and mechanical traction, mean, of course, that in this way alone a perceptible diffusion of the less independent classes will occur. To the subsidiary centres will be drawn doctor and schoolmaster and various dealers in fresh provisions, baker, grocer, butcher; or, if they are already established there they will flourish more and more, and about them the convenient home of the future, with its numerous electrical and mechanical appliances, and the various bicycles, motor-cars, photographic and phonographic apparatus that will be included in its equipment will gather a population of repairers, "accessory" dealers and working engineers, a growing class which from its necessary intelligence and numbers may play a rather conspicuous part in the social development of the twentieth century. And the sons of the cottager within the affected area will develop into the skilled vegetable or flower gardeners, the skilled ostler (with some veterinary science), and so forth, for whom also there will evidently be work and a living. And dotted at every convenient position along the new roads, availing

themselves no doubt whenever possible of the picturesque inns that the old coaching days have left us, will be wayside restaurants and teahouses, and motor and cycle stores, and repair places. So much diffusion is practically inevitable.

In addition, as we have already intimated, many Londoners in the future may abandon the city office altogether, preferring to do their business in more agreeable surroundings. Such a business as book publishing, for example, has no unbreakable bonds to keep it in the region of high rent and congested streets. And the withdrawing publishers may very well take with them the printers and binders, and attract about them their illustrators and designers.

Publishing is, however, only one of the many similar trades equally profitable and equally likely to move outward to secondary centres with the development and cheapening of transit. It is all a question of transit.

The telephone will almost certainly prove a very potent auxiliary indeed to the forces making for diffusion. Consider all that lies within its possibilities. Almost all the labor of ordinary shopping can be avoided. The mistress of the house has all her local tradesmen, all the great London shops, the circulating library, the theatre box-office, the post-office and cab rank, the nurses' institute and the doctor, within reach of her hand. The business man may sit at home in his library and bargain, discuss, promise, hint, threaten, tell such lies as he dare not write, and in fact do everything that once demanded a personal encounter.

But the diffusion of the prosperous, independent and managing classes involves in itself a very considerable diffusion of the purely "working" classes also. Their centres of occupation will be distributed, and their freedom to live at some little distance from their work will be increased.

Enough has been said to demonstrate that old "town" and "city" will be, in truth, terms as obsolete as "mail coach." For these new areas that will grow out of them we want a term, and the administrative "urban district" presents itself with a convenient air of suggestion. We may for our present purposes call these coming town provinces "urban regions." Practically, by a process of confluence, the whole of Great Britain south of the Highlands seems destined to become such an urban region, laced all together not only by railway, telegraph and novel roads, but

by a dense network of telephones, parcels delivery tubes, and the like nervous and arterial connections.

III.—Developing Social Elements.

And now we come to consider the question of the general facies of the population that will be so distributed. The mere difference in thickness and facility of movement, alone, will involve consequences remarkable enough, as a later one of these papers will aim to show; but there are certain still broader features in the social order of the coming time, less intimately related to transit, that it will be convenient to concentrate upon at this stage. These are, essentially, outcomes of the enormous development of mechanism which has been the cardinal feature of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the world, for forty centuries, the more highly developed societies have always presented, under a considerable variety of superficial difference, certain features in common. Always at the base of the edifice, supporting all and subordinate to all—the most necessary of all—there has been the working cultivator, peasant, serf or slave. Save for a little water power, a little use of windmills, the traction of a horse or mule, this class has been the source of all the work upon which the community depends. And, moreover, whatever labor town developments have demanded has been supplied by the muscle of its fecund ranks. It was, in fact—and to some extent still is—the multitudinous, living machinery of the old social order; it carried, cropped, tilled, built and made. And, directing, and sometimes owning, this human machinery, there has always been a superior class, bound—usually by a point of honor—not to toil, often warlike, often equestrian and sometimes cultivated. These two primary classes may and do become in many cases complicated by subdivisions; the peasant class may split into farmers and laborers, the gentlemen admit a series of grades and orders—kings, dukes, earls and the like; but the broad distinction remained intact, as though it were a distinction residing in the nature of things.

From the very dawn of history until the first beginnings of organized mechanism in the eighteenth century, this simple scheme of orders was the universal organization of all but savage humanity; and the chief substance of all history, until these later years, has been, in essence, the perpetual endeavor of some organi-

zation based on this to attain, in every region, the locally suitable, permanent form against those two inveterate enemies of human stability, innovation and that secular increase in population that security permits. The imperfection of the means of communication rendered political unions of a greater area than that swept by a hundred mile radius highly unstable. It was a world of small states. Lax empires came and went; at the utmost, they were the linking of practically autonomous states under a common *Pax*. Wars were usually wars between kingdoms, conflicts of this local experiment in social organization with that. Through all the historic period, these few well defined classes acted and reacted upon each other. Until the coming of gunpowder, the man on horseback (commonly with some sort of armor) was invincible in battle in the open. Wherever the land lay wide and open and the great lines of trade did not fall, there the horseman was master—or the clerkly man behind the horseman. Such a land was aristocratic and tended to form castes. The craftsman sheltered under a patron and in guilds in a walled town, and the laborer was a serf. He was ruled over by his knight or by his creditor; in the end, it matters little how the gentleman began. But where the land became difficult by reason of mountain or forest, or where water greatly intersected it, the pikeman, or closer fighting swordsman, or the bowman, could hold his own, and a democratic flavor, a touch of repudiation was in the air.

Throughout, it was essentially one phase of human organization. When one comes to examine the final result, it is astonishing the small amount of essential change, of positively final and irreparable alteration in the conditions of the common life. Consider, for example, how entirely in sympathy was the close of the eighteenth century with the epoch of Horace, and how closely equivalent were the various social aspects of the two periods. The literature of Rome was living reading then, in a sense that has suddenly passed away. It was a commonplace of the thought of that time that all things recurred, all things circled back to their former seasons, there was nothing new under the sun. But now, almost suddenly, the circling has ceased, and we find ourselves breaking away. Correlated with the sudden development of mechanical forces that first began to be socially perceptible in the middle eighteenth century, has been the appearance of great

masses of population, having quite novel functions and relations in the social body; and, together with this appearance, such a suppression, curtailment and modification of the older class as to point to an entire disintegration of that system.

The most striking of the new classes to emerge is certainly the shareholding class, the owners of a sort of property new in the world's history.

Before the eighteenth century, the only property of serious importance consisted in land and buildings. These were "real" estate. Beyond these things were live stock, serfs and the furnishings of real estate, the surface aspect of real estate, so to speak, personal property, ships, weapons and the Semitic invention of money. All such property had to be actually "held" and administered by the owner; he was immediately in connexion with it and responsible for it. He could leave it only precariously to a steward and manager, for personal honesty is a much less trustworthy thing than a public standard of honesty; and to convey the revenue of it to him at a distance was a difficult and costly proceeding. To prevent a constant social disturbance by lapsing and dividing property, and in the absence of any organized agency to receive lapsed property, inheritance and preferably primogeniture were of such manifest advantage that the old social organization tended in the direction of these institutions. Such usury as was practiced relied entirely on the land and on the anticipated agricultural produce of the land.

But the usury and the sleeping partnerships of the Joint Stock Company system, which took shape in the eighteenth and the earlier half of the nineteenth century, opened quite unprecedented uses for money, and created a practically new sort of property and a new proprietor class. The peculiar novelty of this property is easily defined. Given a sufficient sentiment of public honesty, share property is property that can be owned at any distance, and that yields its revenue without thought or care on the part of its proprietor; it is, indeed, absolutely irresponsible property, a thing that no old world property ever was. But, in spite of its widely different nature, the laws of inheritance that the social necessities of the old order of things established have been applied to this new species of possession without remark. It is indestructible, irresponsible wealth, subject only to the mutations of value that economic changes bring about. Related in its

character of absolute irresponsibility to this shareholding class, is a kindred class that has grown with the growth of the great towns, the people who live upon ground rents. There is every indication that this element of irresponsible, independent and wealthy people in the social body, people who feel the urgency of no exertion, the pressure of no specific positive duties, is still on the increase and may still for a long time increasingly preponderate. They overshadow the responsible owner of real property or of real business altogether. Most of the old aristocrats, the old knightly and landholding people, have, so to speak, converted themselves into members of this new class.

It is a singularly ill defined class, a class with scarcely any specific characteristics beyond its defining one, of the possession of property and all the potentialities property entails, with a total lack of function with regard to that property. It is not even collected into a distinct mass. It graduates insensibly into every other class, it permeates society as threads and veins of gold permeate quartz.

It will be well to glance at certain considerations which point to the by no means self-evident proposition, that this factor of irresponsible property is certain to be present in the social body a hundred years hence. It has, no doubt, occurred to the reader that all the conditions of the shareholder's being unfit him for co-operative action in defense of the interests of his class. Since shareholders do nothing in common, except receive and hope for dividends, since they may be of any class, any culture, any disposition or any capacity, they will, one may anticipate, be incapable of any concerted action to defend the interest they derive from society against any resolute attack. Such crude and obvious denials of the essential principles of their existence as the various socialistic bodies have proclaimed, have, no doubt, encountered a vast, unorganized, negative opposition from them; but the subtle and varied attack of natural forces they have neither the collective intelligence to recognize nor the natural organization to resent. The question of the prolonged existence of this comparatively new social phenomenon turns, therefore, entirely on the quasi-natural laws of the social body.

Neglecting a few exceptional older corporations, which, indeed, in their essence are not usurious but of unlimited liability, the shareholding body appeared first in its present character in

the seventeenth century, and came to its full development in the mid-nineteenth. Was its appearance then due only to the attainment of a certain necessary degree of public credit, or was it correlated with any other force? It seems in accordance with facts to relate it to another force, the development of mechanism, so far as certain representative aspects go. Hitherto, the only borrower had been the farmer; then the exploring trader had found a world too wide for purely individual effort; and then suddenly the craftsman of all sorts, and the carriers, discovered the need of the new great, wholesale, initially expensive appliances that invention was offering them. It was the development of mechanism that created the great bulk of modern shareholding; it took its present shape distinctively only with the appearance of the railways. The hitherto necessary, but subordinate, craftsman and merchant classes were to have new weapons, new powers, they were to develop to a new importance, to a preponderance even in the social body. But before they could attain these weapons, before this new and novel wealth could be set up, it had to pay its footing in an apportioned world, it had to buy its right to disturb the established social order. The dividend of the shareholder was the tribute the new enterprise had to pay the old wealth.

If the great material developments of the nineteenth century had been final, if they had, indeed, constituted merely a revolution, and not an absolute release from the fixed conditions about which human affairs circled, we might even now be settling account with the shareholding ingredient as the socialists desire, But these developments were not final, and one sees no hint as yet of any coming finality. Invention runs free and our state is under its dominion. The statesman's conception of social organization is no longer stability but growth. And so long as material progress continues, this tribute must continue to be paid. Even if we "municipalize" all sorts of undertakings, we shall not alter the essential facts; we shall only substitute for the shareholder the corporation stockholder.

At the opposite pole of the social scale to that about which shareholding is most apparent, is a second necessary and quite inevitable consequence of the sudden transition that has occurred from a very nearly static social organization to a violently progressive one. This is the appearance of a great number of people

without either property or any evident function in the social organism. This new ingredient is most apparent in the towns, and is frequently spoken of as the Urban Poor; but its characteristic traits are to be found also in the rural districts. For the most part, its individuals are either criminal, immoral, parasitic in more or less irregular ways upon the more successful classes, or laboring at something less than a regular bare-subsistence wage, in a finally hopeless competition against machinery that is as yet not so cheap as their toil. It is, to borrow a popular phrase, the "submerged" portion of the social body, a leaderless, aimless multitude, a multitude of people drifting down toward the Abyss.

Whatever may be done to mitigate or conceal the nature of this element, it remains in its essence, wherever social progress is being made, the contingent of death. Humanity has set out in the direction of a more complex and exacting organization; and until, by a foresight to me at least inconceivable, it can prevent the birth of just all the inadaptable, useless or merely unnecessary creatures in each generation, there must needs continue to be this individually futile struggle beneath the feet of the race; somewhere and in some form, there must still persist those essentials that now take shape as the slum, the prison and the asylum.

The appearance of these two strange, functionless elements is by no means the most essential change in progress. The old upper class, as a functional member of the state, is being effaced. The old lower class, the broad necessary base of the social pyramid, the uneducated, unadaptable peasants and laborers, is with the development of toil-saving machinery dwindling and crumbling down bit by bit toward the Abyss. But side by side with these two processes is a third process of still profounder significance, and that is the reconstruction and the vast proliferation of what constituted the middle class of the old order. It is now, indeed, no longer a middle class at all. Rather all the definite classes, in the old scheme of functional precedence, have melted and mingled, and in the molten mass there has appeared a vast intricate confusion of different sorts of people, some sailing about upon floating masses of irresponsible property, some buoyed by smaller fragments, some clinging desperately enough to insignificant atoms, a great and varied multitude swimming successfully without aid or with an amount of aid that is negligible in relation to their own efforts, and an equally varied multitude of less

capable ones clinging to the swimmers, clinging to the floating rich, or clutching empty-handed, and thrust or sinking down.

It will be obvious that the interest of this speculation at any rate centres upon this great intermediate mass of people who are neither passively wealthy, the sleeping partners of change, nor helplessly thrust out of the process. Indeed, from our point of view, these non-effective masses would have but the slightest interest, were it not for their enormous possibilities of reaction upon the really living portion of the social organism. This really living portion seems at first sight to be as deliquescent in its nature, to be drifting down to as chaotic a structure as either the non-functional owners that float above it, or the non-functional unemployed who sink below. What were once the definite subdivisions of the middle class modify and lose their boundaries. The retail tradesman of the towns, for example—once a fairly homogeneous class throughout Europe—expands here into vast store companies, and dwindles there to be an agent or collector, seeks employment or topples outright into the Abyss. But one can detect here that there are other processes by which men are being segregated into a multitude of specific new groups which may develop very distinctive characters and ideals.

There are, for example, the unorganized myriads that one can cover by the heading "mechanics and engineers," if one uses it in its widest possible sense. At present, it would be almost impossible to describe a typical engineer. The black-faced, oily man one figures emerging from the engine room serves well enough, until one recalls the sanitary engineer with his additions of crockery and plumbing, the electrical engineer with his little tests and wires, the mining engineer, the railway maker, the motor builder and the irrigation expert. Consider the rude levy that is engaged in supplying and repairing the world's new need of bicycles! Individuals from all the older aspects of engineering have been caught up by the new development, are all now, with a more or less inadequate knowledge and training, working in the new service. But is it likely that it will remain a rude levy? From all these varied people the world requires certain things, and a failure to attain them involves sooner or later, in this competitive world, an individual replacement and a push toward the Abyss. The very lowest of them must understand the machine they contribute to make and repair. They must

keep on mastering new points, new aspects; they must be intelligent and adaptable; they must get a grasp of that permanent something that lies behind the changing immediate practice; so far, they must be educated, rather than trained after the fashion of the old craftsman. Just now this body of irregulars is threatened by the coming of the motors. The motors promise new difficulties, new rewards and new competition. It is an ill look out for the cycle mechanic who is not prepared to tackle the new problems that will arise. For all this next century, this particular body of mechanics will be picking up new recruits, and eliminating the incompetent and the rule of thumb sage. Can it fail, as the years pass, to develop certain general characters, to become so far homogenous as to be generally conscious of the need of a scientific education, and to possess, down to its very lowest ranks and orders, a common fund of intellectual training?

But the makers and repairers of cycles, and that larger multitude that will presently be concerned with motors, are, after all, only a small and specialized section of the general body of mechanics and engineers. Every year, with the advance of invention, new branches of activity, that change in their nature and methods all too rapidly for the establishment of rote and routine workers of the old type, call together fresh levies of amateurish workers and learners, who must surely presently develop into or give place to bodies of qualified and capable men. Throughout all its ramifications and ranks this new, great and expanding body of mechanics and engineers will tend to become an educated and adaptable class, in a sense in which the craftsmen of former times were not educated and adaptable. Here we have at least the possibility, the primary creative conditions, of a new, numerous, intelligent, educated and capable social element.

What are the chief obstacles in the way of the emergence, from out the present chaos, of this social element in the next hundred years? In the first place, there is the spirit of trade unionism. Trade unions arise under the traditions of the old order, when, in every business, employer and employed stood as a special instance of the universal relationship between gentle or intelligent, who supplied no labor, and simple who supplied nothing else. The interest of the employer was to get as much labor as possible out of his hirelings; the compensating object in life of the hireling, whose sole function was drudgery, was to

give as little to his employer as possible. In the older trades, these traditions have practically arrested any advance whatever. There can be no doubt that their influence has spread into what are practically new branches of work. Even where new conveniences have called for new types of workmen, and have opened the way for the elevation of a group of laborers to the higher level of versatile educated men, the old traditions have to a very large extent prevailed. The average sanitary plumber of to-day in England insists upon his position as a mere laborer as though it were some precious thing, he guards himself from improvements as a virtuous woman guards her honor, he works for specifically limited hours and by the hour with specific limitations in the practice of his trade, on the fairly sound assumption that but for that restriction any fool might do plumbing as well as he does and so lower his wretched standard of comfort. Whatever he learns he learns from some other plumber during his apprenticeship years, after which he devotes himself to doing the minimum of work in the maximum of time.

At present, however, I am dealing not with the specific community but with the generalized civilized community of A. D. 2000; and for that emergent community, wherever it may be, it seems reasonable to anticipate the replacing of the classes of common workmen and mechanics of to-day by a large, fairly homogenous body of more or less expert mechanics and engineers, with a certain common minimum of education and living intelligence, and a common consciousness—a new body, a new force, in the world's history. For this body to exist, implies the existence of much more than the primary and initiating nucleus of engineers and skilled mechanics. If it is an educated class, its existence implies a class of educators, and just as far as it does get educated the schoolmasters will be skilled and educated men. The shabby-genteel middle class schoolmaster of the England of to-day in (or a little way out of) orders, with his smattering of Greek, his Latin that leads nowhere, his fatuous mathematics and his gross ignorance of pedagogics, certainly does not represent the schoolmaster of this coming class.

The future spells variation. The practical abolition of impossible distances over the world will tend to make every district specialize in the production for which it is best fitted. The chief opposing force to this tendency will be found in those coun-

tries where the tenure of the land is in small holdings. A population of small agriculturalists that has really got itself well established is probably as hopelessly immovable a thing as the forces of progressive change will have to encounter. But I do not see how they will obstruct, more than locally, the reorganization of agriculture and horticulture upon the ampler and more economical lines mechanism permits, or prevent the development of a type of agriculturalist as adaptable, alert, intelligent, unprejudiced and modest as the coming engineer. The development of more and more scientific engineering and really adaptable operatives will render possible agricultural contrivances that are now only dreams.

Another great section of the community will also fall within the attraction of this possible synthesis, and will inevitably undergo profound modification—the military element. Of the probable development of warfare, a later chapter shall treat; and here it will suffice to point out that at present science stands proffering the soldier vague, vast possibilities of mechanism, and that so far he has accepted practically nothing but rifles which he cannot sight, and guns that he does not learn to move about. It offers him transport that he does not use, maps he does not use, entrenching devices, road-making devices, balloons and flying scouts, portable foods, security from disease, a thousand ways of organizing the horrible uncertainties of war. But the soldier of to-day (I do not mean the British soldier only) still insists on regarding these revolutionary appliances as mere accessories, and untrustworthy ones at that, to the practice of his art.

Almost all discussion of military matters still turns upon the now quite stupid assumption that there are two primary military arms, and no more, horse and foot. "Cyclists are infantry," the War Office manual of 1900 gallantry declares in the face of this changing universe. After fifty years of railways, there still does not exist a skilled and organized body of men, specifically prepared to seize, repair, reconstruct, work and fight such an important element in the new social machinery as a railway system.

But, sooner or later, the new sort of soldier will emerge, a sober, considerate engineering man—no more of a gentleman than his subordinate or any other self-respecting person.

Here, then (in the vision of the present writer), are the main

social elements of the coming time; (1.) the element of irresponsible property; (2.) the helpless superseded poor, that broad base of toilers, now no longer essential; (3.) a great inchoate mass of more or less capable people, engaged more or less consciously in applying the growing body of scientific knowledge to the general needs; and a possibly equally great number of non-productive persons living in and by the social confusion.

All these elements are developing under the stimulus of mechanical developments, and with the bandages of old tradition hampering their movements. The laws they obey, the governments they live under are for the most part laws made and governments planned before the coming of steam. The areas of administration are still areas marked out by conditions of locomotion as obsolete as the quadrupedal method of the pre-arboreal ancestor.

This being so, a large part of the history of the coming years must assuredly consist of more or less conscious endeavors to adapt these obsolete and obsolescent contrivances for the management of public affairs to the new and continually expanding and changing requirements of the social body. There are here no signs of a millennium. Internal reconstruction, while men are still limited, egotistical, passionate, ignorant and ignorantly led, means sedition and revolution, and the rectification of frontiers means wars.

H. G. WELLS.

(To be continued.)

SUNSPOTS AND RAINFALL.

BY SIR NORMAN LOCKYER, K. C. B., F. R. S.

It was in 1801, just a century ago, that Sir William Herschel attacked the question, whether the price of wheat in England was in any way related to the appearance of many or few spots on the sun's surface. The inquiry then was a daring one; for, however perfect our national statistics may have been in relation to the price of wheat, there was nowhere kept up a continuous record of the changes visible on the sun's surface, nor had there been any serious attempt made to determine the law underlying them. Still, what data there were enabled Herschel to arrive at the conclusion that the price of wheat was highest when there were fewest spots.

We have to come down to Schwabe, and the year 1830, before that continuous record begins which soon revealed a cycle of eleven years in the solar changes; and down to Meldrum, and the year 1870, before these changes were studied in connection with changes in terrestrial weather. In the meantime, half-way between 1830 and 1870, in the year 1850, Lamont and Sabine discovered a very close connection between the amount of the sun's spotted area and the changes in terrestrial magnetism.

Meldrum and many others soon produced evidence indicating a similar, though not so obvious, connection with terrestrial weather: cyclones in the East and West Indies, and rainfall in certain places were shown to be at a maximum when the solar spotted area was greatest; and, in spite of cheap sneers on the part of scientific *fainéants,* this opinion gained ground among the thinkers. Among the difficulties of that time may be mentioned the absence of continuity in the records. Although De la Rue and Balfour Stewart had inaugurated a photographic registration of sun-spots at Kew, science had to be content each year with a record of about 150 days out of the 365. Rainfall regis-

tration was in its infancy, except at certain stations where observatories had been established; areas, therefore, could not be considered, especially in the tropics, where the atmosphere changes are the most regular.

But in the next few years a great improvement was effected. After reiterated appeals by Sir Richard Strachey to the Indian authorities, a Meteorological Department was established and began work in 1875; and, thanks to this organization, perfect rainfall observations have been made ever since, and in that very region of the world where they are of the greatest value for the study of meteorological changes, and where these changes, accompanied as they so often are by famines, lead to the most disastrous results.

While these efforts were being made in India, opinion at home was influenced by the "Indian Famines" report, in which it was stated that efforts should be made to do all that science could do in the way of securing a basis for possible predictions; and the Duke of Devonshire's Royal Commission on Science, which was then sitting, recommended the establishment of a Solar Physics Observatory in England, with branches in India and the Colonies, where the raw material, "sunshine," was much more plentiful than it is with us. A "Solar Physics Committee" was eventually appointed, and some wood and canvas huts were erected to cover a few instruments chiefly lent by the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airy, and by private persons to carry on the necessary work.

As early as 1871, the Indian authorities were considering the question of erecting a Solar Physics Observatory in that country, in order that a complete record of solar changes might be secured to compare with the meteorological ones; but the proposal was abandoned on the ground of expense. It fell to my lot, however, to secure what was really needed in the first instance—namely, daily photographs of the sun. This was brought about by a personal appeal to Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, before the Solar Physics Committee was established. Thanks to this new organization, and to the subsequent addition of Mauritius as an observing station, the Greenwich photographs, which are a continuation of the Kew series before mentioned, have been so supplemented since 1878 that we may reckon on about 360 daily records in each year.

We have had, then, since 1875 a perfect record of the rainfall in India, and a perfect record of the sun's spotted area since 1878.

The first piece of routine work undertaken at the Solar Physics Observatory at Kensington, after the daily photographs of the sun had been so magnificently secured, was a daily examination of the spectra of sun-spots, in order to see if any light could be thrown by them on other solar changes connected with their formation. This has gone on regularly from the year 1879.

To explain this new branch of solar research, it may be stated that, on throwing the image of a sun-spot on the slit of a spectroscope, it is found that the spectrum of a spot so examined is not only darkened all along, but that certain of the Fraunhofer lines, observed in the ordinary spectrum of the sun, are *widened*, and that the lines widened vary from time to time.

One of the most important results of this line of inquiry, now that an examination of many years' records is available, shows us that the widened lines at some periods are easily traceable to known elements, while at others their origins have not been discovered; the latter, therefore, have been classed as "unknown" lines. If we compare these two periods with the sun-spot curve, as constructed from the measurements of the mean spotted area for each year, it is found that, when the spotted area is greatest, the widened lines belong to the "unknown" class; while, when the spotted area is least, they belong to the "known" class.

Curves of the "known" and "unknown" lines have been made by determining for each quarter of a year the percentage number of known and unknown lines, and plotting these percentages. Instead of using the mean curves for all the known elements involved, that for iron is employed, as it is a good representative of "known" elements, and has been best studied. Such curves cross each other at the points where the percentage of unknown lines is increasing and that of the iron or known lines are diminishing, or *vice versa*.

It has been found that the chemistry of the spots changes with the sun-spot cycle. At sun-spot minimum, the spectral lines show that the spots contain iron vapor chiefly. At sun-spot maximum, the iron lines disappear and are chiefly replaced by others about which we know nothing, as they have

not been recorded in any laboratory; the only reason so far suggested for this is that they indicate a very high temperature in the spot which we cannot reach in our laboratories. If we assume this, we have three stages of solar temperature thus indicated: a low temperature when the iron lines are seen alone; a mean temperature when the iron and unknown lines are equally mixed; and a high one when the unknown lines are seen alone.

When the curves of known and unknown lines cross each other—that is, when the number of known and unknown lines is about equal—we must assume a mean condition of solar temperature. When the unknown lines reach their maximum, we have indicated to us a *plus* pulse or condition of temperature. When the known lines reach their maximum, we have a *minus* pulse or condition of temperature.

During the period in which these observations have been carried on—that is, since 1879—three such crossings have occurred, indicating the presence of mean solar temperature conditions, in the years 1881, 1886-7 and 1892. Another crossing should have occurred in 1897, indicating thereby the arrival of another mean condition of the solar temperature, but as yet no such crossing has taken place.

Many sun-spots, then, must be held to indicate an excess of heat *and a very great excess.* In other words, the changes of solar temperature accompanying the sun-spot cycle are very much greater than was formerly imagined.

During the period in which these chemical inquiries into sun-spots have been pursued, we have learned a great deal about the solar prominences; and here again the same conclusions must be drawn from these observations—namely, that the sun is very much hotter at sun-spot maximum; and, indeed, the evidence here is more direct. We see a sun-spot easily because it appears dark on a bright surface, but it appears dark because it is cooler; hence, at first, spots were regarded as screens, and it was thought that, the more spots, the less the heat received from the sun. But the prominence work has taught us that the easily seen spot is only a feeble indication of tremendous solar activity and disturbances, which it is very difficult to see, for the reason that the disturbed areas are *brighter* than the general surface of the sun. Thanks, however, to a beautiful method invented by Messrs. Hale and Deslandres, based upon an idea of Janssen's, it is now pos-

sible, day by day, to secure a photographic picture of the sun's disc, showing both spots and prominences on which the former, the cooler phenomena, are seen, *"rari nantes in gurgite vasto"* of a disturbed sea of incandescent vapors stretching right across the sun's surface.

In such photographs, near sun-spot maximum, the concentration of the prominences in zones parallel to the equator is perfectly obvious at a glance. They are thus seen to cover a much larger area than the spots, so that we have the maximum of solar activity indicated, not so much by the increased absorption phenomena indicated by the greater number of the spots, but by the much greater radiation phenomena of the metallic prominences. There seems little doubt that, in the future, the measure of the change in the amount of solar energy will be determined by the amount and *locus* of the prominence area.

Spots are, therefore, indications of excess of heat, and not of its defect, as was suggested when the term "screen" was used for them. We know now that the spots at maximum are really full of highly heated vapors produced by the prominences, which are most numerous when the solar atmosphere is most disturbed. It is all the more necessary to point this out, because the insignificance of the area occupied by the spots has been used as an argument against any easily recognized connection between solar and terrestrial meteorological changes.

Assuming two belts of prominences N. and S. 10° wide, with their centres over lat. 16°, the sixth of the sun's visible hemisphere would be in a state of disturbance.

Both the inquiry into the chemical nature of spots and the study of prominences during the last quarter of a century have, it will be seen, demonstrated that there is an undreamt of rise of solar temperature at the maximum, and a considerable falling off at the minimum, of the sun-spot cycle.

I have before stated that the regularity of the widened-line record since 1879 was broken about the year 1897. The "crossing" we had a right to expect did not take place; something abnormal was occurring in the sun.

At the same time, irregularities in the Indian rainfall, accompanied by severe famines, were recorded. The coincidence seemed to me very striking, and it suggested the study and correlation of the various series of facts which might be expected to

throw light upon the subject, especially as we had now several new solar factors to deal with, revealed by the recent work to which I have referred.

Hence it was that the work* was undertaken, of which the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked me to give a short account in the present article. This work has consisted, in a word, of a comparison of solar and terrestrial weather for a period for which the data along both lines are more or less complete.

Let me take the solar facts first.

A mean condition of solar temperature has been found from the equality in the numbers of the iron and unknown lines for the years 1881, 1886 and 1892; by extrapolation, it seemed that we might be justified in assuming other mean temperatures in 1869 and 1876.

With regard to the sun-spot cycle of eleven years, or thereabouts, which brings before us the main changes in the meteorology of the sun, it has long been known that a cycle of solar weather begins in about lat. 32° N. and S., and in a period of eleven years ends in about lat. 5° N. and S. Just before one cycle ends, another commences. The greatest amount of spotted surface occurs when the solar weather-changes produced in the cycle reach about lat. 16° N. and S.

The following table correlates the times of mean solar temperature, and of the *plus* and *minus* heat pulses, with the solar weather cycle, in order to arrive at the temperature history of the sun during the period which now concerns us:

SOLAR CYCLES.

Mean Lat. of spots.	19°		12°		18°		10°		19°	
Heat condition.	mean	plus	mean	minus	mean	plus	mean	minus	mean	plus
Years.	1869	1870-5	1876	1877-80	1881	1882-6	1886-7	1888-91	1891-2	1892

With regard to the terrestrial facts, it will be clear from the foregoing that the object to be pursued was to endeavor to ascertain if the *plus* and *minus* temperature pulses in the sun were echoed by *plus* and *minus* pulses of rainfall.

The Indian rainfall was selected (1.) because in the tropics

* "Solar Changes of Temperature and Variations in Rainfall in the Region Surrounding the Indian Ocean." By Sir Norman Lockyer, K. C. B., F. R. S., and W. J. S. Lockyer, M. A. (Camb.), Ph. D. (Gott.).

we may expect the phenomena to be the simplest, (2.) because the regularity of the Indian rains had broken down precisely when the widened-line observations showed a most remarkable departure from the normal, and (3.) because Blandford's Memoir on the Indian rainfall was the most extensive and complete at our disposal, being quite complete for the period of 1876-1886, while other rainfalls were available for subsequent years.

But even then, as I have stated, we had only the complete observed sun-spot areas from 1878 and the widened-line work from 1879.

I am most anxious to show how limited the inquiry has necessarily been, both as to place and time, because, on the one hand, my son and myself have been blamed for using too short a period, and, on the other, our conclusions have been considered general for the whole surface of the planet.

A preliminary study of Blandford's tables suggested even a further limitation. As it was important to deal with the individual observations as far as possible, because it was of the essence of the inquiry to trace the individual pulses if they were found, the southwest monsoon was, in the first instance, considered by itself, because, although Eliot holds that the winter rains (northeast monsoon) are due to moisture brought by an upper southwest current, their incidence is very different, and their inclusion might mask the events it was most important to study.

It soon became evident that the facts, when thus appealed to, showed that in many parts of India the *plus* and *minus* conditions of solar temperature were both accompanied by pulses producing pressure changes and heavy rains in the Indian Ocean and surrounding land. These occurred generally in the first year following the mean condition of solar temperature, that is in 1877-8 and 1882-3, dates approximating to, but followed by, the minimum and maximum periods of sun-spots respectively.

This was a revelation, and by no means in accord with a widespread idea that maximum sun-spots were alone accompanied by maximum rainfall, although Meldrum, as far back as 1881, referred to "the extreme oscillations of weather changes in different places, at the turning points of the curves representing the increase and decrease of solar activity."

It was especially in regions, such as Malabar and the Konkan,

where the monsoon strikes the west coast of India, that the sharpness and individuality of these pulses was the most obvious.

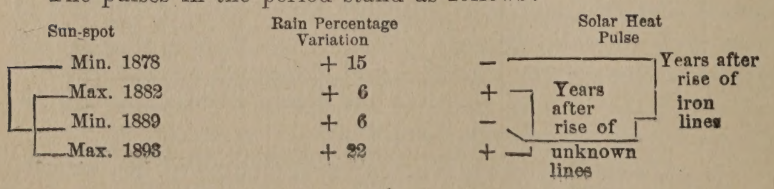
One method of study employed was based upon Chambers's view that the southwest monsoon depends upon the oscillations of the equatorial belt of low pressure up to 31° N. lat. at the summer solstice. The months of rain-receipt on the upward and downward swing will, therefore, depend on the latitude, and these months alone were considered.

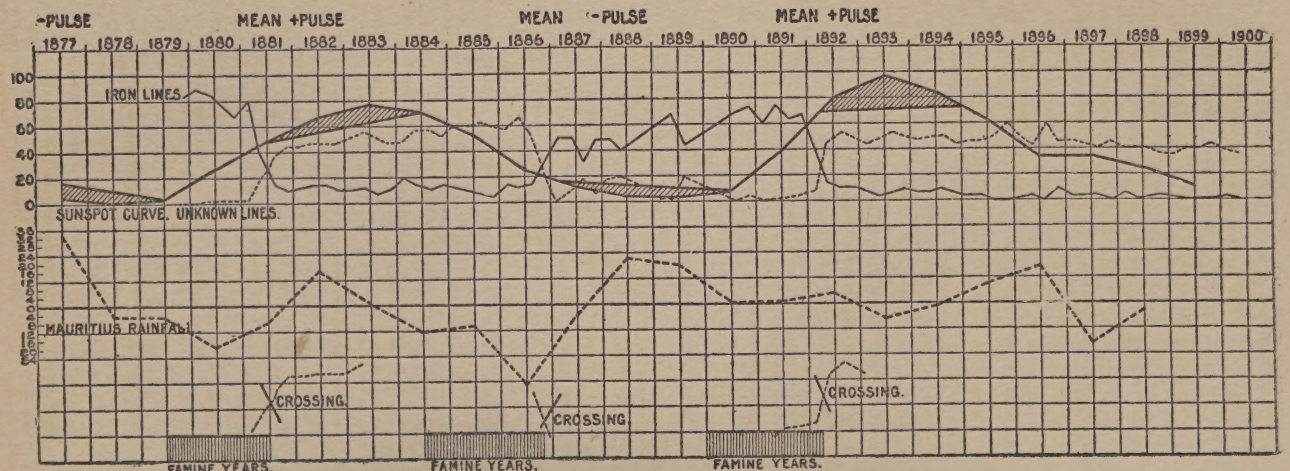
The results obtained by this method of investigation are entirely in harmony with the above stated general conclusion, which, I must remind the reader, is based on the years 1876-1886, embracing one maximum and one minimum of sun-spots.

But we could go further than this, because Eliot, the Director General of the India Meteorological Department, had quite recently published a table of rainfall between 1875 and 1896 for the whole of India. This period embraced two maxima and two minima of sun-spots, and thus gave us a base double the length of that previously employed. Still, as it included the rainfall both of the southwest and northwest monsoons, it was anticipated that such a table, built up of means observed over such a large area and during both monsoons, would more or less conceal the meaning of the separate pulses observed in separate localities; this we found to be the case. Nevertheless, the table helped us greatly, because it included the summation of results nine years later than those included in Blandford's masterly memoir. Predominant pulses were found in 1889 and 1893, following those of 1877-8 and 1882-3. So that it enabled us to follow the working of the same law through another sun-spot cycle, the law, that is, of the mean solar temperature being followed by a pulse of rainfall.

Years of Mean Solar Temperature	Years of Chief Rainfall
1876	1878
1881	1882
1886–7	1889
1892	1893

The pulses in the period stand as follows:





1880 MADRAS.
" N.W.P.

1868-9 N.W.P. 1868 LOW NILE.
1860-1 N.W.P. 1858-9 " "
1837-8 U.INDIA.
1824 MADRAS.

1884-5 BENGAL.
MADRAS.

1873-4 N.W.P. 1873 LOW NILE.
75-6 BOMBAY.
76-7 BOMBAY. 1877 " "
" U.INDIA.
" MADRAS.

1865-6 MADRAS.
" ORISSA.

1854 MADRAS.
1833 MADRAS.
1811 MADRAS.

1890 N.W.P.
1891-2 MADRAS.
" BOMBAY.
" BENGAL.
1892 N.W.P.

The variations in the intensities of the pulses of rain at the successive maxima and minima are very remarkable, and suggest the working of a higher law, of which we have other evidence.

The facts, then, showed conclusively that there was an excess rainfall in India following the times of mean solar temperature; in other words, about the time of maximum and minimum sun-spots.

Now, these pulses of excess rainfall are limited in duration. Hence, when each pulse ceases, the quantity of rain which falls in the Indian area is greatly reduced.

The next question, then, was to see whether there was any connection between the intervals between the pulses and the occurrence of the droughts and famines which have devastated India from time to time, and apparently without any periodicity enabling them to be foretold and provided against.

For this purpose, the sun-spot area and widened-line curves were brought together, and the mean solar temperature and the plus and minus conditions marked, over the years included in the inquiry. These are shown on the top of the accompanying diagram, on which the sun-spot curve is shaded for the years when the highest rainfall occurred.

Then the famine statistics were inquired into, and for this the tables given in the Reports of the Famine Commission were utilized.

The first result was that, during the period embraced in the inquiry, the non-shaded parts of the sun-spot curves—that is, the intervals between the rain pulses—were precisely the years of droughts and famines, 1880, 1884-5 and 1890-1.

The next result was, that the famines which had occurred between 1811 and the beginning of the period covered by the inquiry, all fell on, or nearly on, the same intervals, counting back eleven years either from 1880 or 1885, the central years of the intervals between the pulses.

Now, all this cannot be coincidence. It really looks as if these inquiries, carried on for some few years during which work shall be redoubled in obtaining the necessary solar and terrestrial data, may eventually provide us with materials for a more or less perfect prediction of Indian famines.

The Indian area, after all, is but a small part of the earth's surface; and when the tropics are left behind, the great irregu-

larities observed in weather changes are certain to make the problem a very difficult one.

Some other rainfalls have been examined outside the Indian area, and in some the same rain pulses have been recognized—the Nile and Mississippi valleys may be mentioned; but in other regions the rain pulses observed in India are lacking.

Such work as this would hardly be worth the doing if it did not suggest matter for further inquiries. The idea that the greatest rainfall should occur at sun-spot maximum was, perhaps, one founded on the magnetic results which were greatest at maximum; but why there should be two rain pulses in each cycle is not obvious at first sight.

Mr. Eliot long ago conjectured that the rainfall of India was profoundly modified by events taking place from time to time in the Southern Ocean. In his "Annual Summary" for 1896 he wrote as follows:

"It has apparently been established in the discussion that the variations of the rainfall in India during the past six years are parallel with, and in part, at least, due to, variations in the gradients, and the strength of the winds in the southeast trade regions of the Indian Ocean. The discussion has indicated that there are variations, from year to year, in the strength of the atmospheric circulation obtaining over the large area of Southern Asia and the Indian Ocean, and that these variations are an important and large factor in determining the periodic variations in the rainfall of the whole area dependent on that circulation, and more especially in India. It has also been indicated that these variations which accompany and are probably the result, in part, of abnormal temperature (and hence pressure) conditions in the Indian Ocean and Indian monsoon area, may be in part due to conditions in the Antarctic Ocean, which also determine the comparative prevalence or absence of icebergs in the northern portions of the Antarctic Ocean."

We have begun an investigation into the pressure changes which have been recorded in this region, the idea underlying the inquiry being, that the reduced solar temperature may modify the pressure, so that the high-pressure belts south of Mauritius may be broken up and thus allow cyclonic winds from a higher latitude to increase the summer rains, as they certainly were increased at the normal minima of 1877 and 1888. If anything like this turns out to be true, the whole question of atmospheric circulation is involved; and it may be that, eventually, the study of the rain pulses in different latitudes and longitudes will help us greatly in following what goes on in the upper air.

NORMAN LOCKYER.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

BY PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L.

For the second time in its history, the British House of Commons the other day was disgraced by a scene of personal violence. In the debates on the Reform Bill, there were scenes of disorderly excitement, nothing worse. On the present occasion, Irish temperament was the offender. Irish members, as they allege, had a grievance, a measure in which they felt interest, and which they had reason to believe had been withdrawn, having been brought on at a late hour and passed by the clôture. The clôture was the act of Gladstone and characteristic of his impatience of opposition. If a member of a deliberative assembly shows that he has come not to deliberate, but to obstruct, expel or suspend him; limit, if you will, the length of speeches; but it is a dangerous thing to allow a Government with a majority at its back the power of denying debate.

The incident, however, showed that Irish disaffection is still alive, and that as the United States has the Negro problem, Great Britain has the Irish problem demanding solution at home before she undertakes to solve problems on the other side of the globe. Irish disaffection is, in fact, very much alive; in a certain aspect, it is more alive than ever; for Ulster, while opposed to the political movement in favor of Home Rule, seems disposed to fall in with the agrarian movement for the abolition of the landlord.

It is strange that British statesmanship should have been so long in getting at the real root of the Irish difficulty. The real root was the ownership of the land, the struggle for which, reappearing in different phases, has pervaded Irish history to the present hour. It was long taken for granted, and was accepted as a fact even by Macaulay, that the main root of the difficulty

was religion, and that if Catholic Emancipation could once be carried, peace and contentment would ensue. Catholic Emancipation was carried; but, though the effect was unquestionably good, as that of any great act of justice would be, peace and contentment did not ensue. The result was bitter disappointment. On the other hand, O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union, being purely political, and having no agrarian element, though it produced much stump oratory of a violent kind and gave government some trouble, never showed much life. Nor had a more revolutionary movement, afterwards set on foot by a circle of young and enthusiastic Nationalists, any better fate. Both movements lacked the agrarian elements; neither promised to give the people the land; and for merely political objects the Irish people did not so much care. Parnell's movement was both political and agrarian.

Continuing to combine the agrarian with the political movement, the Nationalist party came without loss through the last general election. It seems to have pretty well healed the internal dissensions by which it had been torn, and which, arising for the most part from personal sensibilities, have generally proved fatal to Irish combinations. The Irish Nationalist party in the House of Commons may now, in fact, be said to be the only effective Opposition. The South African war has fed the flame, and the Royal visit came too late to produce an effect.

It would be difficult to name a country, to the present problems of which, so clearly as to those of Ireland, history furnishes the key. Had Norman conquest—for Norman it was, not English—extended over the whole of Ireland, as it did over the whole of England, its consequences would have been the same; there would have been an aristocracy co-extensive with the nation, destined presently to become national, and, perhaps, like the Anglo-Norman aristocracy in England, to stand as provisional trustee of public liberty between the people and the despotic tendencies of the Crown. But the Norman conquest extended not beyond Leinster, and the result was an Anglo-Norman Pale, dwindling ultimately into a very narrow compass, with a coarse travesty of Anglo-Norman institutions. The English Monarchy was prevented from completing the conquest by various causes; by the distance of its centre from Ireland; by the difficulties of the passage in those days; and, above all, by the fatal retention

of dominions on the Continent which led to the wasting, and worse than wasting, of the forces of England on French wars. Outside the Pale, remained the Celtic Clans, with Clan divisions and feuds, with Clannish ideas and sentiments, which, contrasted with the constitutional sentiments of the Saxon, have hardly ceased to characterize the Irishman even at the present day. Had the Clans been capable of political union, they would probably, by their overwhelming numbers, have expelled the invader; but, as the most patriotic historians see, they were capable of no union whatever. The struggle for the land between them and the Pale was carried on with the hideous atrocity which always marks the wars made by the semi-civilized man on the savage; though, perhaps, seeing what has been going on in China, we have little reason to say that highly-civilized nations are not capable of atrocities quite as great as those of any marauding Norman.

Then came the Reformation. The Pale became Protestant; the Celtic Clans, from opposition to the Pale, became more Catholic than ever; and the furies of religious hatred were added to those of the struggle for the land. In the grand European conflict between the Protestant and Catholic powers, Celtic Ireland was involved. She was a weak and outlying member of the Catholic confederation, and she suffered at the hands of a Protestant conqueror what her confederates were inflicting on Protestants elsewhere.

The Tudor Monarchy was strong; it persevered pretty steadily in the Irish enterprise; it could call for support on hatred of Rome, as well as on the greed of land; and the upshot was the completion, superficially at least, of the English conquest of Ireland. The Irish chiefs were disinherited and expelled, and the soil was converted from tribal to feudal, or quasi-feudal, ownership and law. That conversion was a grievance long cherished in the Irish breast; though it is probable that the chiefs had practically appropriated what theoretically belonged to the Clan, and that their exactions were not less aggressive or their tyranny less galling than those of a feudal lord, except in so far as a chief was the reputed kinsman, while the feudal lord was a stranger. James I., whose grotesqueness has made him, rather more than he deserves, the butt of history, tried, with the best intentions, to introduce English institutions into Ireland, and called a counter-

part, as he imagined—a burlesque, as it really was—of the English Parliament. The first sitting at Dublin ended in a brawl.

At this time, a second Pale was formed, by the settlement on the confiscated lands in the North of Ireland of a colony of Scotch Presbyterians, with some English Protestants, whose relation to the native Celts was not less hostile, in the matter of religion, indeed, still more hostile, than had been that of the Anglo-Norman Pale. Thus, from the two quarters the Celt was being straitened and dispossessed. In the reign of Charles I., taking advantage of the quarrel among his conquerors, he rose, massacred, or drove out to perish, a number certainly large, though exaggerated by Protestant panic, of people of the Northern Pale, and struck for the recovery of his land. There followed a war of races and religions eminent for its fiendishness even among civil wars. The Celts gained some successes, but, on the whole, they went down before the stronger race, and their councils were divided between the Roman hierarchy, whose object was religion, and the lay leaders, whose object was the recovery of the land. Cromwell, at last, ended the war by one terrible blow, for which he repudiated beforehand the approbation of his worshipper, Carlyle, pleading necessity as his sole justification; while it must be borne in mind that quarter had been given on neither side, and that, as a rule, in those days, it was not given to garrisons which, after summons to surrender, had stood a storm.

In the deadly struggle, the Saxon, at last, had won; he grasped his prize; swept, not the laborer or the artisan, of both of whom he had too much need, but the landowner into Connaught, or at least into a limited district; and himself took possession of the land. Cromwell is much blamed by Mr. Lecky and by Mr. Gardiner for his settlement of Ireland. It may be bold to dispute the judgment of those two authorities. But Cromwell could no more have given back the land of Ireland to the vanquished race than a Spanish government could have given back Peru to the Incas. The Restoration, while it reversed other acts and confiscations of the Commonwealth, did not venture to reverse Cromwell's settlement of the land in Ireland. Nor could Cromwell, even had he been so minded, have annulled the ascendancy of the victorious religion. What he could do, in the way of toleration, he seems to have done, prohibiting the open celebration of the Mass, but not interfering with the liberty of conscience.

To talk of his treatment of the Irish nation is, surely, a mistake. There was no Irish nation. There were in the island two races, totally alien and radically hostile to each other, differing in language, opposed in religion, and alike intolerant; one of them politically constitutional, the other made up of the débris of broken Clans, with Clannish ideas and sentiments. How could Cromwell have possibly made a national polity out of such elements? By uniting Ireland to England, he brought the Irish factions under the control of a common and comparatively impartial Parliament. He gave Ireland peace, and, as his mortal enemy, Clarendon, testifies, incipient prosperity.* He gave her free trade with England, the subsequent denial of which was, as much as anything, the cause of her misery. He gave her good government, by the hand of his son Henry, and righteous law, by the hand of his Chief-Justice Coke. Freedom of worship he could not give the Catholic, any more than the Catholic would have given it to the Protestant; but he gave the Catholic far more religious freedom than the Protestant got in Spain, Italy or Savoy.

Under James II., the Celt rose once more; once more struck for the land, passing a sweeping Act of Attainder against all Protestant proprietors; and once more succumbed to the stronger race, backed by the power of England. Then came the Penal Code, the offspring less of religious bigotry than of political and agrarian panic, which reduced the Catholic Celt, that is, about five-sixths of the population, to absolute helotage, in which his only comforter and redeemer was his priest, who, though uncultured and unrefined, played in this dark hour a noble part.

English Protectionism excluded, and not only excluded but

*"It cannot be imagined in how easy method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great Kingdom [Ireland] was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep [it]; no men having so [great] shares as they who had been instruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his successor. Where any great sums of money for arms, ammunition or any merchandise had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the creditors subscribed all those sums as lent upon adventure, and had their satisfaction assigned to them as adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed. And, which is more wonderful, all this [was] done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and fences and enclosures raised throughout the Kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles. And yet in all this quiet, there were very few persons pleased or contented." — Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Con., 116.

repressed, Irish trade. The people had nothing whereon to live but the land; on the land they multiplied in the recklessness of despair. Potatoes or oatmeal, mixed with sea-weed, was the food of some of them. Swift jocosely proposed that they should eat their babies. Their holdings were little plots of potato or oatmeal, tilled with the spade; the houses were hovels, shared by the pig. Besides the rack-renting landlord, they had to carry an alien State Church, the tithes of which were wrung out of them, though the incumbent, justly so-called, was often non-resident. The exactions of the tithe-proctor were thus added to those of the landlord. Arthur Young was shocked at the insolence with which the squireen treated the peasant. The consequences, of course, were a reign of agrarian crime, often of a hideous kind, and a general conspiracy of the people against the law, like the Mafia, and not less long-lived. Less than half a century ago an agrarian murder was committed. A Council sat, the Attorney-General described the murder, giving not only the name of the murderer and the names of those who were present and watched the roads; but he declined to proceed, on the ground that all the witnesses would forswear themselves, and he would thus miss his only chance of conviction, which depended on somebody's turning King's evidence thereafter. The traces are still visible in Irish character.

The Restoration having undone Cromwell's work of Union, in the case of Ireland as well as in that of Scotland, Ireland was again a separate State, with a Parliament of her own, though in strict dependence on England, the Privy Council of which had supreme control over Irish legislation. But the Parliament was an engine of Protestant ascendancy, the Catholic helot being excluded, not only from sitting in Parliament, but till a very late day from the franchise.

A population of helots, trampled on by an alien oligarchy, was not a nation. But the oligarchy began to set up for a nationality of its own, and to kick against its legislative subordination to the Imperial country. At last, taking advantage of England's hour of distress at the time of the American Revolution, it flew to arms, under color of raising volunteers, and broke the tie. There were now two independent Parliaments under one Crown, and the two kingdoms were held together simply by patronage and corruption, combined with the influence of the

State episcopate nominated by the British Government, and having for its chief spiritual function the maintenance of the English interest. Swift said that the blame for the character of the Irish episcopate did not rest on the English Government, which appointed pious and learned men; but its nominees were waylaid on the road by highwaymen, who robbed them of their credentials and came over to personate them in Ireland.

Grattan had hailed, in strains of rapturous eloquence, the birth of the Irish nation, but the nation still consisted of a Protestant and land-owning oligarchy, reigning over a population of political, social and agrarian serfs. The Catholics were, at last, admitted to the electorate, but not to Parliament, and being, as electors, under the thumb of the Protestant landlord, they gained little by that scanty measure of toleration. Economically, they rather lost, for the landlords subdivided the holdings to multiply subservient votes.

The economical evils and sufferings remained unabated. Manufactures could not rise, and the principal trade was smuggling, with its moral results. The letting of the land by the landlords to middlemen, who ground the tenant without mercy, increased the suffering of the peasant. Between the middlemen and the tithe-proctor everything was taken from the tiller of the soil but the barest sufficiency of potatoes to support life.

The Devon Commission of Inquiry, which reported in 1845, said that, while at certain points a spirit of improvement prevailed, in most parts of Ireland there was no corresponding advance in the condition of the laboring classes; that the agricultural laborer continued to suffer the greatest privations and hardships, to depend upon precarious employment for subsistence, to be badly housed, badly clothed and badly paid. The commissioners expressed "their strong sense of the patient endurance which the laboring classes had generally exhibited under sufferings greater, they believed, than the people of any other country in Europe had to sustain."

Surprising was the indifference of English Kings and statesmen to the Irish question, considering its really vital character. No English King trod the soil of Ireland between William III., who trod it as a conqueror, and George IV. Ireland was treated simply as a fund for shameless patronage and scandalous pensions. At last, the young Pitt turned his mind to this momen-

tous problem. He tried to give Ireland free trade with England, the supreme necessity of which was apparent to the disciple of Adam Smith. He was baffled by the national jealousy fomented by the factiousness of Fox, and, sad to say, of Burke.

Then came the French Revolution. It fired first, not the Celt, who was a Catholic and too downtrodden to aspire to a republic, but the free-thinkers of Belfast, men like those who, worried out of Ireland by the State hierarchy, helped to start revolt in America. Once kindled, however, the flame spread to the helots. Then Ascendancy sprang to arms, and Ireland once more became a hell, the horrors of '98 rivalling those of 1641. Pitt then, like Cromwell, resolved on a union which should quench the conflagration by bringing both factions under the control of a common Parliament.

The notion that the Union was carried by bribery or force, with all the attendant bitterness, may now be laid aside. What has been supposed to be bribery was a Parliamentary indemnity paid to Irish patrons and boroughs, which in those days were deemed property, and the purchase of which from the patrons formed the basis of Pitt's Reform Bill for England. The indemnities were paid to all patrons alike, whether they had voted for or against the Union. Peerages and promotions in the Peerage were demanded and given, as conditions of support; and the worthy Cornwallis shrank with disgust from that part of the business; but it was necessary to throw a sop to an aristocracy called upon to resign the field of its ambition. No force was employed. Indeed, it appears from the dispatches of the Lord-Lieutenant that he had little force to employ.

Mr. Lecky blames Pitt for not having appealed to the Irish people by a dissolution of Parliament, before taking a vote on the Union. But, not to mention the serious danger of re-kindling the flames of civil war by a general election, how could the verdict of the election be said to be national, when five-sixths of the people were excluded from Parliament? Practically, the consent both of Protestant and Catholic may be said to have been taken; that of the Protestants formally, through Parliament; that of the Catholics informally, by canvassing their leaders. How far the consent of the Catholics was obtained by the expectation of Catholic emancipation, which Pitt held out in good faith, but the King's bigotry prevented him from granting, it is really impos-

sible to say. A sensible Irishman, Protestant or Catholic, might well have embraced the Union as the only way of putting an end to the deadly struggle of races and religions which had just been making a hell of the country.

Pitt's measure did not do all, or nearly all, that was required. It cannot be said that it did not do good. After this, there was agrarian suffering with agrarian crime as its consequence. There were one or two spurts of rebellion. There was a series of Coercion Acts and trials for sedition. But there was not another '98. The English market was thrown freely open to Irish produce and to Irish labor. Plunket had been one of the staunchest and most eloquent opponents of Union. As a member of the united Parliament he became one of its heartiest upholders. Grattan sat in the united Parliament, and at first for an English pocket borough.

It is not likely that a Parliament of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland would ever have granted Catholic emancipation. The united Parliament granted it after a long struggle, terminated by the conversion of Wellington and Peel. As a measure of religious liberty, Catholic emancipation was imperfect, nor did it touch the vital question of the land; it required to be completed by the disestablishment of the Protestant State Church. But it did good, and, still more clearly, averted evil. Melbourne said that Catholic emancipation was a question about which all the clever fellows were on one side and all the damned fools were on the other, and on which all the damned fools were right. The clever fellows were only wrong in having expected too much; the damned fools were wrong altogether.

O'Connell, unable to give up his occupation, and, it may be added, his revenue as an agitator, set on foot a movement for the repeal of the Union, which he professed to keep within the bounds of strict legality, but which, having no agrarian element, took no serious hold. The movement of student enthusiasm, called "Young Ireland," which followed, was avowedly revolutionary. Lacking the agrarian element, it ended farcically in a conflict with the police in a cabbage garden. Peel, who had passed Catholic emancipation, continued to pursue a policy as liberal as his party would let him, and much more liberal than the strong Protestants among them liked. He increased the grant to Maynooth, and founded three "godless colleges," as high Protestants called them, for a university education open to Catholics who

were excluded by their religion from Trinity College. He did more; he appointed a commission of inquiry into the state of Ireland, and he would have taken action, though in a conservative way, on its report, had the door not been closed by the landlord interest in Parliament.

The next catastrophe was the great famine of 1846, caused by the potato blight, which cast multitudes of Irish on these shores. From that time, the stream of Irish emigration has steadily flowed. These poor people must, at their own cost, have transported an immense number of their folk across the Atlantic. Family feeling is strong in them. It has drawn them in the wake of their kinsmen, and led them to lend loving assistance for emigration to each other.

It is not denied, on the contrary, by Irish Nationalists of the more moderate kind, such as Mr. Justin McCarthy, it is fully admitted, that England came heartily and generously to the aid of Ireland in the famine.

It was only after the famine that Parliament went to the real root of the matter by dealing, though in a mild way, with the economical question. Between reckless living, loss of rents through the famine, and rent charges for dowers and pensions to younger children, many of the landed proprietors were sunk in debt and incapable of performing the landlord's duty. The Encumbered Estates Act facilitated the sales of entailed estates, and a good deal of land changed hands, with some benefit at all events to the country, though the hope of calling into existence a proprietory of duty was little fulfilled. Many, probably most, of the new proprietors were alien to the people.

The disestablishment of that monster anomaly and abuse, the Irish State Church, carried by Mr. Gladstone in glorious defeasance of his own youthful theories of Church and State, besides redressing the religious grievance, did good economically, by putting an end to the levying of tithe, and throwing more landed property into the market.

It is fair to say that the disestablishment of the Irish Church and other reforms might have been sooner carried, if the character of the Irish members in the British House of Commons had been different from what it was, and they had been more ready to co-operate on great questions with the British Liberals. But the Irish members in those days, as their successors now admit,

were to a deplorable extent given to place-hunting and jobbing. For two sessions, the petty Galway steamer contract put great questions out of sight. Sadleir's combination of political with commercial swindling did not help the cause.

It seems, however, that no economical change will satisfy, short of the general abolition of the dual ownership, in other words, of the elimination of the landlord. Toward this, great legislative advances have been made. The tenant has obtained from Parliament compensation for improvements, security against capricious eviction, practical fixity of tenure. From the condition of a tenant-at-will, he has been raised, by the State stepping between him and his landlord, pretty much to that of a freeholder, subject to an equitable rent-charge under judicial regulation. The measures to which recourse has been had to bring this about have been, to say the least, highly radical, especially when it is considered that many of the landowners, being purchasers under the Encumbered Estates Act or the commission for the sale of church property, held their land under a Parliamentary guarantee. More tenderness, at least in the way of recognition, might perhaps have been shown in the process to the rights of these owners, as well as to the sanctity of contracts, without which property cannot be stable or trade secure. If private interest is to be sacrificed to the public good, the public ought to bear its share of the sacrifice. The Irish landlords were not worse than other men, though they had inherited an unhappy position.

Money has also been freely advanced by Parliament to tenants for the purpose of buying out the landlord, and, as Mr. Courtney says, with little loss to the State.

The demand on the part of the Nationalists has now risen to compulsory sale, with Parliamentary aid to the tenant for the purchase. It is difficult to see how Parliament can go this length, without embracing principles more than radical; or how it can undertake to buy freeholds for the Irish peasantry at the cost of the British taxpayer, without buying freeholds for the British peasant also.

The agrarian revolution in a legislative form, which has gone so far toward abolishing the Irish landlord and terminating the conflict of ages by making over the land again to the Catholic peasantry, the representatives of the Celtic clansmen of former

days, was largely the fruit of the movement headed by Parnell, who, for the first time, thoroughly combined the agrarian with the political object, calling upon the people to agitate for the restoration of the Parliament on College Green as the means of recovering the land.

The political half of Parnell's policy, hitherto, has suffered defeat. What may have led Mr. Gladstone, after vehemently opposing Home Rule, throwing Parnell and other Home Rulers into prison, and appealing to the country for power to settle the Irish question independently of them, suddenly to turn round and embrace their policy, is a question which need not be here discussed. He was beaten and he shattered his party. His ultimate proposal was about the most extraordinary ever submitted to a legislature. Ireland was to have a Parliament of her own, and at the same time eighty members in the British Parliament to vote on British issues, and by playing on the balance of British parties to keep Great Britain under Irish influence and prevent her from insisting on the restrictions and conditions by which the Irish Parliament was to be formally bound; for such probably would have been the result.

The measure could hardly have passed the House of Commons, had it not been well known that it would be thrown out in the House of Lords.

It is difficult to see what serious grievance Ireland now has of a political kind, other than the denial of a separate nationality. The necessity of resorting to Westminster for private bill legislation and appellate jurisdiction can hardly be called a serious grievance. For private bills, a special committee might, perhaps, be appointed to sit at Dublin and report to Westminster. Of discourtesy on the part of the Crown, the Irish people have certainly had reason to complain. But there is now, it seems, to be a Royal residence in the Phœnix, that most beautiful of all parks. The Lord Lieutenancy, "Castle government," to use its name of disparagement, is, no doubt, a relic of subordination; but when a motion for its abolition was carried in the House of Commons, Ireland objected and the measure was dropped in deference to her protest. The Irish, above all people, need to see those by whom they are governed. It would have been a very good thing if the Imperial Parliament could have held one session in College Green for the settlement of Irish questions. The idea was sug-

gested, and, it is believed, was for a moment entertained; but the inconvenience was deemed too great.

Ireland has more than her share of representation. This, perhaps, she need not be so much begrudged, seeing that Great Britain must always be the chief seat of power.

The question of a Catholic university for Ireland stirs up religious prejudice, and at present gives some trouble. But it is quite secondary, and is sure to be ultimately settled in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people.

One thing is certain, and it has been made more apparent than ever by the struggle for Home Rule and the passions which that struggle has called into play. If there are to be two Parliaments, there must be two nations. The choice lies between Parliamentary union and the independence of Ireland.

Anything like a federal union of Great Britain with Ireland is out of the question. The federal system requires a group of States pretty equal in power to each other; at all events, without overwhelming preponderance on the part of any one of the group. A federation of two States, one of them so enormously superior in power to the other as Great Britain is to Ireland, would be still more fraught with discord and with the elements of disruption than is the federal union of Norway with Sweden.

Of all the schemes, however, the strangest is that of Imperial Federationists, who, to create materials for the political edifice of the construction of which they are enamored, propose to break up the United Kingdom into its aboriginal nationalities, and give England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, each of them, a State legislature of its own. The restoration of the Heptarchy would be comparatively rational, since the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, if now revived, would not give rise anew to national quarrels and antipathies of race. They would, moreover, with Wales, Ireland and the two Scotlands, Highland and Lowland, make a sufficiently numerous and tolerably equal group. A federal union of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland would infallibly be, from the outset, a combination of the three lesser States against the greater. Decentralization to some extent, if the central government is overloaded, may be good; though it is difficult to see, in a kingdom so completely knit together by railroads and unifying agencies of every kind, what line decentralization could take. But such a scheme as that of breaking up the United Kingdom, for

the purpose of combining its fragments in a polity with the Antipodes, will scarcely engage the practical attention of statesmen.

Great Britain can never afford to have Ireland torn from her side. Ireland, if she ceased to be a partner, would be a foe, and the satellite of Great Britain's other foes, as a separate Scotland was a satellite of France in former days. Nature has knit the two islands together; England, with her factories, is the market for the produce of Irish pastures and the labor of Irish hands. The races are intermingled. A quarter of Ireland is Anglo-Norman or Saxon, and there must be at least a couple of millions of Irish Celts or their descendants in Great Britain. The language and literature of the two islands are one; it is only in a corner of Ireland that Erse is still spoken; and it may safely be predicted that the attempt to revive a language without a literature, and unknown to trade, will fail. Swift packets have abridged the passage, and will probably abridge it still more. When an end has been put to the dual ownership, and the land belongs to the man who tills it, the cry for political separation will probably be no longer heard.

The writer once spent some time at Dublin in intercourse with some of the leading Irish Liberals, Catholic as well as Protestant, of that day, whose opinions he believes to have been a fair index of the real interests of their country. These men were all thorough reformers, ardently in favor of the disestablishment of the Irish State Church, which had not then been carried; of reform of the land law; and of every other measure of justice; but thoroughly attached to the Union, against which not a word would they hear.

The strong point of Irish statesmanship is not forecast. What would Ireland be after the dissolution of the Union? Its population would be made up of three elements, not only different, but probably antagonistic. There would be the Ulster men, still heirs of the Enniskilliners and the defenders of Londonderry, whose bond of union with the Catholic Celt, the common desire of abolishing the landlord, would have ceased. There would be the Catholic Celts, under a priesthood eminently virtuous, and, by partnership in ages of suffering, justly endeared to the people, but trained at Maynooth under an intensely sacerdotal system, and turned out in an almost hide-bound condition of imperviousness to the intellectual influences of the day. But there

would also be an element, at present numbered among the Fenians, but closely akin to the revolutionary party in Europe, and not likely to look up, or long to remain submissive, to the priesthood. A great mass of patronage, besides the seats in Parliament, would be at once thrown upon the board as the prize of contention. The materials of confusion and strife would surely not be wanting.

It is to partnership in the United Kingdom, however, that Ireland's interest seems so clearly to point. It by no means so clearly points to partnership in the great predatory Empire, to which the jingo aspires. From such a union as this, Irish patriots may well recoil. In forming an opposition to jingoism, on whatever ground, Irish Nationalists may be playing a very useful part at a critical juncture. They may be serving the interests of the British people and of humanity at large, as well as their own.

A mournful interest attaches to the primitive relics in Ireland of a precocious civilization; the Round Towers, Clonmacnois, Glendalough, and the Rock of Cashel. The civilization was only ecclesiastical and missionary; nor was it destroyed by the Anglo-Norman, but by the chiefs of Celtic clans, who despoiled and trampled on the Church, forcing her to stretch out her hands for aid to Canterbury and Rome. But, since the date of those ruins, Ireland has not had one happy hour. May a bright dawn be now at hand!

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE POETRY OF THE CHINESE.

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THAT the Chinese are capable of poetry may strike some of my readers as a revelation, so practical and prosaic are the specimens of the race with whom they have come in contact. Yet an educated Chinese is, of all men, the most devoted to the cultivation of poetry. If he makes a remarkable voyage, he is sure to give the world his impressions in verse. He inscribes fresh couplets on his door-posts every New Year's Day. Poetical scrolls, the gifts of friends, adorn the walls of his shop or study. He spends his leisure in tinkering sonnets; and, when he escorts a guest as far as some pretty pavilion on a hillside, he never fails to extract from his boot-top the ready pencil, and to indite in verse an adieu, which passes for impromptu—scrawling, at the same time, on wall or pillar a record of the occasion.

All this is, no doubt, somewhat artificial, but it has its root in national sentiment. For of China it is true to-day, as of no other nation, that an apprenticeship in the art of poetry forms a leading feature in her educational system. Wales has her Eisteddfod, or annual assemblage of bards, and the great schools of England have their prize poems; but in China no youth who aspires to civil office or literary honors is exempted from composing verse in his trial examination. To be a tax-collector, he is tested not in arithmetic but in prosody—a usage that has been in force for nearly a thousand years. Its origin, in fact, goes back much further. For did not Confucius make poetry the front foot of his educational tripos? "Let poetry," he says, "be the beginning, manners the middle, and music the finish."

The sage who prescribed this course of study was a musician; but if he ever wrote verse, not a line of it has come down to our

day. He was, however, far from prosaic. His sayings sparkle with gems of metaphor; and that he keenly enjoyed poetry and appreciated its refining influence is evident from the maxim just quoted.

A stronger proof of his taste for poetry is the fact that, in one of the Five Classics, he took pains to collect and preserve the most noteworthy poems that had appeared prior to his day. In another, the *Shu*, or Book of History, edited by him, he has also preserved sundry fragments of primeval poetry. We have there the spectacle of princes and their ministers improvising responsive verse, a thousand years before the Trojan War.

In China, as in Greece, the birth of poetry preceded that of philosophy. The Lyric Muse heralded the dawn of culture; and, by the first light of history, her rosy fingers are discerned busily engaged in weaving a robe of many colors to cover the nakedness of new-born humanity.

Epic poetry, so conspicuous in India, is wholly wanting in China, its place being supplied by historical romance, which exhibits all the features of poetry with the exception of verse.

Dramatic poetry is abundant; but the drama, though it emerged ten centuries ago, is, if compared with our modern stage, still in a very primitive condition. It has scarcely got beyond the age of Thespis. An actor changes his dress, as he changes his rôle, in the sight of the audience, singing out as he dons the robes of majesty: "Now I am your humble servant, the Emperor."

Didactic poems, in which verse serves simply as an aid to the memory, are so common that official proclamations are frequently thrown into that form. When, in consequence of the triumph of British arms half a century ago, five ports were opened to the residence of foreigners, the Emperor caused a compend of the teachings of the sages to be published in verse as an antidote to their doctrines. Indeed, so highly esteemed is verse as a vehicle for instruction that a popular encyclopædia, in forty volumes, is composed entirely in verse.

Passing over minor divisions, we shall devote special attention to lyric poetry, of which the Chinese have produced an enormous quantity, and in which, in the face of all competitors, they are able to vindicate a high position.

Their lyric poetry falls, roughly, into three periods—ancient

mediæval and modern. Their ancient lyrics consist chiefly of a copious anthology, re-edited by Confucius, but not compiled by him. This anthology contains three hundred and six pieces—songs, ballads, heroic odes and sacrificial hymns. The songs and ballads are so selected as to reflect the manners of the several states into which the Empire was at that time divided. They exhibit a simplicity in social arrangements which is in strong contrast with the artificial life of the present day.

Besides epithalamial verse, which is admitted to be ethically correct, there are love songs and love stories which shocked the formal moralists of later times. We, with a less fettered judgment, find in them nothing to object to, unless it be the vapid inanity of most of them. As a whole, they stand in point of morality far above any similar collection that has come down to us from pagan antiquity. To secure this degree of purity, they underwent a Bowdlerizing process at the hands of Confucius or his predecessors. So confident was Confucius that all traces of evil had been expunged that he declared that, "of these three hundred odes, there is not one that departs from the purity of thought."

We must not think of Confucius as always discoursing wisdom, or as perpetually hampered by a stiff ceremonial. He was one of the most human of sages—a sort of wiser, better Solomon, who, though he spoke more than "three thousand proverbs," found time to edit, if he did not compose, a great many charming canticles. As a musician, he must have enjoyed their harmonies of rhyme and rhythm—attractions which those ancient poems have entirely lost, through changes which the language has undergone in the lapse of ages. Here is a fragment that has a history:

> "A speck upon your ivory fan
> You soon may wipe away;
> But stains upon the heart or tongue
> Remain, alas, for aye."

Hearing a young man repeat these lines from time to time, Confucius chose him for a son-in-law. He showed enough affection for his daughter to select an honest man for her husband; yet he admitted into his collection, without note or comment, a ballad which has done much to perpetuate among his people a barbarous contempt for women:

"When a son is born—in a lordly bed
Wrap him in raiment of purple and red;
Jewels and gold for playthings bring
For the noble boy who shall serve the king.

"When a girl is born—in coarse cloth wound,
With a tile for a toy, let her lie on the ground.
In her bread and her beer be her praise or her blame,
And let her not sully her parents' good name."

Had the sage but bethought himself to attach to this relic a little note of disapproval, how much cruelty he might have averted by the stroke of a pen!

The following song for New Year's Eve is as true to human sentiment to-day as it still is to the aspects of nature. To make it suit the season, however, we must remember that the date of New Year's Eve was probably a month earlier than at present, and the latitude about thirty-five degrees—that of Honan:

"The voice of the cricket is heard in the hall,
The leaves of the forest are withered and sere;
My sad spirits droop at those chirruping notes,
So thoughtlessly sounding the knell of the year.

"Yet why should we sigh at the change of a date,
When life's flowing on in a full, steady tide?
Come, let us be merry with those that we love;
For pleasure in measure there is no one to chide."

This is the oldest temperance ode in the world. It was designed, as the Chinese say, to curb the excesses incident to the season, by recommending "pleasure in measure." It probably antedates the founding of Rome.

Before dismissing these ancient odes, I ought to remark that a characteristic of their structure is the refrain. They generally start with a poetic image, such as the plaintive cry of a deer, or the note of a water-fowl; which is repeated at the beginning or end of each stanza, albeit without any very clear relation to the theme of the poem. Burns's famous song, "Green grow the rashes, O!" is in this respect thoroughly Chinese. Tennyson's graver melody, "Break, break, break, on thy cold gray stones, O sea!" is equally in keeping with the style of a Chinese lyric. The whole piece is pervaded by the moaning of the sea, suggesting more than words:

"And I would that my tongue could utter
The thoughts that arise in me."

There is a book of elegies, of a somewhat later age, which is held in much esteem. It is chiefly the work of one man, Chu Yuen, who proved his genius, or at least impressed it on posterity, by drowning himself. His fate is commemorated by the festival of dragon boats, which go in search of his body.

Passing over this, we come to the beginning of China's Middle Age, the dynasty of Han, under which the revival of letters quickened every kind of intellectual activity. The poetry of this period shows a notable advance toward perfection of form; though its high qualities may not be discoverable in the specimens which I have to offer.

The first is by Kia Yi, a Minister of State who was sent into banishment about 200 B. C. In spirit and incident, it reminds one of Poe's "Raven;" but I leave to others the task of finding out how Poe got wind of his Chinese predecessor:

"Betwixt moss-covered, reeking walls,
An exiled poet lay—

"On his bed of straw reclining,
Half despairing, half repining—
When, athwart the window sill,
In flew a bird of omen ill,
And seemed inclined to stay.

"To my book of occult learning
Suddenly I thought of turning,
All the mystery to know
Of that shameless owl or crow,
That would not go away.

" 'Wherever such a bird shall enter
'Tis sure some power above has sent her,'
So said the mystic book, 'to show
The human dweller forth must go.'
But *where*, it did not say.

"Then anxiously the bird addressing,
And my ignorance confessing,
'Gentle bird, in mercy deign
The will of Fate to me explain.
Where is my future way?'

"It raised its head as if 'twere seeking
To answer me by simply speaking;
Then folded up its sable wing,
Nor did it utter anything;
But breathed a 'Well-a-day!'

"More eloquent than any diction,
That simple sigh produced conviction;
Furnishing to me the key
Of the awful mystery
That on my spirit lay.

"'Fortune's wheel is ever turning,
To human eye there's no discerning
Weal or woe in any state;
Wisdom is to bide your fate.'
That is what it seemed to say
By that simple 'Well-a-day.'"

A hundred years later, we have a touching ode addressed to his wife by Su Wu, when on the eve of a perilous embassy to the Grand Khan of Tartary:

"Twin trees whose boughs together twine,
Two birds that guard one nest,
We'll soon be far asunder torn,
As sunrise from the West.

"Hearts knit in childhood's innocence,
Long bound in Hymen's ties,
One goes to distant battle-fields,
One sits at home and sighs.

"Like carrier dove, though seas divide,
I'll seek my lonely mate;
But if afar I find a grave
You'll mourn my hapless fate.

"To us the future's all unknown;
In memory seek relief.
Come, touch the chords you know so well,
And let them soothe our grief."

It speaks well for the domestic affections of the Chinese that the sentiment of this piece has so penetrated their literature that it has had imitators in every age, even down to our own days. The Commissioner Lin, whose high-handed proceedings provoked the Opium War, on going into banishment, addressed a similar adieu to his wife.

Passing over another century, we come to Pan Tsi Yu, the Sappho of China, a gifted lady of the Court, B. C. 18. Though several of her compositions are extant, the best known is an ode inscribed on a fan, and presented to the Emperor:

"Of fresh, new silk, all snowy white,
And round as harvest moon;
A pledge of purity and love,
A small but welcome boon.

"While Summer lasts, borne in the hand,
Or folded on the breast,
'Twill gently soothe thy burning brow,
And charm thee to thy rest.

"But, ah! When Autumn frosts descend,
And Winter's winds blow cold,
No longer sought, no longer loved,
'Twill lie in dust and mold.

"This silken fan, then, deign accept,
Sad emblem of my lot—
Caressed and fondled for an hour,
Then speedily forgot."

After an interval of two centuries, we come to the period of the "Three Kingdoms."

A weak tyrant, who occupied one of the thrones, was jealous of the talents of his younger brother, who had the reputation of being the first poet of his day. Reproaching the poet for thinking too highly of himself, he threatened him with death, unless he should on the instant compose a quatrain that would be accepted as a proof of genius. The young man strode slowly across the hall, his footsteps keeping time to the cadence of his verse, while he pronounced these lines:

"Are there not beans in yon boiling pot,
And bean-stalks are burning below?
Now why, when they spring from one parent root,
Should they scorch each other so?"

The dynasty of Tang (620-907 A. D.) witnessed the rise of the drama, and at the same time the culmination of lyric poetry. Tu Fu and Li Po were the Dryden and Pope of that age. The former, though for ten centuries he has enjoyed an immense popularity, had for a long time to struggle with poverty. "For thirty years I rode an ass," is a pathetic confession, which I shall not mar by the addition of another line from his voluminous works.

His great rival was more fortunate. Welcomed at court in his early prime, and praised by posterity as the brightest star that

ever shone in the poetical firmament of China, Li Po is best known as a sort of Oriental Anacreon, a prince of bacchanalian bards. We have not space for more than two specimens of his verse—an epistle from a young wife to her husband in the army, evidently inspired by the farewell sonnet of Su Wu, and an ode on drinking alone by moonlight. The first is marked by the simplicity of Wordsworth; the second by the humor of Hood.

A SOLDIER'S WIFE TO HER HUSBAND.

"'Twas many a year ago—
How I recall the day!—
When you, my own true love,
Came first with me to play.

"A little child was I,
My head a mass of curls;
I gathered daisies sweet,
Along with other girls.

"You rode a bamboo horse,
And deemed yourself a knight—
With paper helm and shield
And wooden sword bedight.

"Thus we together grew,
And we together played—
Yourself a giddy boy,
And I a thoughtless maid.

"At fourteen I was wed,
And if one called my name,
As quick as lightning flash
The crimson blushes came.

"'Twas not till we had passed
A year of married life,
My heart was knit to yours
In joy to be your wife.

"Another year, alas!
And you had joined your chief,
While I was left at home,
In solitary grief.

"When victory crowns your arms,
And I your triumph learn,
What bliss for me to fly
To welcome your return!"

ON DRINKING ALONE BY MOONLIGHT.

"Here are flowers and here is wine;
But there's no friend with me to join
Hand to hand and heart to heart,
In one full bowl before we part.

"Rather, then, than drink alone,
I'll make bold to ask the Moon
To condescend to lend her face
The moment and the scene to grace.

"Lo! she answers and she brings
My shadow on her silver wings—
That makes three, and we shall be,
I ween, a merry company.

"The modest Moon declines the cup,
My shadow promptly takes it up;
And when I dance, my shadow fleet
Keeps measure with my fleeting feet.

"Although the Moon declines to tipple,
She dances in yon shining ripple;
And when I sing, my festive song
The echoes of the Moon prolong.

"Say, when shall we next meet together?
Surely not in cloudy weather,
For you, my boon companion dear,
Come only when the sky is clear."

Of the present dynasty, the most distinguished poet, if not the most gifted, is the Emperor Kien Lung, who closed his reign of a full cycle almost exactly a hundred years ago. I have translated two or three of his peoms, but there is no space to introduce them here.

A text book used in Chinese schools is called "Selections from a Thousand Bards." The authors are of all ages, but it would not be difficult to make a catalogue of a thousand belonging to this dynasty, or, for that matter, to this century. Pao and Tung, late Ministers of State, were poets of no mean order. Both presented me with their works, as did several bards of less note. Not to enumerate other gifts of the kind, of which I have been the recipient, two old men (one ninety years of age), eminent as scholars and wearing the buttons of official rank, called on me lately as I was passing through Shanghai, each bending under a

load of original poems, which he desired to present. It was a great honor, but it was something of a burden also, for I had to buy another trunk to carry their books to Peking. Then, am I not expected to clothe them in English dress, and to make them known beyond the seas?—a thing which space forbids, at present.

W. A. P. MARTIN.

THE POPE AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

BY R. DE CESARE, MEMBER OF THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

In a recent number of this Review, there appeared a long and controversial article by the Archbishop of St. Paul, entitled "The Pope's Civil Princedom," in which, to our great surprise, we find an American Archbishop, full of modern culture, employing all the old arguments that the schools have suggested to the Roman Curia for the support of its thesis. If, like Mgr. Ireland, we admit the axiom that temporal power is necessary to the spiritual power of the Pope, the conclusions are only a logical consequence of these premises, and there follows an apology rather than a philosophical discussion.

Mgr. Ireland asserts that the protests of the Pope will never cease, and adduces as a motive the reason that if the Pope were to resign himself to the *fait accompli,* he would become a subject of the King of Italy, and would lose all prestige in the world. This is inconclusive reasoning, and shows a poor opinion of the power of the Church of Christ! Nobody desires the Pope to become the subject of the King of Italy; but it is both Christian and patriotic to demand that he should abstain from his present hostile position, while it is neither Christian nor patriotic to continue in it, and render it more acute day by day.

Mgr. Ireland cannot escape from the self-evident fact that the authority of the Papacy has increased since the loss of temporal power; but he explains it by the personal qualities of the aged Pope; an argument which is unconvincing, because it is not based on fact. It is true that much is due to the personal qualities of Leo XIII., but much is due also to those of his predecessor. The austerity of the lives of the last two Popes has had a great deal of influence in upholding the moral authority of the Papacy in the world; but to attribute all the prestige of a divine

institution, like the Church, to the personal qualities of its representative, is a daring assertion, especially in these days of criticism.

Neither the law of guarantees nor the possibility of a Concordat satisfies Mgr. Ireland. He reiterates the doctrine of the most violent Intransigeants, to the effect that "the only solution of the Roman Question is the Civil Princedom of the Pope." He either does not see the obstacles in the way, or he believes them to be capable of being easily overcome; he considers Rome to be absolutely devoted to the Pope and ready to accept his rule; he recalls the return from Avignon, and the re-establishment of temporal power after the Napoleonic catastrophe. But every other side of the question escapes him.

Do not let us invoke the memory of Avignon. Many centuries have passed since then; let us rather pause at the beginning of the past century, when at the fall of Napoleon, Europe, weary of confusion, accepted the return to the old order of things, and, notwithstanding the treaty of Tolentino, in which Pius VI. had ceded the Legations and Romagna to France *à perpetuité,* Pius VII. returned to Rome as temporal prince of all the States of the Church. But, since then, eighty-six years, or two generations, have passed, and the world has changed. Neither in Rome nor in Italy did anything take place during the few years that the Pope was kept in France, in comparison with what has taken place in Rome during the last thirty years, and in the rest of Italy during the last half century. There has been a regeneration so complete both outwardly and inwardly that it is no longer possible even to imagine a return to the old order of things. It may be that Italy will have a period of difficulty to traverse; it may be that a partial victory of Radical ideas will endanger present institutions; but the national unity cannot be destroyed, and the reconstitution of the Papal temporal power would infallibly have that effect. Italian unity now represents such an agglomeration of moral and material interests that there is no human power capable of attempting its destruction. On the one hand, we find the national debt, the railways, the army, the navy, the industrial and commercial interests, the savings banks, etc.; and, on the other, modern culture, freedom of conscience, and the conviction that, if the Pope were to become King of Rome, we should fall into the worst of anarchies. In Rome

herself the regeneration has been, perhaps, even still more complete. Around the old city a new one has arisen, and even in the ancient portion thirty years of Italian government have left an indelible mark. The Rome of 1870 cannot be recognized to-day. The old inhabitants have been overwhelmed by hundreds of thousands of Italians, who form a new mixed population, which has enormously increased in thirty years. Now that so many of the old Papal families are ruined, who formerly added lustre to the pontifical throne, a Pope who returned to rule in Rome would, after a few months, be forced voluntarily to renounce temporal power, after having provoked, in order to renew it, one of those historical catastrophes which humanity never forgives nor forgets. The restoration could only be brought about by the help of foreign intervention; and the Pope, who has difficulty in tolerating his present condition of independence, as recognized by Italy, would have to resign himself to render obedience to the foreign power which had restored him. Temporal power was re-established in 1849 by the combined action of four armies, and the French occupation did not render Pius IX. a more independent sovereign than Leo XIII. is to-day.

All these considerations are recognized by the careful observer. The Italians feel them, and they are understood by the Pope himself, in whose complaints there is a conventional note, and whose protests are, in reality, the result of calculation, and are made merely for the satisfaction of the fanatic party.

The force of events, at the present day, is so great that all pretext would be wanting to many of these discussions, if the Italian government were to resolve upon having an ecclesiastical policy superior to parliamentary fluctuations, and possessing a distinct aim—complete liberty for the Church, and resistance to the Vatican from a political standpoint. It would be necessary for Italy to persuade the world that the struggle is not with the Church, but with the political Papacy, which is the government of the Church, transitory by nature, and therefore, like all governments, subject to human imperfections. The political pretensions of the Papacy have the effect, in the main, of injuring the Church. Few people make any distinction between the two, and for that reason the struggle with the "intransigeant" Papacy of necessity degenerates into war against the Catholic faith and the Christian moral law. To-day, the Papacy is destined to

prove that it can exist by its own moral force alone. Never has its influence been raised to a higher point than since it has been deprived of territorial sovereignty, and never have so many international ceremonies taken place in Rome with perfect order and freedom—jubilees, pilgrimages, ceremonies in St. Peter's, exhibitions, and even a Conclave. The last Conclave was one of the freest and most spontaneous ever recorded by the Church. The Pope writes whatever he pleases; he has his own diplomatic corps, his guards, and his court. No Catholic or Protestant Power in the world would give him a position such as is bestowed upon him by Italy. And if, after all, he believes himself not to be free, and even refuses to discuss the methods of rendering his liberty still more secure, it must be because he is no longer moved and inspired by the Spirit of Christ, and the Divine Founder of the Church will surely find a way by which his great Institution shall find peace amid the storms of the world, or shall be confined to living the life of each nation separately. The last remnant of the Middle Ages would be swept away, if the Universal Church were to disappear as well as Universal Dominion. These were the two great cardinal points upon which Dante and his contemporaries based social order. Universal dominion, in Dante's sense, has vanished, or rather it has been transformed into separate sovereignties, founded upon the modern and judicial conception of the State and of different nationalities. Might not the same thing occur in the case of the Church? It will depend upon the Vatican. The Church, by means of its hierarchic organization, might split up into several National Churches, mutually independent, but united in the same faith. Dr. Döllinger, the celebrated founder of the Old Catholics of Germany, held that this would take place inevitably, and therefore providentially, during the present century.

R. De Cesare.

REVELATIONS OF A SENATE DOCUMENT.

BY SIDNEY WEBSTER.

THE injunction of secrecy was removed by the Senate in February last from an interesting and instructive document[1] relating to the recent treaty with Spain, and containing copies of the first instructions given by the President to his representatives before their departure for Paris, and of the reports and instructions exchanged in the course of the negotiation.

The contents asked for by the Senate remained unrevealed to the public till ordered to be printed on February 27th, 1901. Reading the document in connection with the protocols of the conferences, and other papers previously transmitted with the treaty,[2] one has an insight into the difficulties and influences which controlled the result.

The disclosures in the two Senate documents have been supplemented by a volume of the Spanish Red Book, covering the same transaction.[3]

Had these documents been accessible when the treaty was first made public in the United States, it would have been received and debated by voters in a way very unlike that in which it has been received and debated. There were, no doubt, controlling reasons why the first instructions given by the President to his representatives at Paris, their reports to him and his subsequent instructions thereon, should not be made public before the treaty had been finally ratified and proclaimed; for, if the results of the Paris negotiation had been rejected by the Senate and new negotiations begun, either with or without a renewal of the war, the contents of the document ordered to be printed at the end of

[1] Senate Document, No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Session.
[2] Senate Document, No. 62, Part I., 56th Congress, 3d Session.
[3] "Documentos presentados a la Cortes en la legislatura de 1898 por el Ministro de Estudo (duque de Almódovar del Rio). Conferencia de Paris y Tratado de Pax de 10 Deciembre de 1898. Madrid, est Tapografico "'Seecessones de Rivadeneyra.' Impresiores de la Reul Easa. Parco de San Vicente, num, zo, 1899," pp. 324.

February last might, in the possession of Spain, have been prejudicial to the United States.

In the President's first instructions to his representatives at Paris under his constitutional duty to conduct negotiations for a treaty of peace, he dwelt much (perhaps for their enlightenment) on "the unwelcome necessity of the war," on "the dictates of humanity," and on "high public and moral obligations." He repelled "designs of aggrandizement," and "ambitions of conquest." He condemned "an adventurous departure on untried paths." He urged on his agents at Paris "the same rule of conduct" in making peace as in accepting war. He said that the protocol was framed on those considerations, that there must be "unqualified concession of its *precise* demands," and that he had "waived, for the time being, the requirement of a pecuniary indemnity from Spain, * * * in the hope that Spain would thereby be enabled promptly to accept our terms; but, if the Spanish commissioners should, contrary to our just expectation, put forward and insist upon a claim for compensation for public property, you are instructed to put forward as counter-claim, a demand for indemnity for the cost of the war." No such claim was made by Spain.

Very pertinent to what the President then declared, is the reply made by Secretary Day, on July 30th, 1898, to the application by Spain to the President for the basis on which a political status could be established in Cuba, and the war terminated. He said that "the President, desirous of exhibiting signal generosity, will not now put forward any demand for pecuniary indemnity," but, nevertheless, he is not insensible of the cost of war, and, therefore, he must require in addition to abandoning Cuba, (1.) a cession by Spain of all her West India islands, (2.) an island in the Ladrones, and (3.) occupancy of Manila by the United States pending a treaty of peace which shall determine the "control, disposition and government of the Philippines." The capture of Manila came, it will be remembered, after the August protocol, and was in violation of it. Guam was selected by the President as the island in the Ladrones to be demanded under the second article of the protocol.

It was not contemplated by the President that the Spanish Commissioners would make a claim that either the United States, or the Islands, assume debts incurred by Spain, and,

therefore, no specific orders were given excepting in regard to immovable fixtures, public archives and muniments of titles.

Of the Philippines more was said: The August protocol had not distinctly stipulated that sovereignty over them was by the treaty to be ceded to the United States. The Commission was to determine only "the control, disposition and government of the Philippines." Spain asked in vain of the President to define those words. He refused to interpret or modify them. He declared to the French Minister, who represented Spain, that the fate of the Philippines had not been decided; that it would depend on the treaty. The Spaniards contended in Paris that the protocol did not require Spain to cede the Philippines; that it referred only to the internal régime of the Islands, which the Commission could prescribe under Spanish sovereignty. The first instructions by the President seem not to have anticipated that contention. The exordium of his demand for only Luzon was occupied with defensive reasons and explanations for requiring any of the group. He affirmed that the orders to Dewey had been given "without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition," which may indicate that safety of our commerce in the Pacific, and American property on the coast, was the only motive; but yet he added that "the march of events rules and overrules human action," and we must meet and discharge the new duties and responsibilities according to "the high command and pledge of civilization." That was a plain reference to the unintended sequence of the war in behalf of Cuba, and to the by-product of an action begun with another object. Nevertheless, the President did finally come down to business, and mention "commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent," "American trade," and "an adequate commercial basis," as in "full accord with the just, moral and humane purpose which was invoked in our justification when accepting the war." Hence he required his commissioners to demand the island of Luzon! That was his interpretation of the protocol, as if it bound Spain to cede, and she was by it precluded from resisting, or discussing, the President's final decision of a matter which, in the previous August, he had affirmed had not been decided.

It has been general belief that the protocol and treaty were dictated to Spain by the President while she was under duress,

and that they were unresistingly signed by her, but the official documents[1] show that while that may be true of the protocol, it is not true of the treaty.

The fact that the protocol was forced on Spain by the President, without explanation of the meaning of his language in regard to the Philippines, proved inconvenient and costly for the American Commissioners in the negotiations, which, instead of running smoothly under American pressure, were twice nearly ruptured. What would have been the effect had the President definitely explained that the words "control, disposition and government" in the protocol meant a relinquishment by Spain of sovereignty over the Philippines, cannot be known till the secrets of the Spanish Foreign Office shall have been revealed; but the President could not then have been more candid, for the reason that the Republican leaders at Washington had not, in August, 1898, formulated their requirements in the archipelago.

The midnight intimation by one of the President's commissioners, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, to the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, and the conversation three or four days after the deadlock over the Cuban debt, as cabled to Washington by Mr. Day on October 27th,[2] reads like a page from a history of diplomatic finesse in the seventeenth century. The Spanish Ambassador having said to Mr. Reid that the Spanish commissioners could not then return to Madrid "if known to have accepted entire Cuban indebtedness," and if forced to answer immediately the American questions regarding "debt, must answer 'No,' and break off the conference," Mr. Reid replied that his countrymen were not "very eager" for the Philippines; that a preponderance of sentiment was in favor of taking all the archipelago, but an "influential minority did not go to that length," and, therefore, it was possible, but not probable, "that out of these conditions the Spanish commissioners might be able to find something, either in territory or debt, which might seem to their people at home like a concession." On the next day the Spanish Secretary of the Commission appealed to Mr. Day for liberal treatment in the Philippines, and said that no government at Madrid could surrender all and live, for such surrender, "without relief" would mean national bankruptcy. Mr. Day

[1] Senate Doc., No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Sess., p. 36.
[2] Sen. Doc., No. 148, p. 36.

added in his cable that rupture of the negotiations was only averted "because Spaniards grasped at a hint thrown out in the conversation of Mr. Reid last night with Ambassador." That hint was payment in money for the Philippines!

The commission agreed to follow the order of topics in the August protocol. The Americans presented two articles for the treaty, regarding Cuba, Porto Rico and Guam, which were in effect the same as the two articles finally adopted. The Spaniards proposed amendments by which sovereignty over Cuba was to be transferred to the government of the United States, which was to accept it in order to deliver it to the Cubans, accompanied by debts which have been made a charge on the Cuban treasury. Had the Americans accepted sovereignty in trust, many things would be clearer in public law than now; but they rejected the amendment, refused to have anything to do with Cuban sovereignty, or Cuban debts, or Porto Rican debts, and the President approved.

After learned and forcible argument, the Spanish commissioners rejected the American counter-demand, and then intimated an acceptance of it provisionally, saying, however, "that strict law decides the question of the Cuban debt in their favor;" but yet they "are willing to modify the said strictness, in view of the advantages which Spain may derive from other stipulations of the treaty," and asking the Americans to formulate their Philippine requirements.

The stout contention by Spain in the matter of debts was unsound, for the reason that the question had been closed by the August protocol.

An effort to formulate Philippine requirements had disclosed serious differences among the President's five representatives at Paris, and Mr. Day sent to the Department of State a cable setting forth those conflicting opinions, the view of each Commissioner, and asking "explicit instructions."

Davis, Frye and Reid said that it would be a "naval, political and commercial mistake to divide the archipelago," as the President had ordered in his first instructions; and they asked for a widening of those instructions in that sense. Day could not consent to a peremptory demand of the entire archipelago. Gray did not deem it wise to take any of the islands. Neither Day, nor Gray, could find in the protocol ground on which to peremptorily

demand the Philippines. The text of the differing views is given on pages 32-5 of the Senate Document printed February 27th, 1901.

On the next day the Secretary of State cabled the President's reply, which was, in the opening sentence, almost a transcript of the first sentence in the cabled opinion of Davis, Frye and Reid. The President executed a *volte face,* and said that his first instruction, demanding only Luzon, "cannot be justified on political, commercial or humanitarian grounds," and he, therefore, must have the whole archipelago or none; but yet, he added, our motives must be such as "will exalt our nation." He was influenced in this latest instruction, continued Mr. Hay, "by the single consideration of duty and humanity," and he, therefore, left "largely with the Commission" the details of acquiring all of the Philippines—a responsibility which it is not probable the American Commissioners desired.

The President caused it to be cabled to Paris, on October 28th, that "the Philippines can be justly claimed by conquest, *which position must not be yielded;*" but, on November 3d, Day replied that "the majority of the Commissioners are clearly of the opinion that our demand for the Philippines cannot be based on conquest;" that, when the protocol was signed, Manila had not been captured; that "captures made after an agreement for armistice must be disregarded," and that "we can require cession of Philippine islands *only* as indemnity for losses and expenses of the war." Davis cabled his concurrence. Two days afterward, the President acquiesced in part, but said "conquest should not be ignored," while indemnity may be "the chief ground." We only seek, he added, a treaty "justified in the judgment of posterity." He confided to the Commission "the argument which shall result in such a consummation." It would seem that, in the opinion of the American Commissioners, the President and his Cabinet were stronger in the humanities than in international law.

Meanwhile, our Commissioners had, on October 31st, and after the President's order of three days before for the whole archipelago, presented to the Spaniards a proposal for the cession. It was peremptorily rejected and used as occasion for an elaborate argumentative protest against such a perversion of the August protocol, to which the Americans replied at great length on November 9th, and the sitting of that day was adjourned for three days. Our Commissioners, foreseeing, perhaps, that something else

besides arguments over the protocol must be employed to secure a treaty, immediately cabled again to the President, asking what money offer he was willing to make for the Philippines. Again each Commissioner cabled his view. Day "would minimize our holding to the lowest point consistent with our obligations," which he defined as Luzon and the islands essential by proximity. He added that we should not seek more than "a commercial and naval base in the East;" but, "as the President and Cabinet have determined to take whole group," he would offer a lump sum of fifteen millions and assume no debts anywhere. Frye would take the entire group, paying ten millions, which he thought a fair estimate of the debt properly chargeable to the Philippines. Reid would not recognize Philippine debt, but would pay twelve to fifteen millions, rather than lose a treaty and resume hostilities. Davis would not pay a dollar, and would stiffly stand on the ultimatum already presented to the Spaniards. Gray adhered to his former objections against acquiring any of the Philippines, but cabled in substance that a treaty of peace was "immensely important;" that the protocol required the fate of the Philippines "to be determined by a treaty" which the United States had no right to dictate, but must negotiate with Spain on equal terms; that if her free consent be not obtained, war would be resumed and conquest ruthlessly made. Therefore, he would be magnanimous to Spain, and faithfully execute the professions of disinterestedness with which the war was begun. He named no sum of money as payment.

On the next day came the President's reply, saying he would "regret deeply" a renewal of the war; that we were "clearly entitled to indemnity for cost of the war" (estimated not less than $250,000,000), but Spain had no money, and both archipelagoes were not worth that cost. Nothing was said of "conquest." It had dropped out. He added that the trade and commercial side, as well as indemnity, "are questions we might yield," but not "questions of duty and humanity." We owed "an obligation to the people of the Philippines." Hence, "pay to Spain ten to twenty millions of dollars!"

In one of the American arguments against the Spanish contention at Paris, our Commissioners said:

"The Spanish Commissioners have, themselves, in an earlier stage of these negotiations, spoken of the Filipinos as our allies. This is

not a relation which the Government of the United States intended to establish, but it must at least be admitted that the insurgent chiefs returned and resumed their activity with the consent of our military and naval commanders, who permitted them to arm with weapons which we had captured from the Spaniards, and assured them of fair treatment and justice. Should we be justified in now surrendering these people to the justice of Spain, even under a promise of amnesty, which we know they would not accept?" (p. 210).

To those allies, presumably, the President referred, but within three months they, or many of them, were in armed revolt against the United States.

Two days after the President's cable of November 13th, his representatives informed him that they would offer twenty millions, and he approved. On the next day, the Spaniards made their second argument against cession of the Philippines, and, five days thereafter, the Americans responded by an offer of twenty millions, which, on the 28th, the President of the Spanish Commission, in a manly and rather pathetic speech (p. 213), accepted as "the only terms the United States offers for the concluding of the treaty of peace."

It is noteworthy that, on the day the American Commissioners cabled to Washington their differences regarding acquisition of the Philippines, and while the government of the United States was taking so much trouble to release the inhabitants of the group from the dominion of Spain, the revolutionary government of the Filipinos at Malolos, or members of it, were attempting to conspire with Spanish officers to exclude the United States, and plant "the flags of Spain and the Philippines side by side." A copy of the text of a captured letter to General Rios, the Spanish General in command at Iloilo, and its history, have been published.[1]

One of the yet unrevealed mysteries in the relation of the United States with the Philippines, is the career of Aguinaldo and the revolutionary government of the Filipinos at Malolos, of which he was President. Who he was, is now well known. His first direct association with the United States was at Singapore, on May 24th, 1898.[2] The American Consul General at that port informed our State Department that on the 23d of May he had heard from an Englishman, Mr. Bray, that Aguinaldo had arrived; that he, the Consul, requested an interview, which took

[1] "The Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900. Issued by Republican National Committee," pp. 63 and 339.
[2] Senate Doc., No. 62, Part I., 55th Congress, 3d Session, p. 341.

place on the next day in presence of Bray and Aguinaldo's "trusted advisers;" that he then learned that Aguinaldo was directing an insurrection in the Philippines, and he had persuaded Aguinaldo to co-operate with the American fleet then at Hongkong, which Aguinaldo endeavored to do. The American Consul-General at Hongkong sympathized with the scheme, but when the Department of State had been told what its Consuls had done, it sharply admonished them.[1] What went on between Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo is not yet fully known by the public. It seems, however, clear enough that Aguinaldo and the United States were playing at cross purposes from the outset. He was seeking the independence of the Philippines from both Spain and the United States. President McKinley had not decided, till his Commissioners at Paris needed instructions, what he wished in the Philippines. As soon as Aguinaldo, his associates and followers, suspected, from what was going on at Paris, that the President did not intend to help the Filipinos to freedom and independence, they began more actively to intrigue against the United States, and, in the end, to fight. Aguinaldo made his plans to begin the struggle within two days after the President's order of December 21st, 1898, to occupy the whole archipelago, was promulgated at Manila. How many of the Filipinos really sympathized with Aguinaldo, no one as yet seems to know.

Before a student of the Philippines can touch bottom in all Aguinaldo did in the insurrections against Spain and the United States with which he had been concerned, it will be necessary for him to explore the relation of the monastic orders to secular priests in the archipelago, the political and pecuniary relation of the chiefs of the Philippine Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians to the Papal hierarchy at Rome, the relation of the latter to the government at Madrid, and, finally, the former relation through Rome and Madrid of the Provincials of the monastic orders in the archipelago, to any and every Spanish Governor-General sent thither, if he ventured to interfere with their prerogatives.

The penetrating student may then feel it necessary to go even further, and ascertain the relation to the treaty of Paris and its negotiations held by the superiors, at Rome and Manila, of the monastic orders in the Philippines, and the relation to the

[1]Senate Doc., No. 62, Part I., 55th Congress, 3d Session, pp. 340, 354.

United States government and its fundamental law, of the titles of houses,[1] lands, and the income thereof, controlled by members of the monastic orders who generally in the archipelago live in communities, and are not always obedient to the Roman Catholic Archbishop.

Only responsibility for debts of the relinquished, or ceded, islands had been disposed of by the Commission; details remained untouched. One of the most important of the undebated subsidiary questions was the relation to the United States of the inhabitants dwelling in the ceded islands. The government at Washington has been severely criticized at home and abroad because the treaty departed from the doctrines of the declaration of American independence in 1776 regarding "consent of the governed." That has been the tone of the anti-imperialists. Among the very last of the instructions cabled by the President to his Paris representatives was that of November 29th,[2] in which their opinion was asked regarding "citizenship of the inhabitants of the Philippines, which will prevent extension of that right to all Mongolians and others not actually subjects of Spain." The question seemed to contemplate American citizenship of all excepting those not Spanish subjects. He also asked if the American Commissioners deemed it advisable to provide for "recognition of uncivilized native tribes, in the same manner as in the Alaska treaty," and concluded by hinting the "leaving to Congress to deal with the status of inhabitants by legislative act."

The Americans, thereupon, proposed an article for the treaty, dividing all the inhabitants of Porto Rico and the Philippines into two classes—one class consisting of those born in Spain and Spanish subjects, and the second class including all other inhabitants born on the islands. The first class could remain, or remove, and remaining could preserve Spanish allegiance by certain formalities within one year, in default of which an adoption of "the nationality of the territory in which they may reside" would be assumed. Thus the first class were free to go or stop, but the second class, consisting chiefly of the natives, had not such stipulated freedom to remain or depart. Their political status was to be "determined by Congress." That American proposal finally became in substance article nine of the treaty.

[1] International Law Digest, Vol I., sec. 5a.
[2] Senate Document, No. 148, 56th Congress, 2d Session, p. 61.

The Spaniards assented to the two classes, and to the proposal regarding the first class, but dissented on various grounds from the American proposal regarding the second, preferring instead that the second class "shall have the right to choose the Spanish nationality within the period of one year," but without which their Spanish nationality "shall not at any time be recognized." The native was to be free, it will be seen, to choose Spanish nationality, but not any other. Nevertheless, it afforded to the native a way of indicating whether or not he wished to be possessed and governed by the United States. The reasons why the American Commissioners could not accept the Spanish proposal are set forth on page 262 of Senate Document No. 62. Their validity and force depend on the way in which Congress shall exercise its authority. Owing, as the President insists, to war begun against the United States by the Filipinos, Congress has not yet legislated to determine "the civil rights and political status" of the natives.

Of the treaty thus concluded at the end of more than two months of peremptory demand, of labor, anxiety, difficulties and perils, and by payment of a large sum of money, the President thus spoke at Youngstown, Ohio:[1]

"We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there; our boys in blue are there. They are there not for conquest, they are not there for dominion—they are there because, in the providence of God, who moves mysteriously, that great archipelago has been placed in the hands of the American people. When Dewey sank the ships at Manila, as he was ordered to do, it was not to capture the Philippines—it was to destroy the Spanish fleet, the fleet of the nation against which we were waging war, and we thought that the soonest way to end that war was to destroy the power of Spain to make war, and so we sent Dewey. And the islands came to us. It was no responsibility that we sought, but it was a responsibility put upon us!"

To the Home Market Club,[2] he said on February 16th, 1899:

"Our concern was not for territory, or trade, or empire, but for the people whose interest and destiny, without our willing it, had been placed in our hands. It was with this feeling that, from the first day to the last, not one word, or line, went from the Executive in Washington to our Peace Commissioners at Paris, that did not put as the sole purpose to be kept in mind first, after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our own honor, the welfare and happiness and the rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. * * * We were obeying a higher moral obligation which rested on us and

[1] Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900.
[2] Ibid, p. 332.

which did not require anybody's consent. We were doing our duty by them, as God gave us the light to see our duty, with the consent of our own consciences and with the approval of civilization."

None of those who promoted the war to liberate Cuba foresaw, or intended, such a treaty of peace, or present difficulties with the Cubans, yet it is not easy to see how it can be accurately said that responsibility for governing the natives of all the ceded islands was in Paris thrust upon the government of the United States against its wish and will.

The first official act of the President was on December 21st, 1898, eleven days after the *project* of a treaty had been signed at Paris, and long before its ratification by the two governments, when he declared[1] that the sovereignty of the United States had been extended over the Philippines, and that the exercise of American control of the entire group would be immediately enforced, and that all persons will with firmness, but without undue severity, be brought within the rule of the United States. The theory of public law on which the President's order of December 21st was issued was, probably, that of conquest, which a majority of his representatives at Paris had discarded, and it was, as the result disclosed, an unfortunate blunder.

There was an incident in the negotiations at Paris bearing on it. The Americans having proposed that the United States should maintain public order over the whole archipelago, pending exchange of the ratifications, the Spaniards replied that the government at Madrid preferred that each nation "should be charged with the maintenance of order in the places where each might be established" (p. 229). Thereupon, the Americans did not insist on their proposal, but yet before the treaty had been ratified the President attempted to govern the whole archipelago.

The Senate document containing the cable messages exchanged between the President and his representatives at Paris is an answer to those, at home and abroad, who have criticized the government at Washington on the ground that war against Spain was not really begun only to release Cuba from the dominion of Spain, but with a fixed purpose to enlarge the area of the United States and its power to participate efficiently in the politics and commerce of China. Nevertheless, when the August protocol was signed, the President did, besides the liberation of Cuba, de-

[1]Republican Campaign Text Book, 1900; p. 335.

mand and obtain the cession of Porto Rico, of an island in the Ladrones, and the occupation of Manila as a guarantee that the treaty of peace "shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

The fourth section of the Joint Resolution by Congress of April 20th, 1898, demanding that Spain "relinquish" its authority and government in Cuba, must be taken as conclusive evidence that sovereignty, exercised by the United States over that island, was not then intended. So far as concerned Congress and the President, the treaty of peace was, like evolution in the terms of Darwinian science, an unintended result. They who did, "with a monarch's voice, cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war," were those who produced an unintended sequence in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and also in Cuba, as we now discover.

It cannot be denied that the part of the law relating to Cuba, approved by the President on March 2d, 1901, "for the support of the Army," did change the previous law of April 20th, 1898, in a way to leave the Government of the United States exposed to criticism, on the ground that it modified the unselfish, generous and chivalrous attitude of three years before regarding the Cubans. Those who feel jealousy, or resentment, toward the United States, may go even so far as to say that the law which opened hostilities was enacted as a war stratagem to mislead foreign opinion and home opinion. The United States did affirm its intention not to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over Cuba, excepting for its pacification, and to leave to its people the control of the islands when pacified. Somewhat of sovereignty, jurisdiction and control was to be exercised, but how much was made dependent on the requirement of "pacification." Were Congress and the President, when enacting the first law in order of date, entirely under the influence of humanitarian and philanthropic emotions in behalf of the revolting Cubans, and especially the *reconcentrados,* which emotions were tinged by a wish to make generally acceptable a war in their interest?

Secretaries of State at Washington had, during three-quarters of a century, kept Cuba in mind.[1] For double reasons of defence of the island against Africanization by a European power and for our own military and naval security, each President had insisted that an island lying at our doorway in the Atlantic Ocean

[1]International Law Digest, Vol. I., § 60.

must not, if it passed out of the hands of Spain, be owned by a foreign government, but in 1898 Congress seemed, for the moment, to forget that Cuba after pacification was to be in the hands of itself—a power foreign to us. On the very day of the enactment of the law of that year, the President, when demanding from Spain that it at once "relinquish" its authority and government in Cuba and its waters, accompanied the demand with a declaration of the intention of the United States not to control the island excepting for its "pacification," and of the determination of the United States to finally leave Cuba to its people, "under such free and independent government as they may establish." That was unfortunately explicit!

Altruistic fervor in 1898 over Cuban subjects of Spain has produced results intended, and unintended, that are, in many aspects, anomalous in public law. The statute of that year began, in its first clause, by declaring that the Cuban people "are free and independent;" in the third clause it authorized the President to use the army and navy to make them free and independent; and, finally, in the fourth clause, asserted that, when the island had been pacified, its people must be free and independent.

When Spain urged at Paris that abandonment of Cuba might leave it a prey to anarchy, the American Commissioners appear, in the Senate documents now before us, as having promptly replied that the United States will assume all the obligations of international law flowing from occupation of the island. Something like that is in the first and sixteenth articles of the treaty, which, possibly, may have modified the fourth self-denying clause of the law of 1898.

Our Supreme Court has adjudged that Cuba is, as to the United States, a foreign country. Under the statute of 1898 and the protocol of that year, inhabitants of Cuba were not Spanish subjects; they had by Congress been declared "free and independent." By those two public acts, and the treaty as well, the sovereignty of Cuba was left floating in mid-air.

What is the definition of the legal relation of the President and Congress to the island? Who is the sovereign, is a political and not a judicial question. The island is occupied and held by our army, but has Congress constitutional jurisdiction there where the United States is not the sovereign, nor are Cubans American citizens? Is Cuba a State with which the

United States can now make a treaty, or only a fictitious State? Perhaps it is a State *de jure,* but not *de facto.* The United States government now occupies Cuba in order to pacify it, but has Cuba no right to decide when the occupancy shall cease? Power to expel the occupant she certainly has not, whatever may be her right, and, besides, the exercise of that power would not tend to pacify the island. The condition of Cuba, under the law of 1898, the protocol and treaty, was novel and unique, but what has it come to be under the army law of March 2d, 1901, prescribing the eight conditions under which the President may withdraw the army and navy, and *"leave* the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people," as the fourth self-denying clause of the law of 1898 required? The law of the present year concedes to the Cubans nothing else than submission to the recently dictated conditions under which their island can be "free and independent." That is a sequence probably not contemplated by anybody in April, 1898; but, when the law of 1901 was enacted, the fervid emotions of three years before regarding Cubans had subsided, and returning reason had brought to Washington perception of the fact that, although Cuba is a foreign country, the military defense of the United States must be considered, as well as the welfare of Cubans.

SIDNEY WEBSTER.

JUBILEE OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

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THE Jubilee Convention, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Young Men's Christian Association in America, which is to be held in Boston this month, calls attention to the development of the work of this great organization. Over 3,000 delegates from the United States and other lands will meet from June 11th to 16th to consider the work of the past fifty years, and plan for the extension of Christ's Kingdom among young men throughout the world.

The founder of the Young Men's Christian Association, George Williams, now Sir George Williams, who was born at Ashbury Farmhouse, near Dulverton, Southern England, in 1821, grew into manhood at the time when the industrial revolution in England was attracting young men from the country to the town. He went to London in October, 1841, and became a clerk in the dry goods establishment facing St. Paul's churchyard, of which he is now the proprietor. At that time, there were some eighty young men employed in the different departments of the business. Through Mr. Williams's efforts, a Young Men's Christian Association was organized, for the purpose of establishing religious services and Bible classes among the young men employed in various houses of business in London. This organization took effect on the sixth of June, 1844. The name was suggested by Christopher Smith, George Williams's room-mate. The constitution provided that the Association should seek to promote the spiritual and mental improvement of young men engaged in the drapery trade, that its membership should be young men who gave decided evidence of conversion to God, and

that its management should be in the hands of a small board chosen from the membership.

This movement rapidly assumed important proportions. Prayer meetings and Bible classes were soon established in fourteen different business houses, and a missionary to young men was employed in January, 1845. In 1848, apartments were rented, in which a library, reading-room, restaurant, social parlors, and educational classes were provided; and young men who made no religious profession were invited, upon the payment of a small fee, to use the privileges of the institution, though they were given no share in its management and were known not as members but associates. A lecture course was established, which soon became the most important lecture platform in London. Branches of the parent society sprang up in different parts of the metropolis, and provincial branches in different parts of the United Kingdom became affiliated with the parent society.

The Association was marked by intense religious zeal. Through personal interviews by its members with young men, through Bible classes and evangelistic meetings for men, a persistent campaign was carried on to win young men to lead a religious life. The secular agencies developed considerably during the first seven years. In 1851, in the Central Association, there were 225 members and 425 associates. There were estimated to be 750 members and associates in the other branches in the metropolis. At this time, there were eight Societies in London, and sixteen in various parts of the United Kingdom. The twenty-four Associations enrolled approximately 2,700 young men.

Knowledge of this work came to America in the fall of 1851 at three different centers—Montreal, Boston and New York. The first movement took place at Montreal, where, through the efforts of two young men, who had become acquainted with the London work through published copies of the lectures delivered before the London Association, an Association was formed on November 25th, 1851. In November, 1851, Mr. George Petrie, who had become well acquainted with the London work during a visit to that city, called together a group of his personal friends in New York. These conferences, however, did not result in organization until encouraged by the success at Boston, where the first Association in the United States was established.

A letter published on October 30th, 1851, describing in detail the work of the London Association, came under the eye of Captain Thomas V. Sullivan, who was active in Christian work among seamen, and so impressed him that he determined to establish a Society in Boston. His purpose was accomplished at a meeting held on December 29th, 1851, in the chapel of the old South Meeting House in Spring Lane. The Boston Society laid great emphasis upon the Association as a social resort. It introduced the committee system, and inaugurated the plan of restricting voting and office-holding to members who were in good standing in an evangelical church. It was the Boston Society which gave character and direction to the American movement. It immediately became one of the leading religious agencies of the city. Twelve hundred young men joined its membership; 16,000 copies of its constitution and by-laws were printed, and scattered broadcast over the United States; representatives of the Society assisted in founding Associations at other points, and through its influence, by the year 1854, some twenty-six Associations had been established in different parts of the Union.

Through the efforts of Chauncey M. Langdon, a government employee in Washington, and later a clergyman in the Episcopal Church, a convention of the American Associations was called at Buffalo in June, 1854. This convention established an alliance of the Associations of the United States and Canada, under the supervision of an executive committee which was instructed to call annual conventions, and to do everything in their power to foster and extend the work of the Associations. This alliance was known as the American Confederation, and it was largely through its influence that the American movement rapidly took pre-eminence among the Associations of the world.

In the meantime, through the efforts of George Williams and others, Associations had been established at Paris and other points in France, and at Geneva, in Switzerland.

Prior to the founding of the Association, a movement known as the *"Jünglingsverein"* had been started among young workingmen in Germany in the year 1834. This had already come into friendly correspondence with the Associations in England.

The culminating event of the early period was the first convention of the Associations of all lands, held at Paris in 1855, at which the memorable statement of belief known as "the Paris

basis" was adopted. This has been called the apostles' creed of the Association, and did much to unify the movement. It was proposed by Mr. Frederick Monnier, a layman from Strasburg, and was read before the convention, all the delegates standing, "in which position it was then solemnly passed by the unanimous vote of the whole assembly. The members present then knelt together, gratefully to acknowledge the mercy of God and to entreat His benediction on the decision at which they had arrived." The basis was as follows:

"The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men, who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men."

The reports of this convention showed the estimated strength of the Association movement as follows:

Continent of Europe:				
Germany	130	Associations.	6,000	Members.
Switzerland	54	"	700	"
France	49	"	700	"
Holland	10	"	400	"
Belgium and Italy	3	"	60	"
	246	"	7,860	"
British Isles	47	"	8,500	"
United States and Canada	36	"	14,000	"
Total	329	"	30,360	"

The period from 1844 to 1855 saw the Association founded in the various Protestant countries, an International Alliance established on the American continent, and a uniform basis adopted by the Associations of all lands.

During the years from the Paris convention in 1855 to the Geneva convention in 1878, when a central executive committee for the Associations of the world was established, with headquarters at Geneva, the Young Men's Christian Associations were gradually developing a world consciousness as an organization, and slowly evolving a method of work for ministering to the needs of young men. During this period, the American Associations rose to the place of pre-eminence, and the type of Association developed here has in later years spread throughout the world.

For convenience the American development during this period may be further subdivided into four divisions: The period of the Confederation, 1855 to 1861; the War period, 1861 to 1866;

the revival of the Association work after the War, 1866 to 1870; the period of adaptation of the work to the needs of young men, 1870 to 1878.

The six years preceding the Civil War were remarkable for two results in the Association: the creation of the International Committee, with its work of supervision, and the great revival which stirred the entire country during the years 1857 and 1858. During these years, the central committee of the Confederation was located respectively at Washington, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Philadelphia. This migratory plan was soon found to be a source of weakness, but much good was accomplished. Annual conventions were held, and information regarding the new movement was widely disseminated. Many new Associations were founded; and at the outbreak of the war there were 240 Associations in America, with an estimated enrollment of 30,000 members.

In 1856, several members of the New York Association established a union prayer-meeting, chiefly for men of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Fulton street. This was carried on for nearly a year, and in the following September it was given over to Mr. J. C. Lamphier, the city missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, with the understanding that it should be continued on a union basis. The committee of the Association arranged to co-operate heartily in this meeting.

In the fall of 1857, came the financial panic which prostrated the business interests of the country. Large numbers of men began immediately to attend this noon prayer-meeting, and, under the auspices of the New York Association, many more union meetings were established in different parts of the city. Similar meetings were conducted by all the Young Men's Christion Associations throughout the country. It is estimated that over 300,000 persons were added to the evangelical churches of America as a result of this revival.

The years from 1861 to 1866 in America were overshadowed by the cloud of the Civil War. The financial depression and the distractions attending the outbreak of the War brought the Association to the lowest point it ever reached. The Boston membership declined from 2,400 to 700. The New York City Association, at the beginning of 1862, had but 151 members; it was burdened with a debt of $2,400, and its work had sadly declined. It is recorded that only sixty organizations survived the War;

and yet, in the midst of this depression and apparent weakness, the Association performed one of the most heroic tasks ever undertaken by a religious organization.

Through the influence of the Association in New York, heartily seconded by those of Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago and other places, the United States Christian Commission was organized. This was the first organized attempt, on a large scale, to minister to both the spiritual and physical needs of soldiers under arms. The plan of work was to send out delegates with supplies and needed comforts, who should spend some five or six weeks without remuneration, nursing the sick and wounded, distributing literature, conducting evangelistic and religious meetings, bearing messages from home, and in various ways encouraging and helping the soldiers. Over 5,000 of these delegates were sent out during the War. The following table shows the vast efforts of this Commission in raising money and supplies for the soldiers:

*RECEIPTS BY THE UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865. (4 mos.)	Total.
Cash	$40,160	$358,200	$1,297,755	$828,357	$2,524,472
Supplies	191,096	558,637	1,584,592	1,432,298	3,766,623
Totals	$231,256	$916,837	$2,882,347	$2,260,655	$6,291,095

This was an heroic service, and won for the Association the admiration and confidence of the public.

In the meantime, the New York City Society had secured for its librarian Robert R. McBurney, and for its president William E. Dodge, Jr. It had on its board of directors the Hon. Cephas Brainerd, who had been identified with its work from the beginning, and who had early conceived the true mission of the Association. These men, with their associates, set about developing in New York a work specifically adapted to the needs of young men, and introduced a new era in Association history.

The years from 1866 to 1870 mark the revival of the American work after the war. In June, 1866, an International Convention was called at Albany, which outlined a new policy for the Associations. The plan of a migratory International Committee was given up, and the headquarters were permanently established in New York city. Cephas Brainerd was, a year later, chosen chairman of this committee, a position which he held for twenty-

*Moss, United States Christian Commission, page 729.

five years. This convention announced the platform that the work of the Association should be limited to young men, although it was some years before this became the actual practice.

As yet there was no uniformity among the Associations in America as to the conditions of membership. This question was agitated much at this time. Finally, at the international convention held in Portland, in 1869, it was decided that only members of evangelical churches should vote or hold office in the Young Men's Christian Association, and it was stated that:

"We hold those churches to be evangelical which, maintaining the Holy Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ (the only begotten son of the Father, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us though knowing no sin, bearing our sins in His own body on the tree) as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment."

Since the adoption of this test, the American Associations have held firmly to the evangelical position, and they have received the confidence and gifts of evangelical believers.

In the meantime, in New York city a determined effort was being made to erect a suitable building adapted to the needs of young men. In addition to the work already undertaken for the spiritual, intellectual, and social improvement of young men, it was decided to add a gymnasium for physical training. After an earnest canvass for funds, and a most careful study of plans, the historic building on the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue, which provided under one roof for the various phases of Association activity, was erected. This building cost $487,000, and was opened to the public in November, 1869. Here was developed the modern type of the diversified work for the cultivation of Christian manhood, which has become characteristic of the American Associations, and which is spreading throughout the world.

A unique feature of this building, which has been copied in most Association structures, was the central reception-room, or lobby, in which was the public office of the secretary, and through which every one must pass upon entering the building. From this reception-room opened the reading-room, the parlors, the amusement-room, the gymnasium, the library, the educational class-rooms, and the secretary's private office. This enabled the

secretary in charge to control the various activities which were housed under one roof, and to keep in touch with the multitude of young men who took advantage of the privileges of the Association.

The years from 1870 to 1878 in America may be characterized as a period of adaptation of the work of the Association to the needs of young men, and the extension of this work to various classes of young men. It is an interesting fact that, as soon as the organization specialized its work and limited it to young men, it immediately found a large field for service. In 1872, at Cleveland, a branch Association was founded for work among railroad men. This met with a hearty response from the men themselves. A secretary was employed, rooms were opened at the railway station of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern road, and an effort made to extend the work elsewhere. Similar societies were also organized at a number of the terminal points, and in the fall of 1875 the attention of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, was called to this work. Through his endorsement, other railroad officials became interested in this movement. It was soon found that it was a profitable investment for railroad corporations to provide the facilities and attractions of a Young Men's Christian Association for the comfort of their employees, and that the improvement in the service yielded a real financial return.

As early as 1858, at the State Universities of Michigan and Virginia, student Young Men's Christian Associations had been organized. Early in the seventies, Mr. Robert Weidensall organized similar societies in a number of colleges. By 1876, there were twenty-five college Associations, with about 2,500 members. Through the influence of Mr. Luther D. Wishard, a student at Princeton, representatives of all college Associations were invited to the international convention held at Louisville, Ky., in 1877. This resulted in the inauguration of the inter-collegiate movement.

An extended effort was also made during this period among German-speaking young men, and toward its close a work was inaugurated among colored young men.

In other lands, while war, ecclesiastical conditions and general conservatism retarded the growth of the Associations, a marked development had taken place. Every three years, con-

ventions of the Associations of all lands were held in different European cities. To these, the American Associations since 1872 have regularly sent representatives. During the early seventies, Mr. Moody made his evangelistic campaigns in the British Isles, and did a great deal to stimulate the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in securing money for buildings, in arousing spiritual zeal, and in calling the attention of the church to this important work. In 1878, some forty representatives of the American Associations attended the world's convention, which met at Geneva, Switzerland. Up to that time, there had been no established headquarters for the world's work. General affairs had been administered from London through Mr. W. E. Shipton, the secretary of the London Association. It was chiefly through the influence of the French and American delegates that the Geneva convention voted to organize the work of the Associations in all lands under an advisory committee, which should have a quorum located at Geneva, Switzerland. Colonel Charles Fermaud, an officer in the Swiss army, and a man with bright business prospects in Geneva, consented to give up his calling and accept the position of general secretary of this committee. By the year 1878, with the establishment of the world's committee, the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world may be said to have developed their ideal of work for young men.

Expansion has been the striking characteristic of the period from 1878 to 1901. The American Associations have increased in membership two and one-half times, from 99,000 to 255,000; in value of property, ten-fold, from $2,295,000 to more than $22,000,000; in the number of buildings, seven-fold, from 56 to 400; in employed men, over thirteen-fold, from 114 to 1,525; the current expenses for operating the Associations have increased nine-fold, from $376,000 to $2,900,000 annually.

The two factors which have most profoundly influenced the Association movement, during this period, have been the securing of property, and of trained secretaries and directors who give their whole time to this service. The carrying on of an all-round work for young men—physical, social, intellectual and spiritual—demanded not only experienced and able men to conduct the work, but commodious and properly adapted structures in which it could be housed.

The discoverer and demonstrator of the secretaryship was

Robert R. McBurney, who was secretary of the New York City Association from 1862 until his death in 1898. Under his leadership, this office was developed and the number of employed men increased. Of all the agencies the Association movement has brought forth, the most vital is the secretariate. To this may be attributed its permanence and continued power.

Not only have men been employed for supervisory work, but since 1870 there has been an increasing demand for Christian young men to devote their lives to service in the Association as physical directors. More than 300 of these men are now employed. To the Christian physical director, the Young Men's Christian Association owes the development of the physical department, which aims not only to give young men physical training, but rugged, vigorous bodily development. This department has proved a great attraction to young men. It has proved not only a means for physical well-being, which is much needed under modern city conditions, but also a means of leading young men into lives of purity. The demand increased so rapidly that, in 1885, at Springfield, Mass., two schools for the training of general secretaries and physical directors were established. In 1890 a similar school was established at Chicago.

Four-fifths of the employed officers in the Association movement are upon this continent.

The building movement in America has developed with increasing momentum. In 1890, there were 205 buildings, valued at $8,350,000, in the United States and Canada; in 1900, there were 359. During the past year forty Association buildings have been erected. There is no greater testimony to the confidence of Christian philanthropists and business men in the Young Men's Christian Association and its work than the investment of large sums of money in Association property.

One of the striking developments of this period in the city work has been the growth of the educational classes. Immediately upon the erection of the building on the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue in New York city, evening classes were started in different subjects for young men. Similar classes were carried on in other cities, and by 1892, 20,526 different men were under instruction.

The latest period of Association history has also been marked by a great extension in the work for different classes of young

men. In August, 1895, the world's student Christian federation of under-graduates of all lands was established. This now enrolls 65,000 members, in 1,400 institutions, in thirty different countries, and is the largest organization among undergraduates in the world. In the United States and Canada the movement has been extended to professional schools, theological seminaries, State universities, and other institutions of learning. There are now 650 college Associations upon this continent. In 1900, these enrolled 24,624 students. Thirty American student Associations own buildings valued at $1,000,000. There are now seventy-five student secretaries devoting their whole time to this work, and 14,000 undergraduates in America are in voluntary Bible classes.

The work for railroad men has become one of the most remarkable features of Christian endeavor. It is, probably, the most successful Christian work among workingmen carried on at the present time. During 1900, railroad corporations which control nearly three-fourths of the railroad mileage on this continent contributed $195,000 toward the current expenses of the 159 railroad Associations now in existence. There are seventy-six buildings, valued at $1,122,000, occupied by these Associations. During the past year, ten new Associations were organized, six of which were provided with buildings. Forty thousand railroad men are members of these Associations. One hundred and ninety secretaries are engaged in this department of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Since 1879, the International Committee has employed a secretary to develop the work among colored young men. There are to-day forty Indian Associations, with 1,600 members, under the direction of a travelling secretary, who is a native American Indian.

Largely as an outgrowth of the work for students in other lands, the American International Committee was invited by missionaries in India to inaugurate a work among young men in non-Christian lands. This has proved a most fruitful form of missionary endeavor. The work has always been carried on in subordination to the church, and as a supplementary work where missions have already been developed. There are now twenty secretaries of the American International Committee in India, Ceylon, Japan, China and Brazil.

With the outbreak of the war with Spain, secretaries were

promptly sent out with tents and suitable equipments with the fast departing regiments, and a successful effort was undertaken to preach the gospel to the soldiers and sailors. The army in the Philippines was provided for in a similar way, and some of the Canadian regiments which have recently gone to South Africa were equipped in like manner. This work has been established as a permanent department of the International Committee.

Even before the war began steps had been taken to inaugurate a work among the seamen of the navy, and after the war a building was equipped for seamen at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. This department has developed rapidly, and at the present time there is an organized movement among the seamen of the navy, which is full of promise. Through the munificence of Miss Helen Gould, who has contributed largely toward the railroad and army work, a splendid building is being erected by the Naval Association, near the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, at a cost of $450,000.

For many years, the work of the Associations was limited to young men between sixteen and eighteen years of age, and upward. It is an interesting sociological development that, in the prosecuting of its work for young men, the Association has been led to give its attention to work among boys. Careful study has led to the conviction that effort ought to begin at the age when the boy is becoming a man—at the dawn of adolescence. There are almost as many boys in cities between the ages of twelve and seventeen as there are young men. Already, separate buildings are being erected for this important work, and twenty secretaries are employed to give their time to this feature of the Association.

Whether the Young Men's Christian Association has reached its final form, no one would be bold enough to affirm. It is remarkable that it should have grouped together such a variety of agencies upon the simple platform of young men advancing the Kingdom of Christ among young men. Through the three periods of its development, the Association has evolved into an institution with an enlarged ideal, closely akin to that of the Christian university. It is still animated by the evangelistic, spiritual purpose of the original band of young men who rallied around George Williams more than fifty-seven years ago. But, while keeping uppermost this ideal, it has endeavored to do, in a

popular way, for the multitudes of young men of our cities, what the Christian university, in a more scholarly way, is doing for the young men who are to enter the professions.

This changed ideal will dominate the future. It has the same high aim as in the past, but it is larger and more far-reaching. If during the past twenty years the Association has increased tenfold, it may not be too much to anticipate that it will become very much greater in the opening years of the new century. It is estimated that $250,000,000 are invested in institutions of learning, chiefly for training the men who are to enter the professions and the higher walks of business. If during the past twenty-five years $26,000,000 have been invested in the Association enterprise, it is likely that a still greater sum will be devoted to this cause during the coming fifty years. Without doubt the Associations of the future will not only be provided with buildings, but with at least partial endowment.

In its field of labor it will reach out to help boys between the ages of thirteen and seventeen, and it may develop a mission to young men in the country and small towns. It is sure to have a large mission to the college students of the world, and to the city young men in non-Christian lands.

During the past twenty-five years, there has been a tendency to concentrate the work in the Association buildings. There is now evident a tendency to extend the work to different parts of the community beyond the building itself. The number of employed men giving their lives to this service is likely to increase largely. In the coming half-century, the Association will have more surely than ever before the confidence of the church and the community at large, and it will become the recognized agency in Protestant lands for the extension of Christ's Kingdom among young men.

L. L. DOGGETT.

HAWTHORN AND LAVENDER:

SONGS AND MADRIGALS. PART II.

BY W. E. HENLEY.

XXV.

Moon of half-candied meres
And flurrying, fading snows;
Moon of unkindly rains,
Wild skies, and troubled vanes;
When the norther snarls and bites,
And the old moon walks a-cold,
And the lawns grizzle o' nights,
And wet fogs search the fold:
Here in this heart of mine
A dream that warms like wine,
A dream one other knows,
Moon of the roaring weirs
And the sip-sopping close,
February Fill-Dyke,
Shapes like a royal rose—
A red, red rose!

O, but the distance clears!
O, but the daylight grows!
Soon shall the pied wind-flowers
Babble of greening hours,
Primrose and daffodil
Yearn to a fathering sun,
The lark have all his will,
The thrush be never done,
And April, May, and June
Go to the same blythe tune

As this blythe dream of mine!
Moon when the crocus peers,
Moon when the violet blows,
February Fair-Maid,
Haste, and let come the rose—
Let come the rose.

XXVI.

Low—low
Over a perishing after-glow,
A thin, red shred of moon
Trailed. In the windless air
The poplars all ranked lean and chill.
The smell of winter loitered there,
And the year's heart felt still.
Yet not so far away
Seemed the mad Spring,
But that, as lovers will,
I let my laughing heart go play,
As it had been a fond maid's frolicking;
And, turning thrice the gold I'd got,
In the good gloom
Solemnly wished me—what?
What, and with whom?

XXVII.

The night dislimns, and breaks
Like snows slow thawn;
An evil wind awakes
On lea and lawn;
The low east quakes; and hark!
Out of the kindless dark,
A fierce, protesting lark,
High in the horror of dawn!

A shivering streak of light,
A scurry of rain:
Bleak day from bleaker night
Creeps pinched and fain:

The old gloom thins and dies,
And in the wretched skies
A new gloom, loth to rise,
  Sprawls, like a thing in pain.

And yet, what matter—say!—
  The shuddering trees,
The easter-stricken day,
  The sodden leas?
The good bird, wing and wing
With time, finds heart to sing,
As he were hastening
  The swallow o'er the seas.

XXVIII.

The wind on the wold,
  With sea-scents and sea-dreams attended,
    Is wine!
The air is as gold
  In elixir—it takes so the splendid
    Sunshine!

O, the larks in the blue!
  How the song of them glitters, and glances,
    And gleams!
The old music sounds new—
  And it's O, the wild Spring, and his chances
    And dreams!

There's a lift in the blood—
  O, this gracious and thirsting and aching
    Unrest!
All life's at the bud,
  And my heart, full of April, is breaking
    My breast.

XXIX.

This world of gladness,
Singing and sadness,
Moves in a madness
  Of youth and mirth;

Above and under
Clothed on with wonder,
Sunrise and thunder,
  And death and birth;
His broods befriending
With grace unending
And gifts transcending
  A god's at play;
Yet do his meetness
And sovran sweetness
  Live in the jocund purpose of May.

So take your pleasure,
And in full measure
Use of your treasure,
  When birds sing best;
For when heaven's bluest,
And earth feels newest,
And love longs truest,
  And takes not rest;
When winds blow cleanest,
And seas roll sheenest,
And lawns lie greenest:
  Then, night and day,
Dear life counts dearest,
And God walks nearest
  To them that praise Him, praising His May.

XXX.

It was a bowl of roses:
  There in the light they lay,
Languishing, glorying, glowing
  Their life away.

And the soul of them rose like a presence,
  Into me crept and grew,
And filled me with something—some one—
  O, was it you?

XXXI.

Sing to me, sing, and sing again,
  My glad, great-throated nightingale:
Sing, as the good sun through the rain—
  Sing, as the home-wind in the sail!

Sing to me life, and toil, and time,
  O bugle of dawn, O flute of rest!
Sing, and once more, as in the prime,
  There shall be naught but seems the best.

And sing me at the last of love:
  Sing that old magic of the May,
That makes the great world laugh and move
  As lightly as our dream to-day!

XXXII.

What doth the blackbird in the boughs
Sing all day to his nested spouse?
What but the song of his old mother-Earth,
In her mighty humour of lust and mirth?
"Love and God's will go wing and wing,
And as for death, is there any such thing?"—
In the shadow of death,
So, at the nod of the wizard Spring
The dear bird saith—
  So the bird saith.

Caught with us all in the nets of fate,
So the sweet wretch sings early and late;
And, O my fairest, after all,
The heart of the world's in his innocent call.
The will of the world's with him wing and wing:—
"Life—life—life! 'Tis the sole great thing
This side of death,
Heart on heart in the wonder of Spring!"
So the bird saith—
  The wise bird saith!

XXXIII.

(*FROM THE SPANISH.*)

Come where my lady lies,
Sleeping down the golden hours!
Cover her with flowers.

Bluebells from the clearings,
  Flag-flowers from the rills,
Wildings from the lush hedgerows,
  Delicate daffodils,
Sweetlings from the formal plots,
  Blossoms from the bowers—
Heap them round her where she sleeps,
  Cover her with flowers!

Sweet-pea and pansy,
  Red hawthorn and white;
Gilliflowers—like praising souls;
  Lilies—lamps of light:
Nurselings of what happy winds,
  Suns, and stars, and showers!
Joylets good to see and smell—
  Cover her with flowers!

Like to sky-born shadows
  Mirrored on a stream,
Let their odours meet and mix
  And waver through her dream!
Last, the crowded sweetness
  Slumber overpowers,
And she feels the lips she loves
  Craving through the flowers.

XXXIV.

There was no kiss that day?
No intimate Yea-and-Nay,
No sweets in hand, no tender, lingering touch?
None of those darling, desperate caresses,

So instant—O, so brief!—and yet so much,
The thought of the swiftest lifts and blesses?
Nor any one of those great royal words,
Those sovran privacies of speech,
Frank as the call of April birds,
That, whispered, live a life of gold
Among the heart's high memories,
And irk, and thrill, and ravish, and beseech,
Even when the dream of dreams in death's a-cold?
No, there were none of these,
Dear one, and yet——
O eyes on eyes! O voices breaking still,
For all the watchful will,
Into a kinder kindness than seemed due
From you to me, and me to you!
And that hot-eyed, close-throated, blind regret
Of woman and man baulked and debarred the blue!—
No kiss—no kiss that day?
Nay, rather, though we seemed to wear the rue,
Sweet friend, how many, and how goodly—say!

XXXV.

Between the dusk of a summer night
  And the dawn of a summer day,
We caught at a mood as it passed in flight,
  And we bade it stoop and stay.
And what with the dawn of night began
  With the dusk of day was done;
For that is the way of woman and man,
  When a hazard has made them one.

Arc upon arc, from shade to shine,
  The world went thundering free;
And what was his errand but hers and mine—
  The lords of him, I and she?
O, it's die we must, but it's live we can,
  And the marvel of earth and sun
Is all for the joy of woman and man
  And the longing that makes them one.

XXXVI.

'Twas in a world of living leaves
That we two reaped and bound our sheaves.
They were of white roses and red,
And in the scything they were dead.

Now the high Autumn flames afield,
And what is all his golden yield
To that we took, and sheaved, and bound
In the green dusk that whispered round?

Yet must the memory grieve and ache
Of that we did for dear love's sake,
But may no more under the sun,
Being, like our summer, spent and done.

XXXVII.

These were the woods of wonder
We found so close and boon,
When the bride-month in her beauty
Lay mouth to mouth with June.

November, the old, lean widow,
Sniffs, and snivels, and shrills,
And the bowers are all dismantled,
And the long grass wets and chills;

And I hate these dismal dawnings,
These miserable even-ends,
These orts, and rags, and heeltaps—
This dream of being merely friends.

XXXVIII.

Dear hands, so many times so much
When the spent year was green and prime,
Come, take your fill, and touch
This one poor time.

Dear lips, that could not leave unsaid
One sweet-souled syllable of delight,
Once more—and be as dead
In the dead night.

Dear eyes, so proud to read in mine
  The message of our counted years,
Look your proud last, nor shine,
  Dear eyes, through tears.

XXXIX.

The rain and the wind, the wind and the rain—
  They are with us like a disease:
They worry the heart, they work the brain,
As they shoulder and clutch at the shrieking pane,
  And savage the helpless trees.

What does it profit a man to know
  These tattered and tumbling skies
A million stately stars will show,
And the ruining grace of the after-glow,
  And the rush of the wild sunrise?

Ever the rain—the rain and the wind!
  Come, hunch with me over the fire,
Dream of the dreams that leered and grinned,
Ere the blood of the Year fell soured and thinned,
  And the death came on desire.

XL.

O, these long nights of days!
All the year's baseness in the ways,
All the year's wretchedness in the skies;
While on the blind, disheartened sea
A tramp-wind plies
Cringingly and dejectedly!
And rain and darkness, mist and mud,
They cling, they close, they sneak into the blood,
They crawl and crowd upon the brain:
Till in a dull, dense monotone of pain
The past is found a kind of maze,
At whose every coign and crook,
Broad angle and privy nook,
There waits a hooded Memory,
Sad, yet with kind, strange, unreproaching eyes.

XLI.

"Dearest, when I am dead,
Make one last song for me:
Sing what I would have said—
Righting life's wrong for me.

Tell them how, early and late,
Glad ran the days with me,
Seeing how goodly and great,
Love, were your ways with me."

XLII.

He made this gracious earth a hell
With love and drink. I cannot tell
Of which he died. But death was well.

Will I die of drink?
Why not?
Won't I pause and think?
—What?
Why in seeming wise
Waste your breath?
Everybody dies—
Dies of death!

Youth—if you find it's youth
Too late?
Truth—and the back of truth?
Straight,
Be it love or liquor,
What's the odds,
So it slide you quicker
To the gods?

XLIII.

Grey hills, grey skies, grey lights,
And still, grey sea—
O fond, O fair,

The Mays that were,
When the wild days and wilder nights
Made it like heaven to be!

Grey head, grey heart, grey dreams—
O, breath by breath,
Night-tide and day
Lapse gentle and grey,
As to a murmur of tired streams,
Into the haze of death.

XLIV.

So let me hence as one
Whose part in the world has been dreamed out and done:
One that hath fairly earned and spent,
In pride of heart and jubilance of blood,
Such wages, be they counted bad or good,
As Time, the old taskmaster, was moved to pay;
And, having warred and suffered, and passed on
Those gifts the Arbiters preferred and gave,
Fare, grateful and content,
Down the dim way,
Whereby races innumerable have gone,
Into the silent universe of the grave.

Grateful for what hath been—
For what my hand hath done, mine eyes have seen,
My heart been privileged to know;
With all my lips in love have brought
To lips that yearned in love to them, and wrought
In the way of wrath, and pity, and sport, and song:
Content, this miracle of being alive
Dwindling, that I, thrice weary of worst and best,
May shed my duds, and go
From right and wrong,
And, ceasing to regret, and long, and strive,
Accept the past, and be for ever at rest.

W. E. Henley.

HOW TRUSTS AFFECT PRICES.*

BY JEREMIAH W. JENKS, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

PERHAPS no subject in connection with the Industrial Combinations of the last few years has been more discussed than that of their influence upon prices. Opinions have differed widely, the opponents of the Combinations usually believing that they have increased prices materially, their defenders claiming with equal positiveness that they have reduced prices. Differences of opinion have probably originated largely from the fact that the subject has been approached from different points of view; and mistakes have also, in many cases, been made through lack of a careful interpretation of available facts. It by no means follows that the Trusts have lowered prices because prices have fallen within a few years after their formation; nor, on the other hand, that Trusts have raised prices because prices have been increased. Neither does it follow that, because the Industrial Combinations might through their economies lower prices, they have, as a matter of fact, actually done so; nor again that, with the possible ability to increase prices through the exercise of monopolistic power, they have not found it advisable under certain circumstances really to lower them. Any careful discussion of the subject will involve, first, what the influence of combination would enable the Trusts to do regarding prices; second, what the Combinations actually have done; and, third, what effects upon society may be anticipated from any changes in prices made by Industrial Combinations.

*It is just to say in beginning this brief discussion that practically all the facts upon which conclusions are based have been taken from material gathered by the United States Industrial Commission. The opinions expressed by the writer, however, though doubtless common enough, he alone must take the responsibility for.

I.

It appears to have been fully established that, in certain industries, various economies in production—such as eliminating cross freights, concentrating the superintending force, running best plants to full capacity, etc.—can be made from production on a large scale, or, in other instances, through the combination of different establishments favorably located in different sections of the country. It is, of course, not to be expected that any one source of saving will be found applicable in all industries, nor that the importance of any will be the same in different industries; but in many industries enough sources of saving will be found to make combination profitable. This statement does not ignore the fact that there may be, in many instances, disadvantages enough to offset the benefits; but experience does seem to show that, in many cases, at least, the cost of manufacture and distribution is materially lessened.

Granting that these savings can be made, it is evident that the influence of Industrial Combinations might readily be to lower prices to consumers.

When, however, the Combination possesses either patents or valuable trade marks or special advantages of location or the control of a very large proportion of the raw material, or when, at times, it includes a very large percentage of the entire manufacturing power of that industry in the whole country, a certain degree of monopolistic power is added, which might, in many cases, enable the Combination to raise prices beyond the rates obtained under freer competition. It is not necessary that it should possess a legal monopoly, or practically a complete monopoly, in order to be able to raise prices above preceding competitive rates. Any organization which controls considerably more than half of the output of the country can, beyond doubt, increase prices somewhat, without calling in immediately new and destructive competition, although this increase cannot be made very material without bringing new competitors into the field. Many of the opinions regarding the effect of "Trusts" on prices have been in conflict, because parties on one side have considered the possibilities resulting from savings, while those on the other have considered the possibilities arising from monopolistic power. Before reaching definitive conclusions, it is necessary to consider closely the facts along both lines.

II.

Many conclusions have been drawn from statistics of prices—some favorable to the Combinations, some unfavorable—neither of which were warranted.

It is common to cite statistics over a period of years preceding and succeeding the formation of a Combination. If prices have fallen within this period, the conclusion is often drawn that the fall has been the result of the Combination. Such a conclusion is, of course, entirely unfounded. It is necessary to study much more critically, and to eliminate, as far as possible, all other considerations, before any conclusion can be reached.

It is to be expected, of course, that in the progress of industry the cost of production will be lessened, so that, other things being equal, prices of all manufactured products are expected, as time passes, to fall somewhat rapidly. The same tendency does not exist, to the same extent, in the case of agricultural products. It is expected, too, that the rate of fall in price will be greater when the industry is new than after it has become firmly established, and after many inventions, tending to lower the cost of production, have been made. Mr. Thurber's statistics, therefore, in the last number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, regarding the price of refined, illuminating oil, during the years from 1871 to 1900, which show a fall from 25.7 cents per gallon in 1871 to 4.2 cents in 1894 and 7.8 in 1900, while interesting in themselves, do not necessarily show the "influence on prices" of the Standard Oil Company. The Standard Oil Trust in its complete form was organized in 1882, and since then the business of that great organization has been under a single management. Before that date, there were more or less complete understandings among the most important producers for a period of nearly ten years. It is noteworthy, however, that the rate of fall in prices was very much greater between 1871 and 1881—from 25.7 cents to 10.3 cents, with an average price for the year 1880 of 6.6 cents—than it has been since 1882. In fact, the average price of petroleum during the year 1900 was the same as that during 1887, although from 1892 to 1899 prices ranged somewhat lower. It is doubtless true, as Mr. Thurber says, that the decrease in price was due largely to improvements in methods of manufac-

ture and transportation; but, although much capital was necessary to make some of these improvements, it by no means follows that refining and transporting oil would not have been on a scale large enough to effect most, if not all, of this saving, had the industry been divided among four or five large competitors of substantially equal size, instead of being dominated by one. It seems to be a well-established fact, indeed, that on at least one occasion the Standard Oil Company has blocked the completion of a rival pipe line, backed by sufficient capital to insure all the most improved methods of transportation; and the fact that it has not had sole control of the improvements in methods of refining is established by the existence of several important independent refiners. I do not wish to underestimate the real improvements made by the Standard Oil Company. It is too much to ascribe all the lessening of prices to their improvements.

It is also noteworthy that lately the prices of refined oil have not fallen, although there have been many improvements in the methods of production which have enabled refiners to manufacture several by-products, which are in themselves as profitable as the production of refined oil. The manufacture of these by-products might well permit a lowering of the price of refined oil, other things being equal. The net result, therefore, of merely a careful following of the statistics of the prices of refined illuminating oil, noting the date when the Standard Oil Company was organized, seems to be that this organization has tended to check slightly the normal fall in price, rather than to hasten it. It is probable, however, that both conclusions are in part true. Its improved methods of production have probably lessened the cost to a considerable extent; while, at the same time, through its partial control of the market it has probably prevented the consumers from getting the full benefit of these methods.

The results of this combination are seen much more readily, if it is found possible to make a comparison between the price of raw materials used by the Combinations and that of their finished products. The difference between these two prices, of necessity, gives the cost of production plus the profit. Even when studying prices in this way, however, one must be careful not to draw too positive conclusions. Usually, more than one raw material enters into the finished product; and, in many cases, these materials are so transformed by the application of labor

that they do not form a particularly important part of the cost of the finished product. The interpretation of such statistics, therefore, often requires a considerable amount of technical knowledge of the business under consideration. In some cases, however, the nature of the manufacturing process is so simple and the value of the raw materials forms so large a part of the cost of the finished product that even those who are not technical experts may draw a fairly trustworthy conclusion.

If, in making the comparison between the prices of the raw and the finished product over a period of years, the margin, *i. e.*, the difference between the two, increases after the organization of an industrial Combination, this may mean that there has been a lowering of the price of the raw material, due to the pressure which the Combination has brought to bear upon the producer. For example, the producers of crude petroleum have often testified that they were compelled to sell their product to the Standard Oil Company, as being the only owner of pipe lines which were accessible, and, consequently, the only available purchaser; and, as is well known, they claim that the Standard Oil Company, taking advantage of its position, has depressed the price of crude oil to an undue extent. In other cases, where it has seemed desirable for the Standard Oil Company to make the business of the transportation of crude oil through rival pipe lines unprofitable, it has put premiums upon the oil in special localities so high that the rival pipe line could not afford continually to pay them; in this way, making the rival pipe line unprofitable, it has been enabled to buy it up at a comparatively low rate. Thereafter, it has decreased the price paid for crude oil to a very material extent. It has even been conceded by officials of the Standard Oil Company that, in individual cases, in order to check their rivals, such a mode of procedure has been followed. They, of course, do not concede that such processes are as common as their rivals claim, but they assert that there is nothing unfair in the act more than in any other form of competition. Doubtless, both sides exaggerate somewhat their own view of the case, as regards both the frequency and the effects of such acts. What is clearly shown is the fact that the margin decreased much less rapidly after the formation of the Trust; that, later, it decreased no further, and that for the last two or three years it has increased. It is fair to say that the cost of refining oil has also increased.

It has been conceded, too, by Mr. Havemeyer, President of the American Sugar Refining Company, that, owing to its power as a buyer, it probably secures some slight advantage in the purchase of raw sugar.

The margin between the prices of the raw and finished product may, however, also be increased by an increase in the price of the finished product, the price of the raw material remaining the same. This increase might come from the more or less completely monopolistic power of a Combination, or from the increased demand for goods due to the state of the market independent of the action of the Combination. After the formation of the American Tin Plate Company and of several of the leading steel combinations, such as the Federal Steel Company, the National Steel Company and the American Steel Hoop Company, the demand for iron, steel and tin plate increased so rapidly that all of these, together with the independent manufacturers outside, were unable to meet the demand. Prices advanced with great rapidity, until in many cases they had more than doubled. There is no reason to believe, however, that prices would not have increased to a very great extent—possibly even to quite as great an extent—had there been no Combination formed. One must beware of ascribing all changes in the margin between the raw and the finished products to the Combination itself. Change might even be due to an increased cost of production brought about by an advance in wages.

III.

Applying these general considerations regarding the statistics of margin between prices to more special cases, we cannot, perhaps, do better than to interpret for ourselves some of Mr. Thurber's figures. On page 679 of the May number of the REVIEW he gives the average annual prices of raw and refined sugar per pound, together with the margin of difference between the two from 1879 to March, 1901, inclusive. Comparing, then, this margin for nine years preceding the formation of the Trust with the period of nine years following it, he finds that it has decreased from 1.55 cents per pound to .98 cent per pound. He also calls attention to the absolute lowering of the price of the refined product from 8.81 cents in 1879 and 9.80 cents in 1880 to 4½ cents and 5 cents during the last few years. Regarding the absolute

fall of the price of the finished product, no further comment need be made than has been made in the consideration of the prices of refined petroleum, with the added observation that the reduction of the tariff about 2 cents a pound reduced the price to that extent. The consideration of the margin of prices should, however, be somewhat more complete.

The Sugar Trust, which with varying form has remained the most powerful factor in the sugar market since its organization, began business in the fall of 1887. Mr. Thurber's table shows that, for some years before that date, the margin between the prices of raw and refined sugars had been falling quite rapidly, and during the years 1886 and 1887 had reached the point of .71 cent and .64 cent per pound. At that date, this margin seems to have been in many instances unremunerative, inasmuch as several sugar refineries failed during those two years. Immediately after the formation of the Trust, however, the margin increased more than .50 cent to 1.25 and 1.32 cents. If, instead of average annual prices, monthly prices were given, it would be noted that, in particular months, the margin had increased more than one cent a pound. With this increased margin, sugar-refining became so profitable that Claus Spreckels established large rival refineries, particularly in Philadelphia, and began active competition. The result of this competition is shown by the margin falling in the years 1890 and 1891 to .70 and .73 cent per pound. The effect of this vigorous competition was to lead or to force the Combination to buy up the rival refineries, and then, as was to be expected, the margin was immediately put back again to 1.03 cents in 1892 and 1.15 cents in 1893. From that time on the margin remained considerably above the competitive margin of, say, .65 to .75 cent, until in the latter part of the year 1898, when, owing again to the temptation of the large profits made by the Sugar Combination, new competition started up, especially that of Arbuckle Brothers and Claus Doscher. The effect of this competition is again seen at once in a fall of the margin to .73 cent and during the year 1889 to .50 cent. The details of the business during the last year or two are not fully known, but the margin has been decidedly increased—first to .75 cent in 1900 and during the early part of 1901 to .90 cent per pound; and it seems to be generally conceded that some sort of more or less formal agreement between the Combination and most of the

rivals has been effected, which amounts to a practical extension of the Combination.

The only trustworthy way to judge statistics is to follow them carefully through from year to year—or, better, still, from month to month—and note the variations with the circumstances accompanying them. By taking periods of nine years before and nine years after the formation of the Trust, Mr. Thurber has been able to show a decided reduction of the margin. To reach this result, one must include a period of active competition when the "Trust" was not in control of the market. Had he taken a period of four years before and four years after, he would have shown only a very slight reduction from 1.0375 to 1. If he had taken a period of three years before and after, the margin would have been increased from .896 + to 1.09; and a period of two years before and after (*i. e.*, the period which first shows the Trust's control), would have given an increase from .675 to 1.285. By considering the prices from year to year, as has been done above, it appears proved beyond question that the influence of the Combination has been, as a matter of fact, to hold the margin considerably higher than it was during the period of fierce competition which preceded the organization of the Trust, and to keep the margin at rates which make very high profits except during the periods, relatively brief, of vigorous competition, which have followed as a principal consequence of these very high profits. The Trust has been in existence now something over thirteen and a half years. During that time there has been only between four and five years in which competition could be said to be really active. During about two-thirds of the time, therefore, the combination has been able to secure prices that may fairly be considered to a considerable degree monopolistic.

Notwithstanding the above facts, many of the advocates of the Sugar Combination, and even some of its rivals, are of the opinion that the prices during the last twelve or thirteen years have averaged lower than would have been the case had the Combination not been formed. They reason as follows: The margin during the two years before the organization of the Trust was so low that business was not profitable, and several refineries failed. Had the Combination not been effected, still others would have been driven into bankruptcy, until only the few strongest remained. As they would probably have been unable to supply

the normal demands of the country at low rates, prices, they say, would comparatively soon have gone up, and that to a point considerably higher than the one fixed by the Trust. Of course, it is always impossible to determine what might have been; but there is certainly a degree of plausibility in the suggestion. The line of argument might be carried even farther. Had prices gone to the higher point thus supposed, that would certainly have led, within a comparatively short time, to the building of new refineries to meet the increased demand, and the competition among these would soon have driven prices down again to an unremunerative point, which would again have driven into bankruptcy several of the weaker refineries; and thus would begin a see-saw between high and low prices, periods of prosperity and bankruptcy. These results have, it might be urged, been evaded by a single Combination, which has prevented any one from going into bankruptcy, but which has, instead, paid regular seven per cent. dividends on its preferred stock, twelve per cent. dividends on its common stock, until within the last year or two, besides laying by a surplus, and that on a capitalization often considered excessive. But, while we cannot tell what would have been the case under other circumstances, we do know that the margin has been very decidedly larger during the periods when competition has been slight than when it has been most active; and we know also that, as a consequence of this increased margin, sugar refining has been an extremely profitable business.

In the case of the Standard Oil Company, as we have seen, the margin did not increase, but the rate of decrease lessened at once in spite of improved methods, and of late has increased, although the cost of manufacture has increased somewhat.

A similar study of the margin between the cost of raw materials and finished product, in the case of several leading industries in which industrial Combinations have been very important factors, and in which it seems possible to make a careful study of the margin, owing to the simplicity of the methods of production, leads in nearly every case to a like conclusion. The consolidation has usually followed a period of very vigorous competition, when the margin has been driven to a low point. The immediate result of the Combination is, practically invariably, a decided increase in the margin. Sometimes, as the years go by, the margin actually falls and remains at as low or lower a point

than during the period of competition. Under these circumstances, of course, the methods of production have, in all probability, enabled the Combination to make this lowering of the margin and still retain normal profits. Or, in other cases, the Combination has not been able to get a sufficient control of the market to give it any monopolistic power, but it remains simply one of the large manufacturers, with several competitors of substantially equal strength. For example, the Standard Rope and Twine Company, among cordage manufacturers, along certain lines of its products, ranks only as second or third, and probably on the whole does little more business than two or three of its chief rivals. This conclusion regarding the actual effect of the Combination, based on facts and statistics given in most cases by the Combinations themselves, seems undeniable; and almost any person in quiet conversation with members of Combinations will find these conclusions confirmed. Under such circumstances, the position is frequently frankly taken by officers of Combinations that the margin is, of course, increased. What was the Combination made for? But this statement is also frequently accompanied by the further equally reasonable and generally accepted one that the Combinations hope to make many improvements in the methods of production, so that their profit can ultimately be increased without any increase to the consumer in the price of the finished product. In other words, the Combinations assert that sometimes, by lessening the cost of manufacture, they can increase their profits without increasing the margin; but the conclusion is irresistible that, if the margin increases, the profit has certainly increased, at the expense of either the consumer of the finished product or of the producer of the raw material. Improvements in the methods of production may increase the profit without affecting the prices of either the finished product or of the raw material. If the consumers are to secure the benefits of these improvements, however, such benefits must come through a lessening of the margin.

I do not wish to make the contention that, in all cases, this increase of the margin is not amply justified by business conditions. It may very well be that, in many cases, competition before the organization of the Combination has been so ruinous that it has not only affected unfavorably the contestants themselves, but also many others in other lines of business dependent

upon these. Although certain consumers may have temporarily profited by such destructive competition, it may easily enough have been carried so far that it has been decidedly injurious to the industrial community as a whole. We have, however, as yet, not been considering the question of the benefit or injury of the community. It is, however, right to consider with some care the social effect of these changes in prices.

IV.

So far as the Industrial Combinations, by virtue of their better organization, are able to make savings in the cost of production, they thereby create a new fund of wealth. They "make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before." Upon the distribution of this fund depends to a considerable extent the social effects of the Combination. Other things being equal, these savings will go, in the first instance, to the capitalist employer in the form of increased profit.

If the laborers are well organized, or are insistent in their claims, they will probably be able to persuade the employer that it is for his interest to increase their wages, giving them thereby a share in this newly created fund. During a time of prosperity, the capitalist is not likely to risk to any great extent a stoppage of his work and consequent loss, unless the demands of the laborers are unreasonably great.

If, on the other hand, owing to what seems to be the increased profits, other outside institutions see ways of making similar savings, they will probably start up a new competition which will cut prices down, and this social fund created by the improved methods of production will go to the public at large, in the way of lower prices. In any event, industrial society is benefited. But the nature of the benefit, in the three cases mentioned above, will be entirely different.

If the saving goes primarily to the capitalist, in the way of increased profit, it may either affect his standard of living, or it may be reinvested in other lines of industry as new capital. If he changes his standard of living, will it improve or injure society? If the surplus is put into the form of capital invested in other productive lines of business, so far as they are well managed, the result is ordinarily considered of absolute benefit to the community. Is this the best possible use to make of it?

If this fund made by the saving of the Combination were to go entirely to the wage earners in increased wages, the social effect would depend again upon their method of consumption. Would they waste it to the detriment of society; or would it be used to give them added refinements in living, to improve the education of their children, to raise their standard of living so that they would be both more healthy and more productive workers? Or would they deposit it in Savings Banks and other similar institutions through which it might work its way again into productive capital?

If this fund goes to the public at large, in the form of lower prices, similar questions arise. So far as the goods consumed are those that tend directly to the improvement of society at large, there is a distinct social benefit. So far as the articles in question are misused, or used detrimentally to the consumer, society is injured. It seems to be the opinion of most writers on social questions, that Society will, on the whole, be most uplifted by having the general standard of living of the poorer classes raised, rather than by added expenditure on the part of the rich, or even by added reinvestments in business. If this is a proper conclusion, one might, perhaps, say that the savings of the Industrial Combinations would have the best social effects if they did not serve to increase the profits of the employer beyond a moderately steady dividend on his investment, but went chiefly either in the form of increased wages, or perhaps more directly to the benefit of the whole community, in the form of lower prices.

V.

If the profits of Industrial Combinations come primarily not through their saving in the cost of production, but through their monopolistic power of control over either the raw material, resulting in lower prices for that, or over the finished product as shown in higher prices, the result will be different. Under those circumstances, the fund secured by the manager of the Combination is not one created anew. It is not a case of "making two blades of grass grow where one grew before." It is simply a transfer of wealth from the pockets of either the producer of the raw material or of the consumers of the finished product to the pockets of the managers of the Combination. This cannot be said, in the first instance, to be in any sense an industrial benefit. It is, of course, possible that the monopolists may make a better

use of the wealth thus secured than would be made were the wealth left in the hands of the other parties. This, however, is not likely. In this case, also, there is an opportunity, of course, for the wage earners to secure part of the benefit of this transfer of wealth, if they can force their employers to raise their wages. But it is evident that the great mass of consumers can receive no benefit whatever in their capacity of consumers. One can imagine, of course, that the benefits secured by the Combination through lowering the price of the raw material will be given back to Society again through lower prices of the finished product, but it is probably fair to assume that this will not be done, so long as the Combination exercises any real power.

Again, it is entirely possible that a Combination, even with a good degree of monopolistic power, may think it wise not to increase but to lower prices, and to hold them steady. Cases might readily be cited in which this has been done.

VI.

The sum of the whole matter, then, is this: So far as the Combinations exert a monopolistic power over prices, and sometimes they have this power to a limited degree, the result is in all probability usually, but not always, directly injurious to Society. So far as they are able to effect savings by less expenditure of industrial energy, these savings are directly beneficial to Society. They may in no way affect prices immediately, but be retained by the capitalist or divided between him and the working man; or they may—and this is probably the best social result—be distributed through the community immediately in the form of lower prices. So far as experience goes, it seems to show that, so far the chief benefit has been retained by the capitalist, the laborers have secured a small part, the great mass of the consumers in some instances none of the benefits, in others part. The general tendency, however, through the beneficent influence of competition, either actual or potential, seems to be in the direction of giving to the consumers a larger part of this fund in the future, although both the Combinations and the wage earners are likely to retain some benefit. The even more important question, as to the ultimate result upon Society of the changed distribution of wealth coming from the influence of Industrial Combinations on prices, has been only hinted at above. It merits careful study.

JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D. D., LL. D.

WHAT are the prospects of the Christian religion? What promise has it of retaining its hold upon the human race, and extending its influence over the thought and life of men?

Voices which are supposed to be influential are frequently heard asserting the decadence of Christianity, and predicting its speedy disappearance. That assertion and that prediction have been many times repeated, from the days of Celsus down to Bolingbroke and Diderot and Voltaire. In the meantime, the geographers have continued to find a place for Christianity on their maps, and the statisticians do not appear to be able to treat it as a neglectable quantity.

We are warned against putting our trust in figures. Numerical estimates of the growth of a religious system are not, indeed, conclusive. Its product must be weighed as well as counted. Yet the figures which show the expansion of Christianity as a world power can hardly be disregarded. For the early periods we have only estimates; but it is at least an approximation to the truth to say that, at the end of the first century, there were in the world about five millions of nominal Christians; at the end of the tenth century, ten millions; at the end of the fifteenth, one hundred millions; at the end of the eighteenth, two hundred millions; at the end of the nineteenth, five hundred millions. The last century has added to the adherents of Christianity almost three times as many as were added during the first fifteen centuries. The rate of progress now is far more rapid than at any other period during the Christian era.

The population of the world is growing. The estimates are that, whereas in 1786 the dwellers on this planet numbered 954,000,000, in 1886 they were 1,483,000,000, an increase of

fifty-four per cent. But the nominal Christians had increased during the same period more than one hundred per cent. The political strength of Christendom is not, however, represented by these figures. In 1786, a little more than one-third of the people of the world were under the government of Christian nations, and a little less than two-thirds were under the control of non-Christian nations; in 1886, fifty-five per cent. of the larger population were under Christian rule, and only forty-five per cent. under non-Christian rule.

The geographers put it in this way: In 1600, the inhabited surface of the earth measured about 43,798,600 square miles; of these, Christians occupied about 3,480,900, and non-Christians 40,317,700. In 1894, the number of square miles inhabited is reckoned at 53,401,400, of which Christians are holding 45,619,-100 and non-Christians 8,782,300.

These facts do not encourage the expectation that Christianity is about to disappear from the face of the earth. If the external signs could be trusted, there would be good reason for believing that the day is not far distant when it will take full possession of the earth.

We have been speaking of the political and geographical expansion of nominal Christianity—of the populations and the areas which are under the dominion of races and rulers who call themselves by the Christian name. It is to be remembered that, while nearly two-thirds of the world's population is now controlled by Christian Powers, a large proportion of those under this control are not even nominal Christians. The governments of non-Christian races, as in India and Egypt and Siam, have been overthrown and supplanted by governments of the Christian Powers. But nearly 500,000,000, or more than a third of the world's population, now bear the Christian name, and accept, in some more or less intelligible way, Christian theories and ideals.

Among these hundreds of millions there are many and various standards of belief and conduct. None of the great religions has a uniform cult or a single type of morality; Christianity is as far from this uniformity as any of the others. In different races it has taken on different characters; if certain fundamental beliefs are universal, many variants of thought and sentiment appear in the different tribes and tongues. Perhaps Christianity follows the evolutionary laws, and employs variation

as one of the elements of progress. It may be that its natural result is the production of a great variety of theories and practices, and that it depends on natural or spiritual selection to preserve the best.

Besides a number of minor sects, such as the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Armenians, the Nestorians and the Jacobites, numbering in all four or five millions, we have the three grand divisions of Christendom—the Holy Orthodox Greek Church, with 98,000,000 of adherents; the Protestant churches, with an aggregate of 143,000,000, and the Roman Catholic Church, with 230,000,000. No statistics are at hand showing the relative growth of the number of adherents of these three great divisions. But the growth of the populations under their rule is thus set forth by comparison: The Roman Catholics, in the year 1500, were ruling over 80,000,000 of people; in 1700, over 90,000,000, and in 1891, over 242,000,000. The Greek Catholics, in 1500, were governing 20,000,000; in 1700, 33,000,000, and in 1891, 128,000,000. The Protestants, in 1500, had not begun to be; in 1700, they held sway over 32,000,000, and in 1891, over 520,000,000. In the four centuries, the political power of the Roman Catholics has more than trebled, that of the Greeks has been multiplied by six, and that of the Protestants has sprung from nothing to a control of one-third of the world's population. It is easy to see which of these grand divisions is expanding most rapidly.

More important and more difficult is the question concerning the intellectual and moral progress of these three great sections of Christendom. It would be natural to judge that they must all be alive; such growth as they all report is a sign of life.

If we could trust Count Tolstoy, the Holy Orthodox Greek Church is not only moribund, but rotten. To this merciless idealist its shortcomings are crimes; no judgment more unsparing has been uttered since the days of John the Baptist than that with which he scourges the church in which he was reared. There must be some truth in this terrible arraignment; yet one cannot be quite confident that Tolstoy's criticisms are always judicial. Something there must be of saving power in this national church; the Russian people could not possess the moral vigor which their history constantly reveals if their religious life were as inane and degrading as Tolstoy paints it. As a writer of the last century said:

"One must actually stand in the Kremlin and Troitza before he fully realizes what a mighty, although latent, power the Greek Church still is, and how great a part it may have to play in the drama of human history. Inert, abject, superstitious, full of abuses, it undoubtedly is. It can hardly be said to have done anything for literature or for art; nothing, at least, that has become famous beyond its own frontier; and yet a form of religion which has supported its adherents under the successive deluges of misery which flowed over Russia during the Middle Ages, and in spite of the dull weight of wretchedness which has weighed on the Russian peasant almost up to the present hour, has made him so gentle, so enduring, so tolerant, must have some not inconsiderable merits. Its education of a thousand years must have something to do with that inexhaustible gentleness which, in the words of Schedo-Ferroti, is the base of his character; with that incomparable sweetness of temper which causes his soul to reflect everything in a way different to that which we observe in the lower classes of other nations."

With some such judgment the philosophic observer would be compelled, no doubt, to temper the heat of Tolstoy's denunciation. Yet it must be confessed that the condition of the Greek Church to-day is less hopeful than that of any of her sister churches. If our regard were fixed on Russia, we should find faint encouragement for the expectation of the coming of Christ's spiritual kingdom. The union of Church and State has resulted in the paralysis of spiritual life. The principle of Orthodoxy, which means the fixation of religious thought, has had its perfect work in Russia; withdrawal from the Established Church means disfranchisement and ostracism; and the result is deadly hypocrisy in high places, and the blight of the intellect that deals with questions of religion. Nowhere else is religious reform so much needed as in Russia. Dissenters and schismatics there are, some twelve or fifteen millions of them; and there are quiet and kindly folk among them who appear to have returned to the simplicity of Christ. Against these, the persecutions of the State Church are most bitterly waged. For the greater part, however, the schismatics and come-outers are a queer assortment, holding the most fantastic notions, and practicing some highly unsocial customs. The points in which the schismatics are at variance with the Orthodox Church are not always of great importance; some of their fiercest controversies have raged around such questions as whether the sign of the cross shall be made with two fingers or three, or whether the Hallelujah shall be said twice or thrice, or whether the cross shall have four arms or

eight. That Christians, in the nineteenth century, should regard such matters as of sufficient importance to justify them in setting up separate sects, is only less astonishing than the fact that a State claiming to be Christian has scourged and imprisoned and slain its subjects by thousands for no other offence than adherence to these small ritual peculiarities.

The religious condition of Russia is little changed since the Middle Ages; the anomaly which it presents is that of a religious system remaining stationary, or nearly stationary, in the midst of a rapidly moving civilization. Even here, however, it is probable that a better knowledge of all conditions, past and present, would show that some progress has been made during the century. The emancipation of the serfs appears to have been inspired by Christian sentiments; the condition of the dissenting sects has been considerably ameliorated, and it would be cynical to deny that the recent overtures of the Czar for disarmament and arbitration drew part of their inspiration from the teachings of the Prince of Peace. The Russian Church has come far short of its high calling, but the light of the gospel has not been wholly extinguished, and we may hope to see a more rational and vital faith supplanting the obscurantism which so long has veiled its brightness.

The condition of the Roman Catholic Church is far more hopeful. It has had the good fortune, not altogether of its own choice, to be practically divorced, in many countries, for many years, from politics, and its freedom has resulted in a wholesome development of its life. Its intellectual and moral progress has been slowest in the countries in which it has had most to do with the government; its best gains have been made in those countries where it has been free to devote its energies to the spiritual concerns of its adherents. The Roman Catholic Church in the great Protestant countries—in Germany and England and the United States—has been making great progress; its people are receiving education; the standards of intelligence and of character are steadily rising among its clergy; it is exerting a conservative and salutary force upon the national life. With respect to what has been done for the protection of the family against the influences that are threatening its life, the Roman Catholic Church deserves all praise. During a recent lamentable recrudescence of Protestant bigotry on this continent, the moderation and wisdom

of the Roman Catholic clergy and the Roman Catholic people won the grateful recognition of all good men. If they had not behaved much more like Christians than the zealots who filled the air with baseless lies about them, the land would have been deluged with blood. Such Roman Catholics as Kenrick and Williams and Gibbons and Ireland and Elder and Keane in this country, and Manning and Newman and Vaughan in England, represent a high order of intelligence and patriotism; and, under their wise leadership, the unhappy alienation between the two great branches of the Western Church is gradually disappearing.

It cannot be doubted that the Roman Catholic Church, as a whole, is sharing liberally in the growing light of this new day. It may be that its doctrine is technically irreformable, but interpretation is a great matter; and words may be taken, in one generation, in a very different sense from that which was given to them in a preceding generation. That the discipline of the Church is gradually changing—becoming more mild and rational, less arbitrary and despotic—can hardly be doubted.

The chief additions to dogma which have been made during the century are those proclaimed by the Vatican Council in 1870, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the dogma of the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope. The first of these possesses an interest mainly academical; the second seems to have much practical significance. But the political analogies suggest that concentration of power is apt to result in the enlargement of liberty. It was monarchy, as Guizot has shown, that led in free institutions. The King took the part of the people against the feudal lords. And it is at least conceivable that the strengthening of the papal prerogative will lead to important reforms, both in the doctrine and in the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. If the present Pope were twenty years younger, such results might well be looked for during his reign. For it is doubtful whether the throne at the Vatican has ever been occupied by a pontiff of purer purpose, broader wisdom or larger charity than Leo XIII.

What, now, shall be said concerning the Protestant communions, whose numbers are so rapidly increasing and whose influence is so widely extending?

The Protestant principle of the right of private judgment has resulted in the multiplication of sects. Some variety of organiza-

tion and ritual might well have grown from the sowing of the light; but the variation which would have appeared under normal conditions has undoubtedly been increased by human selfishness and ambition. It may be doubted whether the emphasis which has been placed upon the right of private judgment expresses a sound principle. In no kind of social organization are rights or liberties the primary concern. A family in which it is the first business of every member to assert his own rights, or to magnify his liberty, will not be a united and happy family. In the organic relations of the family, love and duty are fundamental—not rights and liberties.

We may awake, by and by, to the fact that the same thing is true of the State. The attempt to base a commonwealth upon a doctrine of rights will probably result in social disintegration. A community in which it is the first business of every citizen to assert his own rights will not continue to be peaceful and prosperous. The social and political disorders which threaten the life of the nation, all spring from the fact that the people have been trained to think more of rights than of duties.

By misplacing the emphasis in the same way, Protestantism has introduced into its life a disintegrating element. Neither the right of private judgment nor any other right can be safely asserted as the foundation of the Christian Church. The foundation of the Church is loyalty to Christ and his Kingdom; all rights are to be held and interpreted under that obligation. The failure to do this—the assertion of the individual will as against the common welfare—has rent the Church into fragments and multiplied creeds and organizations far beyond all the needs of varying tastes and intellects. We may admit that this is the opprobrium of Protestantism; its power is lessened and its life is marred by these needless divisions, and by the unlovely competitions that spring from them. But the last years of the century have witnessed some serious attempts to correct these abuses; some of the separated sects have come together in unity; others are approaching each other with friendly overtures; the tendencies seem now to be toward reunion rather than division. In Great Britain the Nonconformist bodies have formed a strong federation by which they are able to act together for many common purposes, and movements are on foot to bring about a similar organization in this country. If the principle of differ-

entiation has been over-accentuated during the nineteenth century, there is now some reason to hope that the twentieth century will reinforce the principle of integration; that loyalties will be emphasized as much as liberties, and the duty of co-operation rather more than the right of private judgment.

The past century has been a period of theological agitation and upheaval in Protestant Christendom. The progress of physical science, the rise of the evolutionary philosophy, and the development of Biblical criticism have kept the theologians busy with the work of reconstruction. Germany has been the theological storm-centre. Kant's tremendous work had been done before the century came in, but Herder and Hegel and Schleiermacher were digging away at the foundations in the early years, and those who have come after them have kept the air full of the noises of hammer and saw and chisel as the walls have been going up. Much of the theology "made in Germany" has appeared to be the product of the head rather than of the heart; formal logic deals rudely with the facts of the spiritual order. But the great theologians of the last half of the century, Dorner and Rothe and Nitzsch and Ritschl, although working on different lines, have abundantly asserted the reality of the spiritual realm; and it is now possible for the educated German to find a philosophy of religion which reconciles modern science with the essential facts of Christianity.

The most important religious movement of the nineteenth century in England is a reversion to sacramentalism, led by Newman and Pusey and William George Ward. Its ruling idea is that the sacraments have power in themselves to convey grace and salvation. This is essentially the doctrine of the old church, and the movement gradually took on the form of a reaction; the adoration of the consecrated wafer, prayers for the dead, the use of incense—various Roman Catholic practices—were adopted one by one. In due time Newman and Faber and Ward entered the Catholic communion; since their departure, the ideas and practices for which they stood have been rapidly gaining ground in the English Church. How far this doctrinal reaction is likely to go, it would not be safe to predict. But it must be said of the High Church party that it is not wasting all its energies upon vestments and ceremonies; it is taking hold, in the most energetic manner, of the problems of society; in hand to hand work

with the needy and degraded classes it is doing more, perhaps, than has ever been done by any other branch of the Christian Church in England.

The remainder of the Protestants of Great Britain—the Broad Churchmen, the Nonconformists, the Scotch Presbyterians of the Established Church and of the United Free Church—with the entire Protestant body of the United States, have been subject to similar influences, and have been passing through similar theological transitions. Some branches of the Protestant Church have been greatly affected by the prevailing scientific and critical inquiries, and some have been less disturbed by them, but the intellectual ferment has reached most of them; and modifications, more or less radical, have been made in all their creeds.

These theological changes are not wholly due to the new conceptions of the world and of man which modern science has introduced. Some of them, and these not the least important, are the fruit of a purified ethical judgment. The dogmas of the Church, as Sabatier has shown, spring from the life of the Church. If the Spirit of Christ is abiding in the hearts of his disciples, their views of truth will be constantly purified and enlarged. Many of the changes in theological theory which have taken place within the past century are to be thus explained. The practical disappearance of the hard Calvinistic interpretations which were prevalent in most of the Reformed churches one hundred years ago has resulted from the cultivation of humaner feelings and from a better conception of the nature of justice. Philosophically, the change consists in the substitution of righteousness for power in our definitions of the justice of God. The old theology emphasized the sovereignty of God in such a way as to make it appear that what was central in Him was will—His determination to have His own way. "His mere good pleasure" was the decisive element in His action. This theology was the apotheosis of will. The hard fact was disguised and softened in many ways, but it was always there; that was the nerve of the doctrine. The later conceptions emphasize the righteousness of God more than His power. His justice is not chiefly His determination to have His own way; it is His determination to do right, to recognize the moral constitution which He has given to His children, and to conform to that in His dealings with them. The assumption, now-a-days, always is that of

Abraham—that the Judge of all the earth will do right, that which will commend itself as right to the unperverted moral sense of His children. Theology has been ethicized; that is the sum of it. To-day it is a moral science; one hundred years ago it was not. This is a tremendous change; none more radical or revolutionary has taken place in any of the sciences. To be rid of theories which required the damnation of non-elect infants and of all the heathen; which imputed the guilt of our progenitors to their offspring; and which proclaimed an eternal kingdom of darkness, ruled by an evil potentate, whose ubiquity was but little short of omnipresence, whose resources pressed hard upon omnipotence, and whose access to human souls implied omniscience—is a great deliverance. The entire aspect of religion has changed within the memory of many who will read these words. We are living under a different sky, and breathing a different atmosphere. That these horrible doctrines are obsolete is manifest from the fact that the great Scotch Presbyterian Churches have explained them away, and that their American brethren are slowly making haste to be free of them. It is long since they have been preached to intelligent congregations.

The progress of Biblical criticism during the last quarter of the century has been rapid and sometimes disquieting. Much work of a somewhat fanciful character has been done, but a large number of important conclusions are accepted by most scholars. The prevailing teaching in the theological seminaries of the Evangelical Churches is, that the Bible contains a revelation from God, in historical and prophetic documents of priceless value, holding truth found nowhere else, and making known to us the Way and the Truth and the Life; but that this revelation comes through human mediation, and is not free from human imperfection; that, while its spiritual elements may be spiritually discerned, its parts are not of equal value, and that it is dangerous to impute to the whole Book an infallibility which it nowhere claims. The new conception of the Bible has undoubtedly given a shock to many devout minds, who have been accustomed to regard it with superstitious veneration; and those who have been convinced by the arguments of the critics have not all learned to use it as it was meant to be used—to draw inspiration from it, instead of reading inspiration into it. Those who will seek to be inspired by it will find that it is inspired, because it is inspiring;

and there is reason to hope that the Bible may yet prove, under the new theories of its origin, a better witness for God than ever before. It is well that He should not any longer be held responsible for the human crudities and errors which it contains.

The great development of the natural sciences and the rise of the evolutionary theories have also had their effect upon Christian theology. That there are vast numbers of Protestant Christians who have been scarcely touched by these influences is true; but these influences are shaping the thought of the world, and it is impossible that the theology of a living church should not be profoundly affected by them. For natural science is simply telling us what God is doing in His world, and evolution is simply explaining the way in which His work is done. At bottom, all this is religious truth, of the most fundamental character; and, if Christian theology is true theology, it must include the truths of science and of evolution.

Such an inclusion makes needful some important reconstructions of theological theory. It substitutes for our mechanical theories of creation the thought of the immanent God, who, in the words of Paul, is above all and through all and in us all; nay, it gives us also that doctrine of the immanent Christ—the Logos, the infinite Reason and Love, of whom the same apostle speaks in words of such wonderful significance; "in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins; who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all Creation; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together."* If the Christ-element, the element of self-sacrificing love, is the very matrix of the creation, then it ought not to surprise us if we find in nature itself the elements of sacrifice; and we do find them there, when we look for them. Over against the struggle for life is the struggle for the life of others; vicariousness is at the heart of nature. We begin to discern some deep meaning in the mystical saying that Christ represents "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and we are able to see that He came to fulfill not merely the Levitical law, but the very law of life. All this has been, as yet, but imper-

*Col. i., 14-17.

fectly worked out in our theological theories; but it begins to be evident that the doctrine of the Incarnation will find, in the doctrine of Evolution, an interpretation far more sublime than any which was possible under the mechanical theories of creation.

In the development of Protestantism on its intellectual side there have been losses as well as gains. Where such liberty of thinking is allowed, there will be wild and foolish thinking; it is often forgotten that the principle of reason is the principle of unity, and not of division or denial. There is a reasonless conservatism, which clings to beliefs long after they have ceased to be credible; and there is a rash radicalism, which throws away truth untested. Protestant theology has suffered from both these causes. There has always been, and there still is, much shallow thinking; and, in the transitions which have been taking place, some have lost their faith. But there is good reason for believing that the Christians of to-day have a hold as firm as those of any former day upon essential Christian truth.

On the side of life and practice, there have also been gains and losses. In some of the elements of the religious life we may be poorer than our forefathers were. There is not so much reverence now as once there was; but there is less of slavish fear. There is less intense devotional feeling; but there are also fewer cases of hopeless religious melancholy. We do not make so much of the Lord's day as men once did in some sections; that is an undoubted loss. Yet there was a gloom and restraint in that old observance which we should be slow to recall. We do not, perhaps, quite adequately estimate the amount of irreligion which prevailed in this country in the early days of the nineteenth century. A careful historical comparison would reassure those who suppose that we are in danger of losing all our religion.

The development of the Protestant Churches has been intensive, as well as extensive; the work of the local Church has greatly broadened. The Church of to-day is a far more efficient instrument for promoting the Kingdom of God in the world than was the Church of one hundred years ago. At that date the Sunday-school work was just beginning; the Church did nothing for its own members but to hold two services on a Sunday, and sometimes a week-night service. In fact, it may be said that the Church did nothing at all; all the religious work was done by the minister. The conception that the Church is a working body,

organized for the service of the community, had hardly entered into the thought of the minister or of the members. It was rather an ark of safety, in which men found temporary shelter on their way to heaven.

The larger work, outside of its immediate fold, was not contemplated. In 1800, there was no Foreign Missionary Society in existence on this continent, and no Bible Society; a few feeble Home Missionary Societies had just been formed. There was no religious newspaper in the world. The vast outreaching work of Christian education and Christian publication had not entered into the thought of the churches. Such efficient arms of the Christian service as the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the Societies of Christian Endeavor and the Salvation Army are of recent origin.

What, then, shall we say of the equipment with which Christianity sets forth, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the conquest of the world? Its geographical and political advantages have been named. What of its intellectual and spiritual resources? What of the appeal which it is prepared to make to the mind and heart of man?

It may be assumed that man is not only a political, but also a religious, animal; that religion is an everlasting reality. Some kind of religion men have always had and will always have; things unseen and eternal enter into their lives, and will always form an integral part of their experience. We can hardly look for the invention of a new religion; are any of the other existing religious systems more likely than Christianity to satisfy the needs of humanity? Each of these religious systems contains great elements of truth and power. Is any one of them better fitted than Christianity to meet the wants of the human soul?

Christianity has lost some of the weapons with which it was doing battle one hundred years ago. Its trust is not to be henceforth in an infallible Book; the arsenal of its terrors has been despoiled of much that was once a great reliance; censure and coercion can no longer be profitably employed. But, in some respects, it has been strengthened for the work before it.

The Christian doctrine has been greatly simplified. The elaborate creeds of a former day are disappearing. The metaphysical puzzles, in which so many minds were once entangled, are swept away. It is now well understood, among those who

are the recognized leaders of Christian thought, that the essence of Christianity is personal loyalty to the Master and obedience to His law of love. Such a conception prepares the way for great unities and co-operations.

The doctrine of the divine immanence, when once its deeper implications are understood, must have important results in Christian experience. The God in whom we live and move and have our being will not need to be certified by documents or symbolized by sacraments or demonstrated by logic; our knowledge of Him will be immediate and certain. If He is, indeed, the Life of all life; if He is "more present to all things He made than anything unto itself can be;" if He is "the stream of tendency, whereby all things fulfill the law of their being;" if He is really "working in us, to will and to do of His good pleasure," then life possesses a sacredness and a significance which few of us have yet conceived. This truth sanctifies and glorifies the whole of life. It is the truth which lies at the heart of what is known as the "new theology;" and, if the Christian pulpit can but grasp it and realize it, we shall have such a revival of religion as the world has never seen.

The God who is over all and through all and in us all is known to the Christian Church of to-day as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is through the spirit that we know Him, and he is the Father of spirits; His character is revealed to us in the Life and Words of Jesus; our relation to Him is shown us in the filial trust of Jesus, and our relation to one another springs from this relation. The two truths of the divine Fatherhood and the human Brotherhood are the central truths of Christian theology to-day. This has never before been true. Men have always been calling God Father, but in their theories they have been making Him Monarch. He was as much of a Father as He could be consistently with his functions as an absolute Sovereign. The Sovereignty was the dominant fact; the Fatherhood was subordinate. All this is changed. It is believed to-day that there can be no sovereignty higher than fatherhood, and no law stronger than love.

The doctrine must have vast social consequences. When it is once fully accepted, and all that it implies is recognized and enforced, society will be regenerated and redeemed. If all men are, indeed, brothers, and owe to one another, in every relation,

brotherly kindness; if there is but one law of human association —"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" if every man's business in the world is to give as much as he can, rather than to get as much as he can, then the drift of human society must now be in wrong directions, and there is need of a reformation which shall start from the centres of life and thought. We need not so much new machinery, as new ideals of personal obligation.

This idea that Christ has come to save the world; that his mission is not to gather his elect out of the world and then burn it up, but to establish the Kingdom of Heaven here, and that it is established by making the law of love the regulative principle of all the business of life, is practically a new idea. Many, here and there, have tentatively held it, and their faltering attempts to live by it have produced what we have had of the precious fruits of peace and good will among men. Charity and philanthropy have not been unknown; the spirit of Christ has found in them a beautiful expression; within that realm the Kingdom of Heaven has been set up. What we need to learn is the truth that the law of love governs the factory, as well as the hospital; that the statesman and the economist must reckon with it, no less than the preacher and philanthropist.

Such is the issue which the logic of events is forcing upon the Christian Church. Christianity must rule or abdicate. If it cannot give the law to society, the world has no need of it. Not by might nor by power can its empire be established; only by clear witnessing to the supremacy of love. But the time has come when there must be no faltering in this testimony. Hitherto, it has hardly dared to say that Love is King; the kingdoms of this world have been conceded to Mammon. With the dawning of the new century comes the deepening conviction that the rule of Mammon never can bring order and peace; and it begins to be credible that the way of the Christ is the way of life, for industry as well as for charity, for nations as well as for men.

That the principle of the Christian morality is the foundation of the social order, and that society will never be at peace until it rests on this foundation is the claim which Christianity is now prepared to make. The ground of our hope for the continuance and prevalence of the Christian religion lies in the conviction that it will be able to make good this claim.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

AN EARLIER AMERICAN.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

NEXT to writing one's own autobiography, there is probably no pleasure literature can give greater than reading that of some one else. If this forms a study of one's own period, country and condition, then the pleasure is heightened to the level of the rapture which comes from seeing one's likeness in any form. The resemblance need not be very close; one readily ekes it out in the good points with a little imagination, and frankly disowns it where it is unflattering. In fact, one prefers, in the autobiographer, the sort of general similarity such as suggests itself through contemporaneity and parity of circumstance, and rather likes the difference of personal experience.

I.

There was a far greater parity of circumstance among the Americans of Mr. William J. Stillman's time than exists among Americans now; but few even of his time could compete with him in the range of his experience, and fewer still, perhaps, could know his life without feeling akin to him in the traditions which formed a type of American now past, or rapidly and irrevocably passing. He was of a New England stock, in which the inherited Puritanism was condensed and intensified by the narrowness of a minute sect. He was born and bred a Seventh Day Baptist, and nurtured in the fear of God by parents who feared His exacting jealousy so much that they distrusted themselves in their natural love of their children, and crucified it in the unsparing severity of their family discipline. They were poor; the father was a ship-carpenter and fisherman, and the mother, of somewhat gentler origin, was of the same

* "The Autobiography of a Journalist." By William James Stillman. In two volumes. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901.

condition; and when they left Rhode Island and settled in eastern New York, they escaped neither from their poverty nor from their piety. There could be nothing more pathetic than the study of this in the mother by the youngest of her sons, whom it was her anguish to chasten in the fear of her awful God. But at Schenectady the boy was at least near to the heart of primitive nature. He began to know the woods, and to find there the sympathy which he returned with passion. He began to find himself there, a dreamer and, later, a painter; and after rebelling against the iron rule of his home by running away from it, he came back to comparative freedom from the rod. He went to school, and to the local college, and then he taught school; but all the time, before he had yet fairly conceived of art, he felt the artistic instinct stirring within him. An elder brother had prospered, and the means of sending the boy for study abroad were found. He saw London and Paris, and when he returned to America, he took up his life as a painter of the woods he knew as intimately as a trapper or hunter, and which he portrayed with absolute fidelity in a fanatical acceptance of the Preraphaelite superstition. He left painting a while to conduct an art journal, famous in its day; and when *The Crayon,* which had done as much for letters as the arts, came to its inevitable end, he found himself launched as a journalist, and got back to his painting only to convince himself that he was not an artist.

In the first years of the Civil War, after in vain offering himself as a soldier, he went as consul to Rome, and was later removed from that post and sent to Crete, where he arrived at the beginning of the revolt against the Turks in the latter eighteen-sixties. He was at home in revolution; he had already indulged its wildest romance on a mission from Kossuth to the Hungarian patriots; and now he served the Cretans so well, within the bounds of duty to his own government and good faith with the Turks, that these offered him employment in their service after his consulate passed from him. He had taken up his sojourn in Athens, where, when his wife died, the city made the funeral a public function, as a sign of the honor and love in which the Greeks held him and his, and the Turkish service was impossible to him. He remained poor through all, and dependent on the work which so often failed him, and in search of which he passed back and forth between Europe and America, till the London *Times* recog-

nized the unique value of his talent and knowledge, and made him its controlling representative in Italy. There he remained till he felt himself superannuated, when he resigned his office to pass the leisure of his age in England, where he still lives, an eager witness of results, complete and incomplete, which were part of his experience while they were still causes and processes.

II.

I shall probably not persuade many of the young and innocent (I will not say ignorant) people, who are presently giving their fresh minds to the absorption of our annals in the form of fiction, that this story of a peculiarly American life has all the charm of romance and all the value of history. But if I could only attract a few of them to it—say half a million or so—I should feel surer of my usefulness as a critic than I am always able to feel. I myself prefer that part of the story which relates to the earlier life of the author, and which is mainly psychological in its interest; but the whole book has the attraction of a comprehensive intelligence, an inflexible conscience, and an unsparing frankness concerning both the author and others, which find expression in a transparent and unaffected style. This characterizes the work throughout, and so does the curious union of personal intensity and intellectual detachment with which the book is written, and which relates itself equally to his private and his public career. By means of it, the status at Rome in the last years of Pius IX., or the last years of King Humbert, is as vividly presented and as clearly analyzed as the Turkish conditions during the author's Cretan consulship, or the facts of his childhood and youth in Schenectady, or those of his art study in London and Paris. The episode of his subjection to Ruskin and his emancipation from Ruskin's influence is told with neither more nor less fervor than that of the oppression of his home and his escape from it. Which is cold and which is hot, his heart or his head, it would not always be easy to say; the reader cannot immediately be sure of the author's impartiality, but finally of his justice he can be tolerably sure. Events and persons are shown in that mixture of mean and great, good and bad, which forms the complexion of reality, and may be pretty safely trusted, when all is said and done, as a fair likeness, though there might be likenesses quite as fair, which would be

quite different. It seems to me that the glimpse of Kossuth, in his willingness to use the young enthusiast for his purposes, and then to disown his action, is a case in point.

But, of course, the main thing in autobiography is the author's portrait of himself; and Mr. Stillman cannot be said to flatter his own. He lets his errors and defects be seen; and, in the record of his life of struggle, he is fair to the friends who made themselves his allies and helped him to win the fight. It is no easy matter to do so, for the man who is content with little is peculiarly tempted to mistake his willingness to go without much for an ability to go without anything. But Mr. Stillman, who seems to have an ideal indifference to the objects of sordid ambition, does not make this mistake. Some of the most inspiring records of his varied past bear witness to the practical sympathy which an ideal life appeals to in those unable to live it themselves. He found this again and again in those of his own home, and in those of that home of the race, the world. His friends he recognizes as frankly as his foes; and, since these foes of his are all dead, and cannot be offended by his remembrance, there is something even amusing in the mediæval immortality of his rancor. He recalls Benvenuto Cellini in his rancor, and his whole sincerity as a man and as an autobiographer is probably attested by nothing so much.

We are sometimes apt to put on an hypocrisy concerning those no longer alive to injure us, which we mistake for a magnanimous relenting; but Mr. Stillman does not fall into any such error, though he may possibly have overdone justice in the case of some obscure offenders, who would now be forgotten if they could have been forgiven. Still, there is no great harm, and the effect is one which could not well be spared in his self-portraiture. The picture is Preraphaelite in its fidelities, as Preraphaelite as those transcripts from nature, from which, when he found them taken for mechanical representations of the fact, he paused in his artistic ambition with question whether he was or was not an artist, and in the persistent doubt, finally relinquished his art altogether. It is for the critic of art to decide from his paintings, whether he was right or wrong; but I think there can be no question of the historical value of the study he has made in himself of an American type which is one of the most distinctive contributions to the gallery of national types.

III.

Next in value to the self-portraiture of the author are the portraits of his father and mother, Americans shaped by influences which now seem extinct among us, but not more extinct than those which shaped the author himself. His mother, as happens, or used to happen, so often with us, was the intelligence, which operated itself through the character of the father as well as her own; but they were powers strictly co-ordinate, and his will was as often law over her. He could say to his son, and mean it, that he would rather see him in his grave than in a dancing-school, and that he would not have him "eat the bread of idleness," as he seemed to be doing when the mystical forces at work in the boy were moving him to ends unimaginable to the hard-headed carpenter. She was even more austere, but it was she who battled for his future with the father, and won for the boy such chance as he had in school and college. The anguish which underlay her austerity, and which was the effect of the continual struggle between her tender affection and her cruel religion, could not hide itself from her son. He knew that she suffered with him in the punishments she inflicted, and he drew from the deep sources of her piety a lasting trust and belief in Providence: a providence different, indeed, from that she worshipped, but as constant to human need. He affirms this again and again with the mysticism which is one of the fascinations of his story.

The America which he typifies was the reaction from a yet earlier America, which apparently came to an end in such character as that of his parents. But a reaction is never a complete severance: it is oftener an affirmation of identity, and the America of 1850-60 had far more in common with that of 1800 than with that of 1900. Between 1850 and 1900, events have fixed a gulf toward which the uninterrupted course of evolution in the earlier half century did not even seem tending. The America of that time, now obscured by a wholly different ideal, was a growth from the still earlier time; and though it had escaped the terrible religiosity of the past, and had set its heart upon beauty as it understood beauty with an ardor we no longer know, it was still with a wish to realize truth, if not faith, in conduct.

It was very small, very remote, very provincial and almost comically earnest, that America which such a story as Mr. Stillman's rehabilitates for the imagination. It wished to cultivate itself, to refine itself; it believed that there was a moral government of the universe, and that it had a soul which should live after death, and might return here to haunt terrestrial chairs and tables. It wished to go to Italy and see the old masters, to London and meet the great poets and novelists, to Germany and study philosophy, to Paris and learn the world. Its ambitions and aspirations were such as prevail now with the lower middle classes, and which permeate the basis of society, but do not rise to its superstructure. The case is not so much that it has passed away, that old America, but that it has escaped from us to the alien and the stranger, as it seems at least to the elderly reader in whose consciousness this most suggestive book has reanimated its presence. It exists still for the American of Irish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Russian race, it will always exist while there is adversity in the world; and the type may be merely passing from us to those other peoples who are economically and socially subject to us, and in whom it may be varied through their traditions beyond our recognition, but will remain essentially the same. It will be varied also by the want of the earlier elbow-room, in which the American who failed at one thing could turn his hand to something else, and was often overtempted to do so merely because he tired of the first thing. In our modern conditions, it will be increasingly difficult for a man to leave being a painter to become the editor of an art journal, and then to leave that and become a consul with diplomatic duties of delicacy and importance, and then represent different great newspapers at high events, and accomplish a "beat" with the zeal and nerve of a young man; and after sundry reversions to his own country, to end his many activities as the correspondent of the first journal of Europe, at the most important centre of news in Europe. But through the flexibility of our past conditions, this could be the experience of an American of Mr. Stillman's make in Mr. Stillman's day; and it, or the like of it, was so often the experience of the former American, that the versatile and adventurous type, as often constant to a generous ideal as not, was the national type.

It is a type which you may like or you may not like; our

author is concerned only with imparting the sense of it, and I think he will freshly interest the reader in it. I am not so sure that I shall make the reader agree with me in my fancy that it became obsolescent in the immediate past, or, say, that epoch which ended beyond recall in the Spanish War. The events that have followed that war seem to imply the close of the peculiar mission of America to mankind. We shall probably be richer and we shall be stronger even than we are now, but the American shall hardly again be the son of the morning, toward which the struggling peoples turned their eyes with the hope at least of sympathy. There is a logic as relentless for nations as for men; the tree brings forth fruit after its kind; so long ago as 1850, when Kossuth came, crazily hoping for help from us in the Hungarian revolt against Austria, he found himself denied by the slaveholding South which ruled the non-slaveholding North. Wealth and power can sympathize only with wealth and power, and freedom, so far as it remains ours, will never again shriek when Kosciusko falls.

But will the Americans of the future be men of as eager initiative as the Americans of the past? Was there some virtue in early privation and struggle and long adversity, more vital than the incentive from what we call advantages; and was a man more fitted to fulfill himself, or to get the most out of his gifts, by being born poor, and bred a Seventh Day Baptist, under the rigor of the unspared and unsparing rod, and forced to rend from life the chance of art? Cannot we, except upon some such terms as these, live or long to live in the ideal; and what then is the ideal? Largely speaking, it is the heart's desire, the thing one would give up everything else for and willingly lose the world. It is the love of a cause, an art or a science. But need we any longer give up everything else for any of these? Have we not reasonably the hope that the heart's desire may now be attained at less cost, at no cost at all? If we have relegated to Americans of other race, religion, tradition, the old American ideal, have we therefore forbidden ourselves to live in the ideal, after some new fashion? *Must* we live hard, in order to think high? Study by the fire of the cabin hearth, snow through the roof, washing at the pump, breakfasting on corn bread and pickled pork, bare feet in summer and chilblains in winter, formed the prefatory incidents in the history of so many great

Americans that they have established themselves in the imagination as the conditions of greatness; but a careful scrutiny of the context might not find them so. They have now their versions mainly in the experiences of the foreign tenement-house dwellers, and if they are the conditions of American greatness we must look to the tenement houses for our future distinction, or else we must more and more accept the sort of distinction which does not proceed from achievement.

IV.

It is a curious effect of adversity, or privation, or downright destitution, that those who have known it, if they no longer know it, look back upon it with a tenderness which turns to indignation when any sort of discredit seems cast upon it. Many Americans of the generation when poverty seemed the whole condition of living in the ideal, must have felt personally wounded when, a little while ago, an American admiral advised a shipmate of low degree against promotion, because whatever his achievement, he was liable some time to find himself in circumstances, especially in alien waters, where his early want of social advantages might embarrass him among better-born or better-bred officers of other navies. Napoleon's ideal of *la carrière ouverte aux talents* was apparently not so much this American's but that he could see some difficulties in its realization; but though his reasoning logically impugned the efficiency of Franklin in the atmosphere of a court so different as that of Louis XVIth's from the air of a printing office, and implied that Lincoln would have been more adequately a president if he had not grown up a farm-hand and a flat-boatman, yet one could not blame the admiral for want of sincerity or, finally, for want of right. He really was right in the point he made, and not the less right because a man of more tact might not have made it. The question remains, however, whether the point was important enough to be urged, or, in other words, whether the realities or the unrealities are the ideal thing. If the ideal thing for all officers of our navy is to meet the officers of other navies on the plane of an equal social past, then we had better not open the career to the talents there; but if the ideal is being able to blow inimical officers out of the water in a sea-fight, then a promoted gunner might very fitly be in command. The admiral could answer, of

course, that the ideal thing was for an American officer to be socially the equal of his brother-enemies, and also to be able on occasion to blow them out of the water.

Most Americans of a past generation would insist that the ability to blow your enemies out of the water was the essential, and equality in the exchange of international civilities a matter of no great moment. They might be right and they might be wrong; but, if wrong, it is up to the American of the newer order to show how one may have had all the advantages, and not lost touch with those who have had all the disadvantages. That, in the large way and in the small way, was once supposed to be the meaning of America. If it is no longer her meaning, and if she has become like unto the thrones, principalities and powers which deny the unity of men, then it is up to her younger children to prove that she has gone forward and not backward, or that it is as practicable to live in the ideal under the new conditions as under the old.

It will not do to insist that it is wholly impracticable; and the philosophical observer will guard himself against any sort of hasty conclusion from premises which may be significant to others of quite different things. His duty in this will not be less because his difficulty will be great in overcoming in himself the generous dread each passing generation feels that the next is not going to be like it. While we really must put trust in the moral government of the universe, there is nothing that gives us more anxiety than the order of an all-wise Providence. The world is in its keeping, and yet the world, in the apprehension of every man who has lived to be sixty years old, has apparently always been going to the bad. It is very droll as well as very sad, to reflect that at this very moment, doubtless, the great majority of Americans who have reached their grand climacteric are desolated by the bleak conviction that they are the last of the true Americans; and the worst of it is, they have only too much reason to think so, if the writer may, without sharing their impiety, make an admission that so clearly gives away his epoch. Once in our national consciousness, at least, to the mystification of the unbelieving and impenitent world outside, we stood for something different from anything a people had stood for before. Call it universal liberty or instinctive justice, or even by the tedious name of humanity, it was something novel and brave and gen-

erous, and it differenced us from all the monarchies limited and unlimited, the conquerors, the oppressors. Of course, there were very obvious breaks in our celestial panoply, such as a matter of six or eight million slaves, but as long as we went confidently about convicting other nations of sin and teaching the straight and narrow way by precept, if not altogether by practice, it was imputed to us for righteousness in their muddy imaginations, and we were able to keep a very fair sort of conscience; not perfectly clean, but reasonably easy. The illusion, if it was an illusion, was what Ibsen would have called our national life-lie, but it fostered our self-respect; it honored our origin, at once so high and so humble, and was favorable to the ambition of such of us as meant noble achievement, while keeping faithfully to the tradition of poverty and its implication of self-denial.

V.

Perhaps we can still trust in Providence to be true to responsibilities not rashly assumed in the creation of the world. All the good in the world did not perish with our fathers who had such admirable sons; and have we been so wasteful of our patrimony as to have none of it left to hand down to the next generation? It may be allowed that to live in the ideal is increasingly difficult, but it is always possible. Once it implied privation and distasteful toil; but it may not have necessarily implied those things; and the good time may now have come when it implies them no longer. It may be practicable now to live in the ideal amidst all the comforts and luxuries with which the average man has nowhere so richly surrounded himself as in America. This ideal life, like that of the past, must be a life of self-denial, but why should not one lead it by crossing one's selfish impulses for good? If one hated, say, fashion and play and show, and loved simplicity and work and quiet, one could as truly deny one's self by going in for the things one hated, as if they were virtues; and there may already be many martyrs of this sort in the world. One might like to be friendly and equal with everybody and yet oblige one's self to a stiff hauteur. One might wish to give away one's millions, and yet hold on to them in the face of all sorts of worthy charities. One might be ashamed of one's superfluities in conditions where there is so much want, and yet not abate them. All this would not be exactly the old life in the

ideal, but it might be the highest kind of self-denial, which was the beginning of that life.

One of the most delightful chapters of Mr. Stillman's book is that dealing with the Adirondack Club, which he formed of Emerson, Lowell, Agassiz and other lights of New England literature and science, and led into the wilderness so intimately known to him; and one of the most delightful episodes of this chapter is that recounting the greeting which the Adirondack backwoodsmen gave their adoptive fellow citizen. They ignored the poets and philosophers, but they compared Agassiz with a photograph they had of him, and when their leader had identified him beyond mistake, they each silently shook hands with him and so welcomed him to the wilderness, not because he was the greatest living scientist, but because he had refused Louis Napoleon's splendid offer of a senatorship if he would come to Paris, and had chosen to abide with America in the love of freedom.

Possibly if some idealist of the type which I have not, I am afraid, been very successfully forecasting, went to the backwoods now he might receive a like welcome. The difficulty would be in finding any such idealizing backwoodsmen to give it; and this may be the saddest part of it all.

W. D. HOWELLS.

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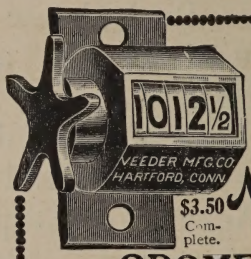

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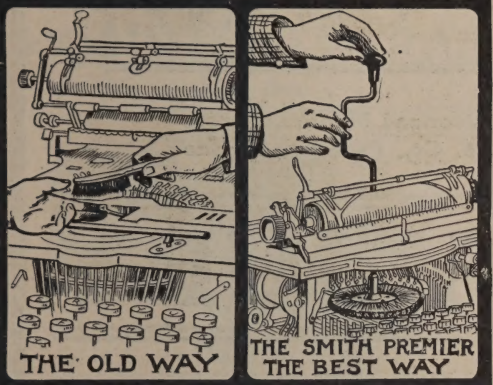

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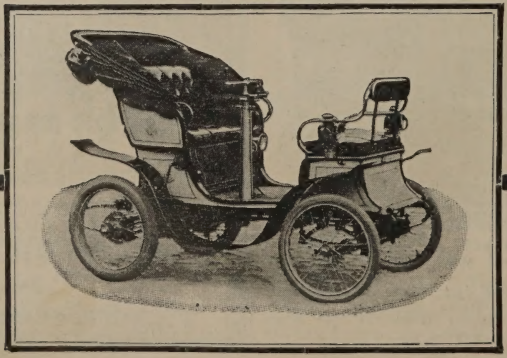

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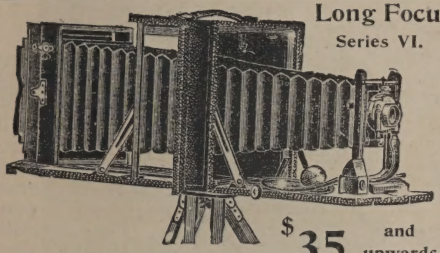

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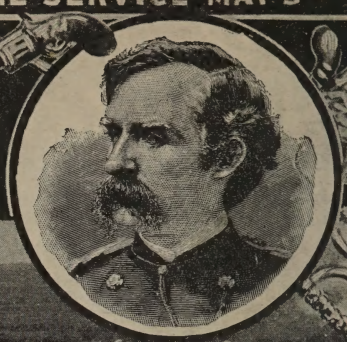

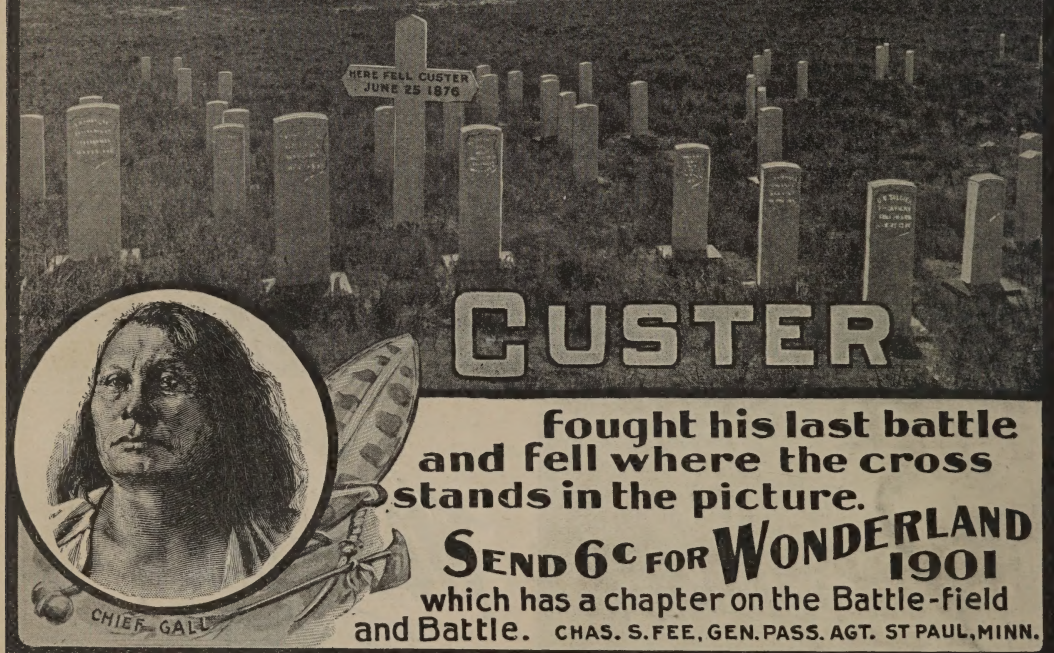

CUSTER

fought his last battle and fell where the cross stands in the picture.

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which has a chapter on the Battle-field and Battle. CHAS. S. FEE, GEN. PASS. AGT. ST PAUL, MINN.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Russell Sage

was born in Verona, Oneida County, New York, nearly eighty-five years ago. He was brought up on a farm, and attended school during the winter months. He began life in the grocery business, being successively errand-boy, clerk and salesman in his brother's store. In 1837, he set up for himself as a retail grocer, and from 1839 to 1857 he conducted a wholesale grocery in Troy. Mr. Sage was sent to Congress, as a Whig, in 1853, and served in that body for four years. In 1863, he moved to New York, engaged in buying and selling "privileges," and became a large operator in railway and other securities.

James J. Hill

was born in Upper Canada in 1838. In his eighteenth year he became clerk in a steamboat office in St. Paul, and he remained in that occupation for nine years, when he was appointed agent for the Northwestern Packet Company. Subsequently he established a general fuel and transportation business on his own account, among other concerns which he founded being the Red River Transportation Company. In 1873, he organized the syndicate which secured control of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad from Dutch owners of the securities, and, after reorganizing the system as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, he assumed the leading part in its management. In 1890, it became part of the Great Northern system, of which Mr. Hill has since been president.

Charles M. Schwab

is a native of Loretto, Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1862. At school he showed very great aptitude in arithmetic, mathematics and civil engineering. As a lad, he drove a stage from Loretto to the adjoining town of Cresson. Later, he was employed as a stake-driver, at a dollar a day, in the engineering corps of the Edgar Thomson Works of the Carnegie Steel Company. At twenty-three, he was entrusted with the supervision, as chief engineer, of the work of laying out and building the steel plant at Homestead, and, when that task had been completed, he was made general superintendent. In 1896, he was elected president of the Carnegie Steel Company, and he held that position

until he was chosen president of the United States Steel and Iron Corporation.

CHARLES R. FLINT

was the subject of a note in this department in the number for February.

F. B. THURBER

was born on a farm in Delaware County, New York, in 1842. He came to New York City when fifteen years old, and began his business career as a boy in an importing house at a dollar a week. He joined his brother, H. K. Thurber, in the wholesale grocery business in 1863, and, together, they established the largest business in food products in the world. In 1890, H. K. Thurber retired, and the business was incorporated as the Thurber-Whyland Company, Mr. Thurber being president. It failed in the panic of 1893, and Mr. Thurber's large fortune was swept away. He then established a publishing company, and he also began the study of law, and he was admitted to the bar at the age of fifty-seven. Mr. Thurber has always been an active member of commercial organizations, State and National, and he has made an especial study of transportation questions.

JAMES LOGAN

is the son of poor Scotch parents, who came to this country from Glasgow, his birth-place, when he was but a few months old. While a mere child, he was put to work in a woollen mill, where he labored daily from five in the morning till seven at night. Nevertheless, encouraged by the village schoolmaster, who heard him recite his lesson during the noon recess, he applied himself to study; but, in five years, his health broke down under the strain, and he was compelled to cease work. He used his enforced leisure in learning bookkeeping, and soon secured opportunity of turning his new acquirement to account. In 1883, Mr. Logan organized the Logan and Lowe Envelope Company, of Worcester, Mass., and a few years thereafter the Logan, Swift and Brigham Envelope Company, which soon developed into the largest envelope-making firm in the United States. In 1898, it was consolidated, with nine other companies, into the United States Envelope Company, of which Mr. Logan is first vice-president and general manager.

ERNEST RENAN

was the acknowledged leader of the school of critical philosophy in France. Going From Tréguier, where he was born

in 1823, to Paris, he pursued his studies in comparative philosophy, making a living, meanwhile, by teaching. His works at once attracted attention especially for their style. He made a mission to the East in 1861, and on his return to Paris he was appointed Professor of Hebrew in the College of France. Through his religious views, however, he incurred the displeasure of the clerical party, and he was compelled to resign his chair in 1864. Renan is, probably, best known to the world at large as the author of a brilliant series of books dealing with the origin of Christianity, the first volume, *"La Vie de Jésus,"* creating a profound sensation when it appeared.

PRINCE KROPOTKIN

is a scion of one of the noblest families in the old aristocracy of Russia. He was born in Moscow in 1842. In 1862, he went to Siberia, where he soon became aide-de-camp to the Governor of Transbaikalia, and took an active part in various attempted reforms. He made extensive journeys in Siberia and Manchuria, an account of which he has given to the world in various publications. In 1867, he entered the University of St. Petersburg, where he devoted five years to mathematical study. His sympathies being aroused by the unhappy condition of the Russian peasantry, however, he determined to make an attempt to ameliorate their lot. He joined the anarchist wing of the International Workingmen's Association, and entered the "circles" which were carrying on a socialist propaganda among Russian workingmen. In 1874, he was arrested and confined in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, but he was removed, two years later, to a military prison hospital, whence he made his escape. He was arrested by the French Government in 1883 on the charge of belonging to the International Workingmen's Association, and after serving a portion of the five years' imprisonment to which he was sentenced, he was liberated. Since then, he has resided in England.

THE REV. JUDSON SMITH, D. D.

A note regarding Dr. Smith will be found in the number of the REVIEW for March.

ALLEYNE IRELAND

A sketch of Mr. Ireland appeared in the number for September, 1900. Mr. Ireland writes the following note regarding his article in last number:

> In the first part of my article, which appeared in the April number of this magazine, one or two errors occur. On page 564 the decrease in the population of Ireland should be 44.19 per cent., and

the sentence following the table should read: " . . . The population of England and Wales has doubled, while that of Ireland decreased by 44.19 per cent." On page 572 two alterations are necessary in the diagram setting forth the relative importance of American trade to England and of English trade to America. In the upper half of the diagram the figures should be 18 per cent. and 82 per cent., my point being thus greatly strengthened, and in the lower half, "British Empire" should be substituted for "United Kingdom." Lastly, through inadvertence, the shipping entered was alone considered in the United States figures for 1897. The total is 39,000,000 instead of 20,000,000. The last sentence of the article should read: "It may also be noted that whereas England depends on the United States for 18 per cent. of her trade, the United States does 57 per cent. of her total trade with countries under the British flag."

JOHN FORD

is of Irish parentage, and was born at Knowlesville, Orleans County, New York, in 1862. Until he was twenty-four years of age, he worked as a farm laborer and stone dresser. Having educated himself for college, he gained a State scholarship which entitled him to free tuition in Cornell University. He entered Cornell in 1886, and won a University scholarship, which ensured him an annual income of two hundred dollars for four years. He graduated in 1890. He was admitted to the bar in 1893, and he was a member of the New York State Senate from 1895 till this year. He originated many measures of great importance, including the Franchise Tax Law.

JOHN PAUL BOCOCK,

a graduate of the Washington and Lee University in Virginia, his native State, is well known as a writer for periodicals. An enthusiastic Horatian scholar, he has written a "Literary History of the Odes" for the Bibliophile Society, of which he is a director. In conjunction with Professor Clement Lawrence Smith, of Harvard University, he edited that Society's edition of the Horatian Lyrics. Mr. Bocock possesses one of the best existing private collections of the works of Horace.

THE REV. M. GASLER

is a Roumanian by birth, having been born in Bucharest in 1856. Having completed courses of study in his own country and in Germany, he was appointed Lecturer on the Roumanian Language and Literature at the University of Bucharest in 1883; but after he had held that post for four years, he was expelled from the country for participating in political agitation for the emancipation of the Jews, and he then repaired to England. In 1882, he was made Chief Rabbi of the Sephardi Communities of the British Empire, to which the oldest families among the English Jews—such as the Montefiores—belong. Rabbi Gasler has been twice Ilchester Lecturer at Oxford on Slavonic literature.

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